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**HANSARD'S  
PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES,**

**THIRD SERIES:**

**COMMENCING WITH THE ACCESSION OF**

**WILLIAM IV.**

**53 & 54 VICTORIÆ, 1890.**

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**VOL. CCCXLVIII.**

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**VOL. CCCXLVIII.**

**COMPRISING THE PERIOD FROM**

**THE SIXTH DAY OF AUGUST, 1890,**

**TO**

**THE EIGHTEENTH DAY OF AUGUST, 1890.**

***Eighth and Last Volume of the Session.***

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**THE HANSARD PUBLISHING UNION, LIMITED,**

**CATHERINE STREET, STRAND, AND GREAT QUEEN STREET, W.C.,**

**PRINTERS, PUBLISHERS, AND PROPRIETORS OF**

**"HANSARD'S PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES,"**

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**1890.**





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The **PARLIAMENTARY HISTORY** contains all that can be collected of the Legislative History of this country from the Conquest to the close of the XVIIIth Century (1803), 36 vols. The chief sources whence these Debates are derived are the Constitutional History, 24 vols.; Sir Simonds D'Ewes' Journal: Debates of the Commons in 1620 and 1621; Chandler and Timberland's Debates, 22 vols.; Grey's Debates of the Commons, from 1667 to 1694, 10 vols.; Almon's Debates, 24 vols.; Debrett's Debates, 63 vols.; The Hardwicke Papers; Debates in Parliament by Dr. Johnson, &c., &c.

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### ERRATA.

- August 6.* Page 62, the speech attributed to Mr. Marjoribanks was made by Mr. R. W. Duff (Banffshire).
- August 9.* Mr. BRODRICK, page 421, in place of lines 15 to 18, insert—  
“prospects of promotion, was the work of Parliament, and was a settlement arrived at after prolonged controversy. The War Department is now absolutely bound to rules and regulations then laid down, which it cannot vary without the consent of the Treasury, and the Army Purchase Commissioners are responsible for settling the terms upon these lines. My right hon.”
- Line 43, *after the word three insert* in the Lieutenant General's rank ;
- Page 425, line 4, *add* These Rules, however, do not apply to officers who entered the Army after the date of the last Warrant.
- August 13.* Mr. T. M. HEALY, page 891, omit from the word “action” (line 37) to the word “His” (line 40).

# HANSARD'S PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES.

IN THE

FIFTH SESSION OF THE TWENTY-FOURTH PARLIAMENT OF THE  
UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND  
APPOINTED TO MEET 5 AUGUST, 1886, IN THE FIFTIETH  
YEAR OF THE REIGN OF

HER MAJESTY QUEEN VICTORIA.

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EIGHTH VOLUME OF SESSION 1890.

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HOUSE OF COMMONS,

*Wednesday, 6th August, 1890.*

## PUBLIC BUSINESS.

(12.19.) **MR. LABOUCHERE** (Northampton): I wish to ask the First Lord of the Treasury if he does not remember giving a pledge to the House that he would take the Foreign Office Vote first after all the legislation was disposed of? I see that the Scotch Estimates are put down as effective Supply for to-day. I ask the right hon. Gentleman to remember that there is such a place as England, and that it cannot submit to be trodden under foot in this way by Scotland and Ireland. I ask him to remember, further, when a Scotchman says that Scotland is a long way off that it signifies very little whether hon. Members have to travel five miles or 500, because if they have to go away at all they cannot be in the House. I beg to ask him, therefore, if he will not adhere to the arrangement originally made?

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\*(12.20.) **THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY** (Mr. W. H. SMITH, Strand, Westminster): My recollection of what occurred is that I agreed to set aside a particular day for the discussion of the Foreign Office Vote in order that the right hon. Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. Gladstone), who takes an interest in it, should have reasonable ground for knowing when it would come on. In putting down Supply to-day, the hon. Member must see that we have put it down after a number of Bills. We hope that those Bills may be passed to-day, but we can have no assurance that that will be so. If Supply is reached we hope to make progress with the Scotch Estimates, and we propose to put down the Foreign Office Vote for Friday. Hon. and right hon. Gentlemen who take an interest in that Vote will have due notice, which they could not have now, and will be able to arrange for their attendance. I may add that Supply will be the first Order on Friday, and that the Foreign Office Vote will then, in any circumstances, be taken. I have every reason to hope that we shall practically conclude the discussion of

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Bills to-morrow, and after the Foreign Office Vote we propose to take Class II. of the Civil Service Estimates in the order in which they stand.

(12.22.) MR. LABOUCHERE: What will be the course of business for to-morrow?

\*MR. W. H. SMITH: We propose to take the remainder of the Bills to-morrow, and then to proceed with the Scotch Estimates.

\*MR. CHILDERS (Edinburgh, S.): Then it may be quite understood that the Foreign Office Vote will be the first business on Friday?

\*MR. W. H. SMITH: Yes, Sir; I think it is for the convenience of the House that a definite fixture should be made.

\*MR. CHILDERS: I am bound to say that the intimation which has just been given by the right hon. Gentleman is in precise accordance with the original understanding.

MR. LABOUCHERE: I have no objection to the understanding that the Scotch Estimates, under the circumstances, shall be taken, if they are reached, and that the Foreign Office Vote shall be proceeded with on Friday.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE (Bradford, Central): Has any decision been arrived at in regard to the Savings Banks Bill? I think the Government exaggerate very greatly the character of the Opposition, and I am of opinion that three or four hours would dispose of the Bill.

\*(12.23.) MR. W. H. SMITH: We still entertain the hope that we may be able to come to an arrangement with the Opposition. But when we found 37 notices of opposition given by hon. Gentlemen on that side of the House, we were bound to re-consider our position.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE: I do not think that they are separate notices from this side of the House.

\*MR. W. H. SMITH: We are very desirous of passing the Bill, but at this period of the Session we can only do so with the general consent of the House; and if hon. Gentlemen, in sufficient number, refuse their consent, we have no alternative but to yield.

SIR G. CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.): I wish to make another appeal in the interests of the Scotch Members. We understood that the right hon. Member for Mid Lothian took an interest in the

*Mr. W. H. Smith*

Foreign Office Vote, and we were all willing to yield to him. But we think it is only justice to the Scotch Members that the Scotch Estimates should now be taken first, and continued until they are disposed of. I need scarcely tell the First Lord of the Treasury that he will not get rid of me by getting rid of the Scotch Votes; but I am aware that there are many of my Colleagues who desire to leave town to whom it would be inconvenient to be kept here on Friday. Surely it would be quite as convenient to take the Foreign Office Vote next week. I should like also to know whether the right hon. Gentleman proposes an all night sitting, because I see that other important Votes are put down after the Scotch Votes.

(12.24.) MR. HOWELL (Bethnal Green, N.E.): May I ask the right hon. Gentleman whether he does not think that the opposition which has been brought to bear against the Savings Bank Bill is a strong argument in favour of the passing of that measure?

MR. E. ROBERTSON (Dundee): May I ask if there will be any more Departmental Bills this Session?

DR. CLARK (Caithness): The opposition to the Savings Bank Bill is centred on one point. The desire is that there should be an increase allowed in the amount deposited in a Savings Bank in one year, and also in the total amount. That is the only point we are fighting, and if the Government will give way upon that point the Bill will pass early.

\*(12.25.) MR. W. H. SMITH: I think that the observation of the right hon. Member for South Edinburgh (Mr. Childers) is a sufficient answer to the hon. Member for Kirkcaldy (Sir G. Campbell). It is impossible at this period of the Session to make an alteration in the business which has been arranged solely for the convenience of an individual Member, however important that Member may be. I have intimated that we intend to put the Foreign Office Vote on the Paper for Friday, and I shall ask the House to consider it on that day. With regard to the question of the hon. Member for Dundee (Mr. E. Robertson), it is impossible to say whether any purely Departmental Bill will or will not have to be introduced. The hon. Member is not acquainted with the exigencies of legislation, but it does oc-

asionally happen that a measure of as purely Departmental character has to be introduced at the last moment. I will promise, however, that the Government will not introduce any measure, or ask the House to consider any measure, which is not absolutely necessary. As to an all night sitting, all I can say is that I believe there is a general and a reasonable desire to proceed with public business.

**Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE:** I hope that the Navy Estimates will not be taken on Saturday.

**Mr. W. H. SMITH:** They will not be taken on Saturday.

**POLICE (SCOTLAND) BILL.—(No. 398.)**

**THIRD READING.**

**Order for Third Reading read.**

**Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read the third time."**

(12.27.) **Mr. E. ROBERTSON** (Dundee): I am glad to say that the scale of pensions originally proposed has been very considerably reduced by the Committee upstairs, but, notwithstanding that fact, the liability of the rates still remains. The assurance as to the practical saving of the rates, which was given here and upstairs, is an assurance founded on actuarial calculations, and on the hypothesis that there would be no obligation. Therefore, the practical safety of the rates of which we have been assured is at the best a conjectural safety, and I think the ratepayers may take it that the Bill does impose considerable burdens upon them. My main objection to the Bill is that it should be passed without the people of Scotland having had any opportunity of considering its provisions. The First Lord of the Treasury informed us some time ago that if it was the desire of the majority of the Scotch Members to postpone the measure until next Session the Government would be prepared to meet their desire, but he added that an overwhelming majority of the Scotch Members had conveyed to the Government a desire that the Bill should be dealt with in the present Session, and that the Government had yielded to that desire. This statement appears to have been founded on an entire delusion and misapprehension, because the Scotch Members have never

been consulted at all. There was only a small fraction of the Scotch Members present when they were consulted, not as to whether the Bill should pass or not, but whether it should be taken immediately after the English Bill. I trust that it will be fully brought to the mind of the Scotch people that the Bill is now being passed under the influence of this extraordinary misapprehension and delusion. I do not expect, at this stage, that the right hon. Gentleman will be prepared to renew the promise he made, but I will again call attention to the fact that he had pledged himself to postpone the measure if the majority of the Scotch Members so desired, and that it has only been kept on the Paper because he has been erroneously induced to believe that the majority were in favour of its being passed. Then, again, the attitude of the Police Authorities in reference to the Bill must be described as one of caution and reticence. The Town Council of Glasgow have passed no resolution at all upon the subject, and the Town Council of Edinburgh have referred it back to the Lord Provost's Committee, which is a polite way of shelving the whole question. I am, therefore, entitled to say that the Local Authorities have pronounced no opinion at all in favour of the Bill, although it gives them the handling of a large amount of money, for the finding of which they are not responsible. I do not know that any greater temptation could be held out to Local Authorities than this. A cannie bailie of Glasgow told the Committee upstairs that he did not want the Bill, but he should like to have the money. Notwithstanding the great temptation, the reticence of the Local Authorities of Scotland has been most remarkable. Another fact which must not be lost sight of is that the Bill was propounded at a time when the Municipal Authorities had dispersed for their holidays, and, consequently, there was no opportunity of taking their opinion at all. At the same time, as I have said all along, I should not be prepared to accept the opinion of the Local Authorities as conclusive, in consequence of the great temptation the Bill holds out. What is necessary to consider is the popular feeling, and to appreciate that we must go back to the election of 1885, when the question was

really before the Scotch constituencies, and the right hon. Member for South Edinburgh will have no difficulty in remembering, seeing he was partially responsible for the Bill, that, if the result of that election was to be taken as an augury, the measure would not have passed. I beg to move, as an Amendment to the Motion now before the House,

"That it is not desirable to proceed further with the Bill until the people of Scotland have had an opportunity of considering its provisions."

It was never demanded by public opinion in Scotland, or by the Local Authorities; it was introduced at a period of the Session when it could not be properly considered, either here or in Scotland; it has been carried helter-skelter in this House, and the Third Reading has been brought on within a few hours of the proceedings in Committee. Therefore, I protest, in the name of the working class portion of my constituency, against the Bill becoming law under such circumstances.

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "It is not desirable to proceed further with this Bill until the people of Scotland have had an opportunity of considering its provisions."  
—(*Mr. Edmund Robertson.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

(12.40.) DR. CLARK (Caithness): I moved the rejection of the Bill in Committee, and, although the measure has since been modified and some of the objectionable clauses removed, and although it has since become purely a Superannuation Bill, I shall strongly object to it, and beg to support the Amendment of my hon. Friend. As we are to have an Autumn Session I think the Government might consider whether the best course would not be to defer the passing of the Bill until then. I oppose the principle of compulsory pensions for police constables who have served a certain period. I am strongly opposed to that principle altogether, and should be glad to see it abolished in the Civil Service, the Army, and Navy, instead of being extended. This year hereditary pensions will be practically got rid of, and I do not think that anybody

*Mr. E. Robertson*

will be mad enough to propose their re-imposition. I also object to the superannuation of the police. Allow these persons, as much as you like, to develop habits of thrift, forethought, and prudence, but if we are to go further, I do not see how we are to stop short of the German system of State Socialism, which gives to every person a pension of some kind or other. It is not the people themselves who are creating State Socialism, but those who are aiding and abetting the Ministers in Power. Then, again, the Bill introduces the mischievous principle of a grant in aid, which is really a system for debauching the Local Authorities by giving them bribes. I also oppose the measure because nearly the whole of our local rates in Scotland—at any rate so far as the counties are concerned—are payable half, and in some cases entirely, by the landlords. It is a burden upon the land, and if this Bill is passed those who got their land upon this condition will get rid of the condition, while in no sense will it relieve them of their privileges. I also object to the method and manner in which the Bill has been brought forward. I was a Member of the Committee which was ostensibly appointed for the purpose of getting information, but the Members of the Committee had no desire to obtain information. They were already convinced, and no time was allowed to the people of Scotland to express their opinion upon so important a matter. Therefore, I intend, as far as I can, to aid my hon. Friend in preventing this conspiracy—I do not use the word in an objectionable sense—on the part of the Government to rush through a most objectionable measure.

(12.46.) MR. CALDWELL (Glasgow, St. Rollox): I also beg to support the Amendment. I am strongly opposed to any system for the superannuation of the police of Scotland. The Bill has been introduced simply because it is regarded as an advisable addition to the measure which has been introduced for England. This is why these Bills are foisted upon the Scotch people, not because they desire them, but because they are essential for England, and it is deemed desirable to supply the same legislation for Scotland. But there is a great difference between England and

Scotland in regard to the superannuation of the police. In England there is a system of police superannuation, but there is none in Scotland, and even when a Liberal Government attempted to introduce it the people of Scotland routed the proposal. In the case of Glasgow every Ward Committee has been up in arms protesting against the Bill. In England you have a Poor Law which gives the able-bodied poor a right to local relief, but in Scotland there is no such law, showing the more independent spirit which animates the Scotch people. With regard to the present Bill, it has only been for a short time before Scotland, but even in that short time it has received the most determined opposition. In Glasgow it is unanimously opposed by the Trades Council, which represents all the great trades of the city, and which has given its reasons why the principle of superannuation ought not to have been allowed. Then, again, you have established County Councils in Scotland, but you have allowed no opportunity of considering this measure. They will not meet until the present month, and they will meet to find the Bill already passed, and a most important change introduced into the domestic economy of Scotland. For my part, I think it is a most serious step to impose legislation of this kind upon a country which possesses different laws from those of England, without giving to the constituted Local Authorities an opportunity, at all events, of being heard. There has been no really honest attempt to obtain the opinion of Scotland. There were only 20 Members of the Committee, and they could only represent the views of 20 constituencies. The rest were entirely misrepresented, and had no opportunity of expressing their opinion. Under these circumstances, I think the Amendment of my hon. Friend is quite reasonable. The Bill makes a most important change in the domestic legislation of Scotland; it imports a new principle into the public finances of Scotland, and it ought, therefore, to be carefully considered by the Local Authorities before it is allowed to become law. To delay the measure until next session would not involve much difficulty, seeing that arrangements have been made under the Local Taxation Bill to provide the money for the present year.

Therefore, no possible disadvantage would arise from delaying the Bill until the Scotch people have had an opportunity of being consulted. The First Lord of the Treasury told the House that there was no desire to push on the measure unless the majority of the Scotch Members were in its favour. There is no such desire on the part of the Scotch Members, and if the measure is forced on during the present Session the responsibility must rest with the Government, and the Government alone. I have much pleasure in supporting the Amendment.

(12.58.) MR. WALLACE (Edinburgh, E.): I join in supporting the Amendment, and in condemning the principle of the Bill. I think that, at any rate, it ought to be deferred until the people of Scotland, and especially the working classes, have had a fuller opportunity of considering it. I believe that if it is forced through by the Government a bad and bitter feeling will be created in Scotland, whereas, if a little longer time were allowed for consideration it is not impossible that there might be a reconciliation of feeling, to a certain extent, among the great masses of the Scotch people, in regard to the essential proposals of the Bill. There are three facts of considerable importance which throw some light upon the real opinion of the people of Scotland. I hold in my hand the copy of a Resolution passed by the Edinburgh and District United Trades' Council—a most representative body. That resolution is to this effect—that the Council, while approving of any scheme of superannuation which would be self-supporting, disapprove most strongly of the present measure, as vicious in principle and calculated to promote the unlimited pension of public servants at the expense of the ratepayers. With regard to the attitude of the Edinburgh Town Council, the Lord Provost's Committee recommended to the Council a general approval of the principle of the Bill, though this recommendation was not accepted by the Council as a whole. A most vigorous opposition was offered to the Bill, with the result that 15 approved and 12 disapproved. A certain compromise has been arrived at by the majority of the Town Council, and the Bill has been re-committed for further consideration, so that the House of Commons is not in possession of the



matured opinion of the people of Edinburgh regarding the principle of the Bill. I think it is clear, beyond contradiction, that there is a very strong feeling on the part of the working classes of Scotland against this measure at the present time, and a very dubious and uncertain feeling, even among those classes of the community which we cannot identify strictly with the artisan and working classes, as they are called. I ask whether with this state of feeling in Scotland it is wise to push on this measure? Even if the measure were a wise one, would it be wise, under such circumstances, to force it on? Would it not be better to exercise a little restraint of temper, rather than to give way to the impulses of a dictatorial instinct, simply for the purpose of defeating us, and letting us see that the Government are masters of the situation? Would it not be better for the Government to hold their hands for, say, six months or nine months longer?

\*(1.5.) MR. PROVAND (Glasgow, Blackfriars, &c.): I desire to enter a few words of protest against this manner of legislating for Scotland. This is another flagrant example of forcing upon Scotland a measure, which, in the opinion of the majority of her Representatives in this House, and in the opinion of the people of Scotland themselves, as far as we have been able to ascertain their views, in the short time at our disposal, is of an undesirable character. I am decidedly of opinion that this question should be left in the hands of the Local Authorities, as it has been up to the present time. In Glasgow there has been some pensioning done by the Local Authorities, and I say it should be left in their hands to give or withhold pensions, as they think proper. They are the best judges. I oppose the Bill chiefly on account of its inequitable character, and its extravagance. Policemen in Scotland, when you take into account their clothing and allowances, are paid at as high or at a higher rate than the average of skilled labour. Yet by this Bill it is proposed to add something like 4s. a week to their wages, because it would take about that sum spread over a period of 25 years to buy an annuity of the amount now proposed to be given as pension. That is my chief ground of objection to this Bill. No doubt some method

*Mr. Wallace*

of pensioning is expedient, but it should be left in the hands of Local Authorities. Why should there be any hurry to pass the Bill in these last days of the Session? We have to come back here in two and a half months, and between that time and the end of the financial year there will be four and a half months, which will afford ample time and opportunity for re-considering this question, and passing a Bill in such a form as to satisfy the people of Scotland within the financial year. Here, however, we have another example of the Government, in reference to Scotch questions, taking the bit between its teeth and passing a Bill by their smoke-room majority in opposition to a majority of the Scotch Members. A few nights ago, in reference to one of the Divisions on this Bill, it was pointed out how many Scotch Members supported the Government. They were, I think, supported by 12 Members, three of whom were official Members, and, therefore, bound to support any proposal of the Government, which left them with nine supporters, or nearly one-eighth, of the Representatives of Scotland. Then, again, numerous resolutions have been passed in Scotland against the measure, and I would ask the Government whether they can quote a single resolution in favour of it; I do not think they can quote one. No Town Council or Local Authority will support it in the form in which it is passing, and I shall, therefore, support the Amendment, in order, if possible, to give the people of Scotland an opportunity to re-consider the question. I hold that all the Members who refuse support to the proposal of the hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Dundee deliberately declare that they will not give the people of Scotland an opportunity of considering this most important Bill, which will form a precedent for the display in a future Session of the remarkable energies of the present Government in the direction of pensioning all classes of public servants. I, therefore, hope to find every Scotch Member except, perhaps, the solitary one I see sitting opposite, supporting my hon. Friend.

(1.14.) THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. P. B. ROBERTSON, Bute): I do not rise for the purpose of prolonging this

discussion, for I hope the House will come to a Division upon it immediately, but rather lest my silence should be misapprehended. Hon. Members have been well within their rights in uttering a protest against a Bill to the principle of which they have been throughout opposed—and I may here acknowledge the course taken by the hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Dundee, last night, who refrained from prolonging the discussions in Committee, his rooted animosity being against the principle as distinguished from the details of the measure. I will not now recapitulate the arguments which have induced the great majority of the House to establish by this Bill a system of police superannuation for Scotland, but I cannot accede to the view that the subject is a novel one to the people of Scotland. For years this question has been a subject of consideration with the authorities and those interested in it, and Bills have come from the Government of which the right hon. Member for South Edinburgh was a Member, which directly affected Scotland in this matter. The subject, therefore, has been before the authorities and the public of Scotland in a definite form for a long time. As to the special points of the present Bill, it does not represent a Party triumph; it embodies the views of successive Governments; it embodies the mature conclusions of hon. Members from Scotland on both sides of the House; it is a Bill which contains material concessions, and is, to a large extent, a compromise; and it rests upon a liberal grant of Imperial funds to the Scottish Police Authorities—a grant which will enable the system to be worked without encroaching on the rates. Accordingly, whatever opinions may be held upon the theory of police superannuation, this Bill, at all events, is one which cannot be objected to on the ground of any burdens falling on the working classes. In these circumstances, I shall not feel surprised if, upon going to a Division, it is found that the prudent proposals which the Bill embodies in legislation is supported, not by a Party majority, but by a large preponderance of Scotch opinion on both sides of the House.

(1.18.) **SIR G. CAMPBELL** (Kirkcaldy, &c.): After what has been said

by my hon. Friends on this side of the House, I think it necessary to say a word to excuse myself for being obliged, through the attitude of my constituency, to connive at the passing of the Bill. My constituency did not shilly shally with the matter, but point blank refused on such short notice at this season of the year to give an opinion upon the Bill. In principle, I entirely agree with the hon. Member for Dundee that, as a matter of right, the Bill ought to be postponed until the people of Scotland have had an opportunity of considering its provisions; but, from the point of view of expediency, I connive at the passing of the Bill, because I think we might go further and fare worse. The Government have had their Moscow, and in their retreat, a few of my hon. Friends and myself, devoted guerillas, have harassed them bag and baggage. Having abandoned nearly all their baggage, the Government are trying to force through a small remnant in the shape of this Superannuation Bill. We harassed them on the English Bill, so that when they came to the Scotch Bill they were most anxious not to see the same tactics renewed by the old enemy, with reinforcements from amongst the Scotch Members. The Scotch measure was, therefore, placed before us in an attenuated form. If it were not passed, the Government might have time to frame another, and with the bad precedent of the English Bill before them might make it stronger than the present measure. I, therefore, am inclined, as I say, to connive at the passing of this Bill. In spite of contrary opinions entertained in many quarters in Scotland, I am in favour of the superannuation of public servants. Under the present systems you find Chief Constables in active employment up to the age of 72, 75, and even 80 years. Well, if it had been the lot of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian to be a Chief Constable, he would, no doubt, have made an excellent one at that age, but there are very few men like him, and I think there are a large number of aged Chief Constables who are inefficient by reason of their advanced age, and should be got rid of. I sympathise with the Glasgow Bailie, who said he wanted the money but not the Bill; but we cannot get the one without the other, and as the

Bill has been attenuated and cut down I do not think it will do much harm.

(1.22.) MR. HUNTER (Aberdeen, N.): I wish to say only one word in explanation of the vote I am about to give. I have supported the Government throughout all the stages of the Bill, but on one condition, that the ratepayers should not be made liable. The Committee came very near cutting out the clause putting liability on the ratepayers. But, considering all the circumstances of the case, though the excessive sum of money given by the Exchequer is more than sufficient to satisfy all the requirements, if the Bill is prudently administered, I shall vote against the Third Reading.

\*(1.23.) MR. C. S. PARKER (Perth): I think it only fair to contradict the allegation of one of my hon. Colleagues from Scotland that the opinion of Scotch Members has been pronounced against the Bill. I have consulted the Division List, and I have found that, except the few who have now spoken against the Third Reading, there are only five who voted against the principle of the measure. It may be admitted that Scotland has been rather hurried in the matter. It is unfortunate that if the Bill is to be passed this Session it was not proceeded with earlier, but it was read a second time six weeks ago, and it has been carefully revised by a Committee made up entirely of Scotch Members. The hon. Member for Aberdeen having supported the Second Reading now votes against the Bill because, as he says, it imposes a liability on the ratepayers; but he admits that with prudence that liability will come to nothing. I think it would have been better to have left out the words objected to, as the liability is to mean nothing; but the Government did not take that course, and, as a result, they have lost the support of the hon. Member for Aberdeen. However, they have the "connivance" of the hon. Member for Kirkcaldy, whatever that may mean. I think there has been ample time for Scottish opinion to be expressed on the measure. From my own constituency I have heard nothing against it. I believe it is the wish of the majority in Scotland, as well as of the majority of the Scotch Members, to accept the money and the Bill as amended. The

*Sir G. Campbell*

principle has been affirmed by a majority of thirty-five to eight among Scotch Members, and the minority seems to be no larger against the Third Reading.

(1.28.) The House divided:—Ayes 109; Noes 26.—(Div. List, No. 237.)

Main Question put, and agreed to.

Bill read the third time.

Verbal Amendment made.

#### FACTORS (SCOTLAND) (No. 2) BILL [LORDS.]—(No. 366.)

##### SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

(1.38.) MR. J. P. B. ROBERTSON: I beg to move the Second Reading. Since the English Bill on this subject was passed it has been urged that its benefits ought to be extended to Scotland. There is really no difference between the general laws of the two countries on the subject, and the slight variances it has been necessary to adopt have been carefully considered. I would recommend the House to adopt the Bill.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*The Lord Advocate.*)

(1.39.) MR. D. CRAWFORD (Lanark, N.E.): I do not rise for the purpose of offering any opposition to this Motion, but I cannot help expressing my regret that the application of the Bill to Scotland was not considered when the main Bill was passed last year. The present Bill is really almost unintelligible. I think it is exceedingly inconvenient for the mercantile classes to have to refer to an Act which does not explain itself, but which refers back to an Act of the previous year.

(1.40.) MR. J. P. B. ROBERTSON: The reason why the Bill is in its present form is that the greatest authority on drafting now living, who is now a Member of the House of Lords, announced that this was the proper form.

MR. E. ROBERTSON: The reason why the Grand Committee last year did not apply the Factors Bill to Scotland was, that the Factors Act did not apply to Scotland. I may point out that in last year's Act enormous changes were made in the terminology of the Statutes—changes so great that they may result in some legal surprises.

(1.41.) MR. CALDWELL: It was considered last year by Scottish Legal Authorities that it would not be wise to include Scotland in the measure then passed, on account of the law of the two countries. I would remark that the present measure was brought forward in the month of July. This is another illustration of an English Act being applied to Scotland before the Local Authorities in Scotland have had an opportunity of pronouncing on the measure in its Scotch form.

Question put, and agreed to.

Bill read a second time, and committed for to-morrow.

EDUCATION OF BLIND AND DEAF-MUTE CHILDREN (SCOTLAND) BILL [LORDS].—(No. 365.)

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clause 3.

(1.45.) MR. BUCHANAN (Edinburgh, W.): I beg to move the Amendment standing in the name of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Sheffield (Mr. Mundella).

Amendment proposed, Clause 3, page 1, line 12, to leave out "sixteen" and insert "eighteen."—(Mr. Buchanan.)

Question proposed, "That the word proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

(1.46.) MR. J. P. B. ROBERTSON: I should have been most happy if I could have acceded to the Amendment, but I must point out that we are by this Bill placing new burdens on the Local Authorities, and it is necessary to proceed with caution. The point has been carefully considered, and I am not able to accede to the Amendment. I am satisfied that, at all events for the present, it would be injudicious to go farther than we are doing with the Bill at present in adding to the burdens of the Local Authorities. I may say I am ready to assent to all the other Amendments standing in the name of the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Mundella).

(1.48.) MR. BUCHANAN: I think it is a matter of regret that the right hon. Gentleman has not seen his way to accede to this Amendment. I do not know whether he will be prepared to

accept 17 years as a compromise. I do not think that the burden that will be imposed on the Local Authorities will be one of very considerable extent, and I am sure it is not the kind of burden that will be objected to either by the Local Authorities or the ratepayers.

(1.50.) MR. J. P. B. ROBERTSON: I am sorry I cannot accept that proposal. It is true the number of children is not very large, but the principle is one of some gravity.

COLONEL NOLAN (Galway, N.): I take some interest in this question as far as my own country is concerned, and I may say I think the principle of the local rates paying nearly exclusively for these children is a wrong one. This is a question of public charity, and I think the whole nation should bear the cost.

\*(1.51.) MR. C. S. PARKER: I am sure the Scotch Members are obliged to the hon. and gallant Member for his opinion on this point, but his remarks might, I think, be used to enforce the appeal made by my hon. Friend the Member for Edinburgh (Mr. Buchanan). He said money spent on purposes of this kind should come from an Imperial source. But only the other day the Government agreed to place £50,000 from Imperial Tax at the disposal of the County Councils in Scotland, and I presume that funds might be available out of that money for this purpose. Considering how far natural infirmity places these children behind ordinary children, I hope the right hon. Gentleman will consent to raise the age to seventeen.

Question put, and agreed to.

Other Amendments agreed to.

Question proposed, "That Clause 3, as amended, stand part of the Bill."

(1.58.) DR. CLARK: This is rather an extraordinary clause. You place these children under the care of the School Board; you give the School Board power to educate, clothe, and maintain them, and you give the Sheriff authority to decide summarily on questions arising between the School Board and the Parochial Board. However, as philanthropic people are anxious that this experiment should be tried, I will raise no objection, especially as I trust that before long the case of the care of the poor

and education will be added to the work of the County Councils.

Question put, and agreed to.

Question proposed, "That Clause 6 stand part of the Bill."

(1.59.) DR. CLARK: I think this the most objectionable clause in the Bill, and I know that 99 per cent. of my constituents would strongly object to it. Personally, I have no objection whatever to a Catholic child being maintained and educated at the expense of Protestants, but it is a new principle, and I think a very objectionable one. I do not see why if a parent is unable to maintain his child he should go to the State and say, "You have got to teach and maintain my child in a school belonging to any special denomination." I suppose if the man were a Mahomedan he could, on the same principle, maintain that the child must be sent to a school where Mahomedanism was taught, and if he held the views of the hon. Member for Northampton his child would have a right to go to a place where agnosticism was taught. I think you are going too far. Where they are boarded out they must be boarded with people of exactly the same denomination, and it might be very difficult in some cases to fulfil this condition. It might be necessary, for instance, to send a very long distance from some districts in Scotland to find a Roman Catholic family with whom a child could be boarded. However, I have no objection, and I am quite aware that the principle has been recognised in Scotland where school fees are paid by Parochial Boards.

(2.1.) COLONEL NOLAN: This proviso is absolutely essential for the protection of the minority, and there is a strong Catholic minority in Scotland deserving protection. Without such a provision it would have been the duty of Irish Members to have taken an interest in the Bill that would have considerably prolonged discussion.

\*(2.2.) MR. C. S. PARKER: I agree that this is necessary for the protection of the minority. It is no new principle, and to that conclusion the hon. Member for Caithness himself seemed to arrive when he mentioned the case of children educated by Parochial Boards. The principle is that in such cases, so far as is

*Dr. Clark*

possible, regard should be had to the religious convictions of parents.

(2.3.) DR. CLARK: I have no sectarian bias on the matter, only it might be very difficult in the boarding-out to find persons belonging to the same religious persuasion.

(2.3.) MR. J. P. B. ROBERTSON: I do not think so. In the case of the Parochial Boards, no friction of the kind has been found to exist.

Other Amendments agreed to.

(2.5.) Bill reported, with Amendments; as amended considered.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a third time."  
—(Mr. J. P. B. Robertson.)

\*MR. SPEAKER: Are there any Amendments?

MR. J. P. B. ROBERTSON: No.

MR. HUNTER (Aberdeen, N.): I think there were some Amendments.

\*MR. SPEAKER: That is why I asked.

MR. J. P. B. ROBERTSON: I said "No" under the impression that there were no Amendments down to Report.

(2.6.) MR. SEXTON (Belfast, W.): To take Committee, Report, and Third Reading at one sitting at a time when Supply is not taken, and the Appropriation Bill not reached, seems rather straining the relaxation of rules usually allowed at this period of the Session.

\*MR. SPEAKER: Only by the consent of the House can it be done; in such a case as the present, if there is the least objection the Bill stands over.

MR. SEXTON: I do not make an objection.

Question put, and agreed to.

Bill read the third time, and passed with Amendments.

CENSUS (IRELAND) BILL.—(No. 386.)

COMMITTEE.

Bill considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clause 1 agreed to.

Clause 2.

(2.10.) MR. W. A. MACDONALD (Queen's Co., Ossory): I think Irish Members interested in this Bill have reason to complain of the way in which it has been dealt with. It may be in

the recollection of the Committee that the Second Reading was taken a fortnight ago, and the Committee stages of the English and Scotch Census Bills were taken on the following day. I do not know why such an interval has been allowed to elapse before taking this stage, and it is unfortunate that several Irish Members interested in the subject have left town in the interval. Reading the three Bills one cannot but be greatly struck with the differences between this Bill and the English and Scotch Bills. The Amendments which I have on the Paper are in no sense intended to obstruct the progress of the Bill; in fact, I have never obstructed the business of the House, and I am not likely to begin the practice on a subject of this kind. Anyone who looks at the Amendments will see from their character that my intention mainly is to assimilate the Census Law in Ireland to that of England and Scotland, and this I wish to do in three particulars principally: first, as regards the mode of taking the census; secondly, as to the nature of the particulars to be inquired into; and thirdly, as to the time when the abstract of the results is to be laid before Parliament. In the first place there is a radical distinction in the ways in which the Irish Bill and the English and Scotch Bills are drawn. In England and Scotland it is provided that in the week ending with the Census day, officials shall leave or cause to be left at every house in the district, a Schedule or paper containing certain definite questions, the answers to which are to be filled in by the occupier, and the paper to be returned. But the Irish Census Bill contains no single word in reference to this matter; there is not a word requiring that a paper shall be left at the house, and, so far as the working of the Bill is concerned, there is nothing to prevent the Constabulary or the Dublin Metropolitan Police, who act as enumerators, calling at the house the day after the Census night and then ascertaining by mere verbal inquiry from the occupants the various particulars sought to be obtained. I daresay I shall be told that in practice the distinction is not so great as it seems in theory, and that in the last Census papers were employed. Yes, they were, but the whole thing was done not by means of papers, but partly by verbal inquiries,

subsequent to the giving out and receiving of papers, inquiries in some cases of a most inquisitorial character, inquiries which I say no enumerators, even if they were of a civil character such as they are in England and Scotland, ought to be allowed to make, still less when they are Members of the Royal Irish Constabulary, having in view the strained relations which often exist between the Constabulary and the people. For instance, an inquiry such as this, I think the Committee will agree, is wholly improper: Persons are returned as deaf and dumb, and a circular is sent round requiring Sub-Inspectors to find out the causes for this affliction, whether it is due to fright, or supposed fright, to the mother before the birth of the child, or whether it may be due to other causes, such as the inter-marriage of cousins. Now, it does seem to me inquiries such as these are highly inquisitorial, and if you adopted the English system, an honest and a straightforward system, setting down distinctly certain questions to be answered, and not going beyond these, then you would have a method that would not discourage those feelings of self-respect which we are anxious to generate among the people. You should go about the business practically and directly by Act of Parliament, and not by instructions from the Lord Lieutenant, and it is for security that this should be done, as in England, with protection for the self-respect and liberties of the people. I beg to move my Amendment.

Amendment proposed, in page 1, line 14, leave out from "shall," to "visit," in line 16, inclusive, and insert—

"Shall in the course of the week ending on the Saturday next before the Census day, leave or cause to be left at."—(Mr. W. Macdonald.)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

\*(2.17.) THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN, Dublin University): I am quite certain, from the character of the Amendments he has put down, and from the tone of the hon. Member's speech, that he and the Government are at one in the endeavour to obtain the same result, namely, to have this Census taken for Ireland in as

perfect a manner as is possible. I am bound to say that I go to a great extent with the speech of the hon. Member. My right hon. Friend and I have considered the matter very carefully, and with the Report of the Census of 1881 before us, in order to see how the work was then carried out. I quite agree with two principles underlying the Amendments of the hon. Member. I think it is desirable there should be a limit placed upon the character and nature of the inquiries, a statutory limit, as in the English and Scotch Bills. This is the first principle which underlies the Amendment of the hon. Member. The second principle he is anxious to enforce is also, I think, a very good one, that the necessary information shall be acquired, as far as possible, by means of papers left at the houses of residents, to be filled up by the occupants, oral inquiry being resorted to only when such information is not given, or to make the information clear. I entirely agree with that. I have gone carefully into the matter, and I find that under the Act of 1880, for the purpose of taking the Census in the following year, certain full, careful, and elaborate directions were issued by the Department, and very elaborate forms were, as a matter of fact, left at houses. With reference to inquiries such as must sometimes arise of a somewhat delicate character in reference to lunatics, idiots, &c., I find every care was taken by instructions to insure these inquiries being made with the utmost delicacy. Now it occurs to the Government that the intention of the hon. Member in both respects can be carried out by an Amendment of the Bill, while preserving in substance the method which has been pursued in Ireland in every Census Act since 1841. I observe that when the Census Act of 1880 was before the House there was a discussion in Committee on various matters of detail, not of the exact character of those raised by the hon. Member, but various matters of detail, and I find that Mr. Shaw, speaking on behalf of the Irish Members, stated that the Bill was perfectly satisfactory to the people of Ireland. Now, the present Bill is perfectly identical in form with the Bill Mr. Shaw then accepted as satisfactory, and I think hon. Members on both sides will agree that the results of the

*Mr. Madden*

inquiries made under the Act of 1880 have been eminently satisfactory, and, so far as the substance of the inquiries and the statistics are concerned, they leave nothing to be desired. But the hon. Member is anxious to go further, and to secure that the language of the Irish Bill should follow that of the English Bill, and that inquiry should not go beyond those questions set down. Well, I would direct the hon. Member's attention to the Amendment of which my hon. Friend has given notice, which I think entirely carries out what we agree is proper to be done, while preserving the machinery of the Irish Acts. This Amendment, which would come in on Clause 4, runs as follows:—

“Subject to the provisions of this Act, the Census shall be taken by means of, and in the manner prescribed by, the several forms and instructions which were issued under the authority of the Act of the Session of the forty-third and forty-fourth years of the reign of Her present Majesty, chapter twenty-eight, and which are contained in the Appendix to the General Report of the Commissioners appointed under that Act, dated the twenty-first day of September, one thousand eight hundred and eighty-two, and presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty, and such matters and particulars as were contained in and prescribed by the said forms and instructions, and no other matters or particulars shall be inserted in the forms and instructions to be prepared under the authority of this Act.”

I have carefully gone into these forms and instructions, and I am in a position to state to the Committee the exact nature of the inquiries which were made, and no inquiry, as the hon. Member will see, beyond these can be made if the Amendment of my right hon. Friend is adopted. I take the details of the Family Returns, which is that with which the Amendments of the hon. Member principally deal. Name and surname; relationship to head of the family; age; sex; religious profession; rank, profession or occupation; condition of marriage; where born; Irish language; whether deaf, dumb, blind, idiot or lunatic. These are the absolute inquiries, and no more; and therefore I think the Amendment of the Chief Secretary will give, in substance, what the hon. Member desires to obtain, and no more. As a matter of convenience, and for purposes of comparison, it is desirable to

alter the form of the Bill as little as possible, and having regard to the machinery for carrying out the work. It will be a safer course, I think, to adhere to the outlines of the Acts passed by successive Parliaments since 1841, rather than to make changes in the working of a system which, in its result, compares not unfavourable with that in England. I certainly would urge the Committee to retain the old form, only making those changes which will ensure the object we have in view.

(2.27.) MR. W. A. MACDONALD: The right hon. Gentleman has quoted Mr. Shaw, the leader of the Irish Party in 1886, in reference to the Bill of that year, but he has not informed the Committee, as I think he should have done, that the words used had reference to the religious census.

\*MR. MADDEN: I said, distinctly, the points of detail under discussion were different, but that Mr. Shaw said of the Bill that it was satisfactory.

MR. W. A. MACDONALD: But it was in reference to the matter under discussion—the religious census. The right hon. Gentleman has referred to the particular form employed by the enumerators in 1881, and he spoke of it as if there had been only one form employed, whereas, in fact, there were several forms. I admit, if there is a limitation to the particular form he cited, then the difficulty will be largely got over. But I do not gather that is the intention, but that the limitation is to include all the forms used in taking the census in 1881. There was a form of inquiry which included information as to the out-buildings in connection with every man's house, and I cannot for the life of me understand what advantage there is knowing whether a particular outhouse is used as a cow-house or a calf-house—I suppose they are distinct in some way—or whether it is a boiling house or anything else. This is an inquisition which will be carried on by the constabulary. I do not see what right the Government have to ask these things, nor do I understand what advantage can possibly be derived from the collection of these statistics. It is well worth noting that on a subject on which information is really desirable, namely, that of sanitary accommodation, not a single word is asked. It is a mon-

strous thing that the police should be directed to make all these inquiries. You only do it because you have been in the habit of governing Ireland as a conquered country, and because the people are terrorised more or less by the police. And then in regard to the educational census, not only are inquiries made as to the number of persons in a school or college on a given day, but also as to the studies in which each person engages. I do not think that such inquiries should be made without the consent of the House is first obtained. The questions as to afflicted persons are very inquisitorial. Not only must the paper set forth the nature of the affliction, but it is asked whether the person afflicted was born so; what is the cause of the affliction; whether it is due to fright, to the blood relationship of the parents, or to hereditary transmission. I say it must be extremely painful for the relatives of these poor people to be asked such questions as these by policemen. It is both ungenerous and unmanly to ask them, and the act is all the worse because you impose a penalty of £5 for refusal to answer. You have established a police terrorism, for you place the constables in a position so to put a question as to induce the people not to answer, and then to punish the refusal. The Government are always telling us that the laws for England and Ireland are equal; if they are, then you will give the Irish people the protection which you give to Englishmen and to Scotchmen, and you will not enforce this inquisitorial system.

\*(2.38.) MR. WEBB (Waterford, W.): We object to this Bill because it differs essentially from the English and Scottish Census Bills. Under the English Bill a definite and clear return to be filled in has to be left at every house; but in the case of Ireland, the police are instructed to put a number of verbal inquiries of a most inquisitorial character. The right hon. Gentleman has quoted Mr. Shaw's expression of approval of the forms which have been in use since 1841. It is true that he did approve them, but it must be remembered that the present temper of the people of Ireland differs from that which prevailed in 1880, and they are not so ready to submit to questioning of this nature. I think it is



sought, by means of this census, to obtain many unnecessary particulars. For instance, the christian and surnames of all inmates of hospitals and asylums are to be given. Why would it not be sufficient to give the initials? I do not see the object of these inquisitorial proceedings, which are made the more objectionable because you employ constables for the work instead of civilians.

(2.43.) **MR. SEXTON** (Belfast, W.): I think the reply of the right hon. Gentleman has not met the objections of my hon. Friend. He desires that the same course shall be pursued in Ireland as is adopted in England, that the census paper shall be left in advance at the house, and that when it has been properly filled up, there shall be no more interrogations about it. I further think there should not be repeated visits, but only one visit, and that the questions put should be relevant to matters not answered on the paper. These inquiries being answered, no further visits should be paid. I am not at all aware that the Chief Secretary's Amendment will prevent the enumerators from causing annoyance and giving offence to the people. The House should remember there is a radical difference between the enumerators in England and in Ireland. In England the particulars are taken by civilians, whose presence is not objectionable to the people, but in Ireland they are taken by the constabulary, and it cannot be disguised that in many districts of the country the relations between the police and the people are such, in consequence of the prosecutions which have been conducted by the constabulary, that there will be a disposition to refuse to answer questions put by them, even though such questions would have been treated as harmless if asked by another person. Again, I would like to know why the inquiry should be more strict, and embrace such a greater variety of subjects in Ireland than it is to in England and Scotland. Surely, what is sufficient in the case of England and Scotland ought to suffice for Ireland. Of course, we are anxious to know what is useful about ourselves. The right hon. Gentleman has stated that Mr. Shaw, in 1880, approved the form of the Bill of that year. But he will not deny that many questions have considerably advanced

*Mr. Webb*

since then, and that the relations between the people and the constabulary have become much more strained. Our ideas with regard to the rights of the people have also advanced, and Irishmen are not now disposed to submit to the same kind of inquisition. Of course, if any public, national, or Imperial purpose is to be served by putting these questions, they ought not to be objected to. But there are a large number of questions in the form, the use of which I cannot discover. What use it is to compel the master of a household to state what members of his household are afflicted with disease? There may be some use in ascertaining the proportion of afflicted people to the rest of the population, but there can be no use in making their afflictions public. Again, what is the use of obtaining the names of persons in hospital suffering from disease? Why should their identity be disclosed? It might be painful, and even injurious, to them. It is all very well to ascertain to what extent a disease prevails, but the identity of individuals should not be disclosed. The Irish people are quite as sensitive as other people in the matter of domestic afflictions and calamities, and I can very well imagine the pain that people in Ireland will feel at being called upon to give these details. In the present circumstances of the country it is extremely necessary that the inquiry should be conducted with every consideration and delicacy. If all these details are gone into there will be a widespread disposition on the part of the people not to answer the questions, and the reliability and usefulness of the census will be brought down to a minimum.

(2.56.) **MR. DILLON** (Mayo, E.): I very warmly support the views of my hon. Friend, and I feel most strongly the necessity of limiting these questions in Ireland. I object to the employment of the constabulary for census purposes. It is perfectly plain that they will desire to inflict annoyance on people whom they consider obnoxious, and will make all kinds of offensive inquiries. They will probably go to a man in an offensive and insulting manner, and when he indignantly refuses to reply to the questions put, the police will have it in their power to get him punished. In view of that, I think the inquiries should be

limited, and, above all, inquiries of a painful or offensive character should not be made. The number and character of the questions to be asked should be limited to the same dimensions as those provided for by the English Act. The Bill is very different from the Bill for Scotland, and I ask, Is there any reason why that should be so? With regard to the provision requiring the names of persons in hospitals suffering from diseases to be furnished, I regard it as nothing more than a piece of useless cruelty, and I hope it will be struck out of the Bill. It is impossible to suppose that it will be in the power of any Government to secure that everyone of its enumerators would be free from spite or some feeling of that kind. It seems to me a useless thing to compel the divulgence of the Christian names and surnames of the persons suffering from various diseases. Such information would have no scientific value whatever. Let them by all means obtain from the doctors of asylums and hospitals such information with respect to the diseases in those institutions as may be necessary to useful medical statistics. But just imagine what would be the result were a doctor, in addition to giving particulars as to the various diseases, to be compelled to give the Christian names and surnames of all the persons suffering from those diseases. I venture to say the hospital would become exceedingly unpopular, and it would be avoided by a great many patients in the future. I think all the necessary information can be obtained without identifying particular persons with particular diseases.

(3.5.) THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.): The hon. Gentleman who has just sat down has, I think, taken a very appropriate view as to the unpopularity of demanding Christian names and surnames of persons suffering from various diseases. But I would point out that the relations between the people and police in 1881 were more acute than they are now, yet I have not heard that any evil arose from the pursuance of the practice by the police in 1881, when the work of the census was carried out without causing any of the evils which now loom so largely in the minds of hon. Gentlemen opposite. But I am prepared to meet hon. Gentlemen opposite, and I

have to express my willingness to provide for a penalty on any enumerator who divulges a secret obtained by him in exercise of his duty. I am prepared to go further. I am quite ready to meet the one or two specified objections which have been raised by the hon. Member for West Belfast or the hon. Gentleman the Member for East Mayo. The hon. Member for West Belfast said that, in spite of the Amendment I have placed on the Paper, it might be possible to demand answers to questions outside those included in the Schedule used under the Act of 1881. I do not think that could happen, but in order to prevent the possibility of it, I am perfectly ready to amend my Amendment, so that no loophole shall remain through which anything of the kind could be done. I have no objection to extend to workhouses the relaxation which has already been granted under the Act of 1881, and I see no reason for requiring the Christian name and surname.

MR. SEXTON: I made another point. I was anxious that the enumerator should not have the power to make recurrent visits and ask fresh questions.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: As regards that point, I have already said that I am prepared to provide that no question outside the form shall be asked. But subsequent questions, from the very nature of the case, must be asked in order to clear up obscure answers. For the sake of accuracy, it would be unfortunate to lay down a provision which would preclude the clearing up of any question not effectually cleared up by the answers already given.

MR. SEXTON: The Act of 1881 included form for second answers, although the answers in the first paper were perfectly conclusive. I think the matter ought to be disposed of in the first paper.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: It is sometimes rather difficult to dispose of the matter in the first paper, and I should be unwilling to allow of less opportunity to obtain information than was the case with regard to the last census. Hon. Gentlemen will see that these statistics are not collected in the interests of a particular Party or Government, but, except for scientific and economical investigation, in the interests of the

population itself. If the statistics of 1891 are not comparable to the statistics of 1881, the information loses a great deal of worth which it would otherwise possess for scientific and economical purposes. I should be sorry indeed that the increased consideration which hon. Gentlemen have given to the subject since the census of 1881, has led them to the conclusion that, in the interests of Ireland, they should have statistics of less value than those of 1881. The hon. Gentlemen seem to think that the questions asked in Ireland are of a specially inquisitorial character, but in reality they are far less minute than those asked in Switzerland and Germany. I hope hon. Gentlemen, therefore, as the Government have shown no indisposition to meet them, and as they have obviously safeguarded in every possible way the collection of statistics similar to those collected without objection in 1881 in Ireland, will not on their part raise any objection to that which is necessary for the continued value of the Irish census statistics.

(3.14.) MR. W. A. MACDONALD: I would point out that there is still a broad line of demarcation between us and the Chief Secretary. According to the Amendment now explained by the Chief Secretary, these subsequent questions will continue to be asked. In fact, all the 21 forms will be put in force, and all these inquisitorial questions about sick and afflicted people will be asked, and repeated visits will be made. In the first Return people are to mention if anybody belonging to them is sick, and then for the subsequent Return the police are to find out, not merely in private houses, but in hospitals, from what diseases the patients are suffering, and how they were acquired. I say there is no right to make such inquiries, which merely harass and persecute the people. Again, you require statistics which I say are of no interest either from a scientific or any other point of view, such as statements relating to out-buildings and so forth. What good is done by ascertaining whether a man has an interest in a cow-house or a piggery. All these statistics are practically useless. I should not object to inquiries which might lead to information of any real value, but I object to such questions as I have referred to, and which are utterly

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unimportant from a statistical, scientific, or any other point of view.

THE CHAIRMAN: I would point out to the hon. Member that he is entering upon a discussion of a very general character, and not confining himself to the Amendment before the Committee. I think the time has come when it is desirable that the discussion should be limited to the Amendment.

(3.18.) MR. SEXTON: Possibly my hon. Friend might have shortened his remarks if the Chief Secretary had agreed to an arrangement under which all these questions could have been put at one visit. We strongly object to two visits from the police in order to get the people to fill up these papers, and this objection applies with special force to the inhabitants of the rural districts. We want to save them a second visit from the police, and I may put that as our first objection, our second objection is that there is no limitation as to hours at which these visits may be paid. We say that they should be made at daylight, as it would be highly inconvenient if they were allowed to be made at night, after dark. There surely can be no objection on the part of the right hon. Gentleman to limiting the hours of these visits to between 10 in the morning and 4 in the afternoon, remembering that they are to be made in the month of April.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: There is no objection whatever to the visits being made by daylight, and I will take care that they shall not be made after dark. With regard to the other point with reference to a second visit, that is a matter upon which I should like to have the opportunity of consulting the Registrar General. I will, therefore, put down the Report stage of the Bill for Friday next, in order that I may have time to make the necessary inquiry.

Question put, and agreed to.

MR. SEXTON: I move that the hours at which the visits shall be paid shall be between 10 in the forenoon and 4 in the afternoon.

Amendment agreed to.

(3.23.) MR. W. A. MACDONALD: I have now to move a further Amendment standing in my name, Clause 2, page 1, line 21, after the word "age" insert

"capacity to read and write." When I first put down this Amendment, I had hoped and expected that the Government would have made the same provision with regard to England and Scotland. It seems to me to be reasonable that they should ascertain whether the people generally could read and write, but I was met by the President of the Local Government Board (Mr. Ritchie) that it would be an invidious thing to ask anyone whether he could read and write. Therefore, the question stands thus: You have no objection to ask an invidious question of the Irish people, while you refuse to put it to those of England and Scotland. The value of the statistics will, of course, be greatly reduced by the want of the means of comparison as between educational attainments of the people of Ireland and Great Britain. I, however, merely move this Amendment and merely leave the matter in the hands of the Committee.

**MR. A. J. BALFOUR:** The Committee will perceive that I can hardly accept this Amendment, because it is inconsistent with the view I laid down a short time ago.

Motion made, and Question, "That these words be there inserted," put, and negatived.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Clause 2, as amended, stand part of the Bill."

(3.25.) **MR. P. J. O'BRIEN** (Tipperary, N.): I think the clause ought not to pass if the work of obtaining the Returns remains in the hands of the police, and I wish earnestly to impress on the Government the desirability of employing in Ireland a similar force to that which is employed in England in obtaining the census statistics. It may be that to-day a body of police may, under the orders of the Chief Secretary, be called upon to smash up a meeting of several thousands of people, and next day to go round to the people's houses seeking information for the purposes of the census. In such a case it is very probable there would be numerous refusals to afford any information whatever. Take the case of Drogheda, where the people are not allowed to travel over the country without passes

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from the police. Are those people likely to give the police any information as to their private affairs? The Government ought to see that only those persons are employed to collect this information who have the respect of the people. Take the case of Tipperary, where we have recently had many baton charges. Is it wise to send the men to ask for information from those whose heads they have so recently smashed? As one of those who had his head smashed, I say it is very unlikely that such persons will give the required information to the police. They would be much more likely to tear up the papers, which in many cases might be regarded as summonses or warrants, because, as a rule, they are the only kind of papers which the police are employed to take to the people. What is likely to happen in such cases as those of Letterkenny, Coolgreany, and the Olphert and Massarene estates? At Coolgreany a man was shot down under the eyes of the police, and no attempt was made by the Government to bring the murderer to justice. In such a place the police will hardly be likely to get the information they may ask for. I would add that even in Belfast, the police, if sent to Sandy Row, would hardly obtain such information from the people. Moreover, it is well-known in Ireland that a traveller who loses some portion of his property is hardly likely to recover it through information given by the people to the police. They will give it to the parish priest, but not to the constabulary. I would suggest, as an alternative, that the Government should employ either the national teachers, the clerks of Unions, the Petty Sessional clerks, the postmen, or the rate collectors; through either or all of those bodies the necessary information might be obtained. It is expecting too much from human nature to suppose that these people who have been treated as the Irish people generally are treated by the police, will give information to members of that force. I would earnestly and respectfully press upon the right hon. Gentleman that if he wants good and satisfactory information, he should employ in its collection a different body of men to the police. I agree with one of my hon. Colleagues as to the necessity

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of limiting the number of questions, and I hope upon the points I have put, the Chief Secretary will be able to give the Committee a satisfactory assurance. Is it not too much to expect of the people that they should submit to be questioned in this way by the police? I think the Government will see that, in the interest of the accuracy of the Census Return, it will be better to carry out my suggestion.

(3.31.) MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I should be sorry were the discussion to degenerate into an argument as to the merits of the police, or the merits of the Irish policy of the present Government. I would remind hon. Members that, on the whole, it appears that the police have been able to carry out those functions in Ireland which are not specially associated with their duty as policemen, to the general satisfaction of the inhabitants, even in those parts of the country where it is urged that they are brought into conflict with the police.

MR. P. J. O'BRIEN: If the right hon. Gentleman refers to the agrarian statistics, we dispute their accuracy.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Yes; but there are other matters. From every inquiry I have been able to make, and from every deduction I have been able to draw from the experience of the last census, I think there will be no reason to fear that collusion and friction between the enumerators and the population which is foreshadowed by hon. Members. If we thought that any such result was likely it would be a matter of grave anxiety to us, but we do not think there is any ground for the ominous forecast which the hon. Members have made.

(3.33.) MR. SEXTON: I think the right hon. Gentleman can hardly deny that the Constabulary Force in Ireland has had imposed on it a great variety of embarrassing functions. These constables are to make inquiries in the district in which they carry out their ordinary duties, and, undoubtedly, if a man has broken a head to-day, he is not the most proper person to make inquiries of the person to-morrow. There can be no doubt that the agents mentioned by my hon. Friend as enumerators would, in

*Mr. P. J. O'Brien*

present circumstances, collect the census more smoothly and more trustworthily than the Constabulary Force. If the right hon. Gentleman will undertake that instructions shall be given enjoining the police, as a matter of duty, that they are to intrude as little as possible on the domestic life of the people, and that in the course of making inquiries they shall comport themselves with courtesy, and in a respectful manner, I shall advise my hon. Friend not to press his objection.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.): If this instruction has to be put into the clause, I do not think the police are competent to carry out the duty.

(3.36.) MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I think the object is met by the general regulations laid down by the Registrar General, but if there is any deficiency in that respect, I shall be glad to see them amended.

MR. W. A. MACDONALD: Will the right hon. Gentleman be willing to issue instructions as to the putting of inquisitorial questions?

MR. SEXTON: Does the Family Return include inquiries as to illness which might be considered of an inquisitorial character?

\*MR. MADDEN: Every care will be taken to issue proper instructions.

Question put, and agreed to.

Clause 4.

(3.39.) Amendment proposed, in page 2, line 19, at the end to add the words—

"Subject to the provisions of this Act, the census shall be taken by means of, and in the manner prescribed by, the several forms and instructions which were issued under the authority of the Act of the Session of the 43rd and 44th years of the reign of Her present Majesty, chapter 28, and which are contained in the appendix to the general Report of the Commissioners appointed under that Act, dated September 21, 1882, and presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty, and such matters and particulars as were contained in, and prescribed by, the said forms and instructions, and no other matters or particulars shall be inserted in the forms and instructions to be prepared under the authority of this Act; and no question shall be put for the purpose of obtaining information other than the information required by such forms and instructions, provided that, in the case of Hospital Returns, it shall be sufficient, instead of the name and surname of each inmate, to

state the initial letters only of such name and surname."—(Mr. A. J. Balfour.)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

(3.42.) MR. SEXTON: The word "hospital" is not sufficient. The same principle ought to be applied to all institutions to which patients are admitted.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Would "hospitals, workhouses, asylums, and gaols," satisfy the hon. Gentleman?

THE CHAIRMAN: That part of the Amendment would more properly come in Clause 3.

(3.43.) MR. SEXTON: What redress will be provided in case the police insist on putting unnecessary questions?

\*MR. MADDEN: I do not know what we can do more than prescribe the questions, and say no others are to be put. Nothing more is done in England.

Amendment amended by the omission of the words from "provided that in the case of hospital Returns," to end.

Amendment, as amended, put, and agreed to.

Clause 5.

(3.44.) MR. SEXTON: I think the words "or further particulars" are unnecessary. They look like an invitation to the police to make excursions into unnecessary matters.

\*MR. MADDEN: The hon. Gentleman is unnecessarily apprehensive.

Clause agreed to.

Clause 5 agreed to.

Clause 6.

(3.45.) MR. W. A. MACDONALD: This is a very important clause, because of the penal consequences. According to the clause, as it stands, anyone is liable to a fine not exceeding £5 for not answering questions put to him, for giving a false question, or for obstructing the police. I propose that, instead of this, you should simply take the provision of the English and Scotch Bill, and impose a penalty for refusing to fill up the papers, or making a false Return. It appears to me very evident that you are going to have a much larger inquiry for Ireland than for England and Scotland. If this inquiry

is to be made a good one, and one that will be of any real use at all, the concurrence of the people is necessary. You ought not to impose penalties unnecessarily. The Government have met us, to a certain extent, in the Amendments they have made. It is now distinctly provided that the Return will be made simply by papers left at people's houses. What is more reasonable than to say that people will be fined if they wilfully refuse to fill up the papers, or wilfully falsify the Return? That is quite in conformity with the custom of England and Scotland, and I think it is as much as you have any right to ask. Take the case of deaf and dumb people. Are you going to ask when and why they became deaf and dumb, because it might happen that an unfortunate mother would not care to say, the affliction was the result of a fright she had before she gave birth to the child. Are you going to prosecute a woman for refusing information on such a matter? You have no right to do anything of the sort.

Amendment proposed, in Clause 6, page 2, line 26, leave out from "every," to "pounds," in line 31, and insert—

"If any occupier wilfully refuses or without lawful excuse neglects to fill up the said schedule to the best of his or her knowledge and belief, or to sign and deliver the same as herein required, or who wilfully makes, signs, or delivers, or causes to be made, signed, or delivered, any false return of all or any of the matters specified in the said schedule, he or she shall forfeit a sum not exceeding five pounds."—(Mr. W. A. Macdonald.)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

(3.50.) MR. SEXTON: I think the point raised by the Amendment of my hon. Friend is well worthy of attention. There is one person in each house who would be naturally called upon to answer, and I think it would be expedient that the penalty should be limited to that person. One of the objects of my hon. Friend is that it should not be at the discretion of the Government to distribute these penalties amongst all the persons in a family, whether or not they were competent to answer the questions or not. I do not think the acceptance of the Amendment would really limit the efficiency of the collec-

tion of the census. What is the penalty in England? If any person refuses to answer, or answers falsely, he may be liable to a fine of £5. The Committee will observe that in England there are only two things for which the penalty can be imposed. In the Irish Bill, however, there is a third cause of penalty, and that is wilfully obstructing. What is this wilful obstruction that is to be punished, which, if it occurs in England, is not to be punished? Wherever there is wilful obstruction there must also be a refusal to answer. I must press for the exclusion of these differentiating words in the Irish Bill.

(3.53.) MR. MADDEN: This clause has been found to work well for a great many years, but, as I understand the hon. Member, he agrees that refusing to answer or wilfully giving a false answer would amount to obstruction. [MR. SEXTON: Yes.] It is possible there may be obstruction quite independent of refusing to answer. For instance, the door may be shut in the enumerator's face [MR. SEXTON: That may happen in England.] I am not responsible for the English Act. The machinery in Ireland for taking the census has been found to work well, and I put it to the hon. Member that there may be obstruction which is something over and above refusing to answer.

(3.54.) SIR H. JAMES (Lancashire, Bury): I would suggest the withdrawal of the clause, and the bringing up of a fresh clause on Report. This Clause 6 was intended to meet cases of the non-answering of questions, but you are now going to make a Return in writing, and, therefore, "answering such questions" in Clause 6 are not apt words to deal with the state of things under the amended Bill. It would be better to re-consider this clause, which I do not think, in its present form, will be of any avail whatever.

(3.55.) MR. SEXTON: I cannot consider the Irish Bill superior to the English Bill, because there are more penalties. You have had the census taken four times in Ireland in the course of the last half century, and what I want to ask the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland is this: Has such obstruction arisen in Ireland as to make this penalty

*Mr. Sexton*

necessary? I am not aware of it. Considering the spirit in which the Debate has been conducted, and the people of Ireland will probably take their tone from the tone of the Debate, I think it would tend to the efficiency of the census if you were to strike out the penalty. I have no fear that any obstruction will be given, and I think it would be really prudent on your part to strike out the penalty.

(3.56.) MR. A. J. BALFOUR: It is agreed that where a man locks his door, so that the police cannot ask the necessary questions, he ought to be punished. It is also agreed that the punishment is not excessive, and it is further agreed that if the words proposed to be omitted are left out it will be possible for the inhabitant to do anything to prevent the necessary questions being put. If any competent lawyer in the House will say the offence of simply shutting the door against the police will be adequately met by the clause, as amended in the way the hon. Gentleman desires, I have not the least objection to the Amendment. If, on the other hand, the Legal Authorities in the House are of opinion that the case of obstruction would not be met by the clause as proposed to be amended, I am sure hon. Gentlemen will agree we ought to leave the clause as it is.

(3.58.) MR. SEXTON: The same thing may occur in England or Scotland, and yet there is no provision such as this in the English or Scottish Bill. I imagine that if you appeal to the people of Ireland in the same intelligent spirit in which you appeal to the people of England and Scotland the same results will follow.

(3.59.) MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Is it to be understood that refusal to answer questions would be regarded as obstruction?

SIR H. JAMES: There are no questions put in England: it is more a case of receiving a paper and filling it up. This clause is intended to meet the case of Clause 2 in the original Bill. Now, you have altered it by adopting the system of making a Return on paper, and yet you are keeping Clause 6 for non-answering questions. What is the meaning of the words "such questions" in Clause 6? Suppose a Return is not

filled up at all, do you mean to have any penalty? If so, your Clause 6 does not provide for it.

\*MR. MADDEN: If a Return is not filled up in England there is a penalty. If a Return is not filled up in Ireland the enumerator calls, and it is for not answering the questions then put that the penalty is inflicted.

SIR H. JAMES: Suppose a person locks his door and will not make a Return, what penalty have you for that?

\*MR. MADDEN: That would be obstructing.

SIR H. JAMES: I do not agree with you.

\*MR. MADDEN: Clearly, if a man shuts his door in the face of the enumerator, whose duty it is to put the questions, he is obstructing the enumerator in the discharge of his duty.

SIR H. JAMES: Why not provide that the penalty shall be inflicted for not making the Return? The present words are certainly ambiguous.

(4.5.) MR. SEXTON: These general words about wilful obstruction may give rise in the hands of an undisciplined constable to no end of abuse. I am persuaded that "refusing to give answers" would cover such a case as shutting the door in the face of the enumerator. The words of which we complain might apply to many things which are not in the contemplation of the Committee.

(4.7.) MR. A. J. BALFOUR: What we desire to penalise is, in the first place, a refusal to make a Return; secondly, a refusal to answer questions which are legally put; and, thirdly, a refusal to allow a question which may be put to be put. We will undertake to bring up a fresh clause on Report which will meet the views of hon. Members.

(4.8.) MR. W. A. MACDONALD: Is it intended that there shall be a penalty in respect of a refusal to answer subsequent questions? A form will be left with a man before the census day. One of the questions to be answered is whether a person is deaf or deaf and dumb. When the paper is filled up, the policeman will take it to his superior officer. The superior officer may see that such and such person is returned as deaf and dumb, and he may require that

it should be stated whether that person was born deaf and dumb. In fact, under this Bill a number of subsequent questions, which are quite unknown in England, may be asked, and I want to know whether any penalty can be inflicted if a person refuses to answer.

(4.9.) MR. SEXTON: I think the principle ought to be accepted, that when a responsible person makes an answer to any question his answer should be accepted, that he should not, by means of subsequent questions, be subjected to a kind of cross-examination.

\*(4.10.) MR. MADDEN: There will be nothing inquisitorial or of the nature of cross-examination. Perhaps, instead of postponing the matter until Report, I could now suggest an Amendment which would meet the views of hon. Members. I suggest that the clause should read—"Every person refusing to allow any such question to be put, or refusing to answer, or wilfully giving a false answer to such questions," taking out the words "or wilfully obstructing."

Question put, and agreed to.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Clause 7, as amended, stand part of the Bill."

(4.11.) MR. SEXTON: You provide a penalty in case a person refuses to answer a proper question put to him, but you provide for no penalty on an enumerator if he puts a question which is not proper. If you do not care about providing for a penalty in such a case, I certainly think the instructions to the enumerators should show most clearly that no unnecessary question is to be put.

\*MR. MADDEN: There shall be a distinct clause in the instructions to that effect.

MR. J. F. X. O'BRIEN (Mayo, S.): You have a penalty for breach of secrecy; why not have a penalty for insolence and unnecessary questions?

Question put, and agreed to.

Clause 8 agreed to.

Clause 9 (The persons taking the accounts to certify and affirm as to their correctness, and deliver them to the officer appointed to receive them).



Amendment proposed, in Clause 6, page 2, line 30, after the word "refusal," to insert "or."—(*Mr. Madden.*)

Question, "That this word be there inserted," put, and agreed to.

Amendment proposed, in Clause 6, page 2, line 30, to leave out the words, "or wilful obstruction."—(*Mr. Madden.*)

Question, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause," put, and negatived.

Clause 6, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 7 (Penalty on persons employed if guilty of wilful default or neglect).

Amendment proposed, in Clause 7, page 2, line 38, after the word "accounts," to insert—

"Or who shall make any communication or disclosure of any information obtained by him in taking the said accounts for any other object than that of rendering the census as complete as possible."—(*Mr. A. J. Balfour.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

\*(4.15.) *MR. WEBB:* We recognise in this Amendment a desire to meet us. I will, therefore, ask leave to withdraw a clause to same effect I had placed on the Paper. We are anxious that the census should be properly taken, and we think that special publicity ought to be given to this clause, and to the instructions to the enumerators regarding the delicacy with which they should pursue their inquiries.

*MR. SEXTON:* What is meant by "allow"?

\**MR. MADDEN:* That applies to every question that could be legally put.

*MR. SEXTON:* I scarcely appreciate the settlement.

\**MR. MADDEN:* If the door was shut in the face of the enumerator that would be met by the words "every person refusing to allow such questions to be put."

*MR. W. A. MACDONALD:* Will the Amendment cover the point I raised as to subsequent questions?

\**MR. MADDEN:* My view is, that when a definite answer is given to a definite question, that answer should not be made the subject of cross-examination. If a subsequent distinct inquiry becomes

necessary, it is a distinct question and must be distinctly answered.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Amendment proposed, in Clause 6, page 2, after the word "to," to insert the words "allow any such questions to be put or."—(*Mr. Madden.*)

Question, "That those words be there inserted," put, and agreed to.

Amendment proposed, in Clause 6, page 2, leave out from the word "them," in line 27, to the word "shall," in line 29.—(*Mr. Madden.*)

Question, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause," put, and negatived.

(4.22.) *MR. W. A. MACDONALD:* I beg to propose to leave out "twelve," in line 39, and insert "five." This is a very reasonable Amendment, and I hope the Government will see their way to accept it. An abstract in the case of England and Scotland is to be laid before Parliament in five months, but in the case of Ireland a period of twelve months is allowed for the preparation of the abstract. The officers in Ireland are not at all over-worked; they are well paid; and I do not see why the Irish abstract should not be presented at the same time as that for England and Scotland.

Amendment proposed, in Clause 9, page 3, line 39, to leave out the word "twelve," and insert "five."—(*Mr. W. A. Macdonald.*)

(4.23.) *MR. A. J. BALFOUR:* As a matter of fact, the Irish Returns were in some former years laid before Parliament sooner than the English Returns, but I think it better not to fix the shorter time in the Bill, as the limited staff in Ireland may possibly not be able to get the Returns ready within the time named.

(4.24.) *MR. SEXTON:* I remember that in 1881 the Irish Department did outstrip the English Department, and that the efficiency of the Department in Ireland was a matter of congratulation in this House at the time. I have no doubt that, for the credit of the Department, the Registrar General will be very happy to abbreviate the period of 12 months as much as possible.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

(4.25.) **MR. W. A. MACDONALD:** I beg to move the second new clause, which I consider to be essential. There are in every country a number of persons who, unfortunately, are houseless, besides many others who are travelling on the day the census is taken, and they ought to be enumerated as far as possible. I leave it to the Chief Secretary to propose a method for obtaining a census of these persons. There is very inadequate provision in the Bill for obtaining a Return as to travellers. Every hotel keeper and lodging-house keeper is required the day after the census day to put down the names of the persons who have visited the hotels or lodging-houses. It seems to me that the proper period to fix would be the census night and not the night after. And, then, as I say, there is no provision at all for endeavouring to enumerate houseless persons, although to render the census complete it is essential that a record of such people should be taken, and to effect it it seems to me that some such clause as that I have put on the Paper should be accepted. I may say that the clause I move is in the English Act. It is as follows:—

"The Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant shall obtain, by such means as shall appear to him best adapted for the purpose, returns of the particulars required by this Act with respect to all houseless persons, and all persons who during the night of the census day were travelling or on shipboard, or for any other reason were not abiding in any house of which account is to be taken by the appointed persons, and shall cause such returns to be included in the abstract to be laid before Parliament."

New Clause (Provision as to houseless persons) brought up, and read the first time.

Question proposed, "That the Clause be read a second time."

(4.29.) **MR. SEXTON:** This provision is contained in the English Act and the Scotch Act, and it is obviously requisite that it should be inserted in the Irish Bill if we are to have a complete census of the population. There will always be a certain number of persons who are not housed, and unless some account is taken of them, the census will not be complete. There cannot be any objection to allowing the police to deal with the matter. The police, I think, would be

best able to do so, and it is a task which might very well be committed to them.

(4.30.) **MR. A. J. BALFOUR:** As it is desirable to have as complete a census as possible, I think I can very properly accept the clause of the hon. Member.

Question put, and agreed to.

Preamble agreed to.

(4.37.) Bill reported; as amended, to be considered to-morrow.

# PUBLIC WORKS LOANS BILL.—(No. 389.)

## COMMITTEE.

Bill considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clause 1.

Amendment again proposed, in page 1, line 27, after the word "esquire," to insert the words "Christopher Thomas Redington, esquire."—(*Mr. Sexton.*)

Question proposed, "That the words 'Christopher Thomas Redington, esquire,' be there inserted."

(4.38.) **THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER** (*MR. GOSCHEN, St. George's, Hanover Square*): The hon. Gentleman has raised the question whether it is desirable that there should be on the Commission some Representative of Ireland, and proposes to move to add the name before the Committee and another name, against which, in the abstract, I do not wish to say a word. But I wish to put it to the hon. Gentleman that it would be entirely against all precedent to move in the House of Commons any addition or substitution in the names of the Commissioners. They are an entirely non-political body, serving on purely honorary terms, and I hope that the hon. Gentleman will not press his Motion. We are quite prepared to recognise the sentiment expressed by the hon. Gentleman that Ireland should be represented on the Board; but I put it to the hon. Member strongly that he should not make the addition of names the subject of a Motion in this House. The name the hon. Member has moved is that of a highly respected Irish representative gentleman, but who has not, I believe, that special financial knowledge which is the qualification of every other gentle-

man whose name is on the Commission. The other name of which the hon. Member has given notice (Mr. A. O'Connor) is that of a Member of this House, who, undoubtedly, has taken considerable part in the discussion of financial questions in this House, and is quite competent to give an opinion on such matters; but it is the name of one whom I may say, without disrespect, that he is distinctly a politician, and his nomination by the vote of this House would be introducing a novelty into the constitution of this Board I should be anxious to deprecate. If the nomination were agreed to, it would lead to other Political Parties nominating their particular Representatives; and I earnestly appeal to the hon. Gentleman to leave the matter in the hands of the Government, when I will undertake to propose a name of a non-political connection which will completely satisfy Irishmen on both sides of the House. I do not wish to cast the slightest reflection on the gentlemen nominated by the hon. Member. I approach this matter from an entirely business point of view, and I hope that the matter will be withdrawn from Parliamentary contest.

(441.) MR. SEXTON (Belfast, W.): The right hon. Gentleman is acute enough to know that he has not given me the slightest satisfaction. The right hon. Gentleman has had ample time to consider the question since Mr. Redington's name was first proposed, and he has not yet suggested the name of which he speaks so vaguely as one that will be generally acceptable. When I moved this name some time ago, the Chancellor of the Exchequer could not resist it except on the ground that he had had no time for consideration and consultation. He has had that time since, and now what is his position? Let me remind the Committee of the circumstances. I found this Board of 16 gentlemen engaged in distributing, by way of loans, money from the Imperial Exchequer, to which Ireland contributes her share; and yet the Board does not contain a single Irishman. This is under a Unionist Government, who profess the desire and the wish that Ireland should take her share in the transaction of Imperial business. The Board, I say, does not contain the name of a single gentleman representing

*Mr. Goschen*

or connected with Ireland. What is the use of talking about objection to the introduction of politics? Three Members of Parliament—two of them supporters of the Government—are on the Board, so that politicians are only to be tabooed when they happen to be Irish. Ireland is interested in these financial matters, and yet from this Board and from the Board in Ireland Irish representation is completely shut out. The right hon. Gentleman makes an appeal to me, but does he realise the position in which I am placed in regard to these names? He does not contest my principle. The principle that Ireland ought to have a representative on the Board cannot be contested, and no exception can be taken to the names I propose. The right hon. Gentleman can only object to the name of Mr. Redington that he is a country gentleman and not a financier, and then he objects to the name of my hon. Friend the Member for East Donegal because, being a financier, he is not a country gentleman, but engaged in politics. It is enough to suggest something that a man is not when we show positive qualifications. Mr. Redington's qualifications are undoubted; he enjoys the favour of the Crown, inasmuch as he has been appointed to the position of Deputy Lieutenant of his county; he has served on the Grand Jury for several years; he has served on a Royal Commission, and assuredly I shall not subject that gentleman to the affront of withdrawing his name after I have put it forward to give effect to the principle for which I contend, and which the right hon. Gentleman does not resist. As for Mr. A. O'Connor, the Government are often enough glad to make use of him. My hon. Friend is on the Chairman's panel, a body of Members against whom no exception can be taken; they occupy a distinguished position in the confidence of the House; and this year he has been at the head of the Standing Committee on Trade, where he has acquitted himself so well that a Cabinet Minister went out of his way to pay my hon. Friend a special compliment, regretting that the Forms of Procedure did not allow the passing of a vote of thanks by the Committee. Amid the wreck and ruin of the legislative work of the Session, such success as the

Government have had with their Bills has been largely due to the efficient direction of the proceedings of the Standing Committee on Trade by my hon. Friend. That is all I have to say. You call us the Separatist Party, and in the name of the Separatist Party to-day I ask you to give some manifestation of the faith you claim to have in Unionist principles when I submit to you these two representative names for the Board engaged in the administration of revenue to which Ireland contributes a considerable share. I shall submit both names to the Committee, and the discredit and dishonour of rejecting them, if they are rejected, will rest on the majority supporting the Government. I shall desire on election platforms no more conclusive proof of the sham, the hollowness, of Unionist professions of equal treatment of the two countries. I shall take a Division on the name of Mr. Redington.

(4.47.) The Committee divided:—  
Ayes 93; Noes 112.—(Div. List, No. 238.)

\***MR. GOSCHEN**: If the hon. Member will permit me, I may make a proposal that may be satisfactory to him. Fully acknowledging as we do the ability of the hon. Member for East Donegal and his competence to deal with financial questions, we should, with even greater reluctance than we did just now, vote against the nomination of the hon. Member. We were unable to accept the two names proposed; but I now make this suggestion to the hon. Member, that, in recognition of the claims of Ireland to representation on the Board, we accept the name of the hon. Member for East Donegal, adding thereto the name of Sir Edward Guinness. This is a name I hope will be accepted by hon. Members opposite.

**MR. SEXTON**: I am perfectly satisfied.

Amendment proposed, in page 1, after line 27, to add "Arthur O'Connor, esquire, M.P."—(*Mr. Sexton.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Amendment proposed, after the name last inserted, to add "Sir Edward Cecil Guinness, Baronet."—(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Clause, as amended, added to the Bill.

Remaining Clauses agreed to.

**THE CHAIRMAN**: The new clauses on the Paper are not in order.

(5.0.) Bill reported; as amended to be considered to-morrow.

#### INFANT LIFE PROTECTION (RE-COMMITTED) BILL.—(No. 408.)

Order for Committee read, and discharged.

Bill withdrawn.

#### EXPIRING LAWS CONTINUANCE BILL. (No. 403.)

##### COMMITTEE.

Bill considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clause 1.

(5.1.) **MR. SEXTON**: I wish to ask whether any new Acts have been put into the Schedule this year? I also wish to know what are the intentions of the Government with regard to the Intoxicating Liquors (Ireland) Bill, which stands upon the Paper? Will not the needs of the ensuing year be sufficiently met by the inclusion of the Sunday Closing Act in the Continuance Bill? Then what is the effect of including in the Schedule three Irish Acts relating to land? I regret to see that both the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Attorney General for Ireland are absent from their places.

**THE CHAIRMAN**: That question should be asked on Clause 2.

Question, "That Clause 1 stand part of the Bill," put, and agreed to.

Clause 2.

**MR. SEXTON**: I have only to put the same question. Perhaps some Member of the Government can answer.

\***THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY** (**MR. W. H. SMITH**, Strand, Westminster): I may explain that the Irish Law Officer had not been able to have any luncheon, and is now getting some refreshment. The right hon. Gentleman will be sent for. I may point out that the Irish Sunday Liquor Bill is in the hands of private Members, and is not

a Government Bill. If the Members interested can find an opportunity for bringing the Bill forward, it is not the intention of the Government to place obstacles in their way; but, in order to guard against all eventualities, the Government have included in the Continuance Bill the Irish Sunday Closing Act.

MR. STOREY (Sunderland): I wish to ask for an assurance that the Government will not permit private Members' Bills, including the Irish Liquor Bill, to be brought in at the end of Government business after a prolonged Sitting. Now that the 12 o'clock Rule has been suspended, Government business can go on until any hour in the morning. It would not be right to allow private Bills to be taken at 3 or 4 a.m.

\*MR. W. H. SMITH: I must remind the hon. Member that the Resolution carried yesterday applies only to Government business. The Liquor Bill is not a Ministerial measure, and, therefore, the suspension of the 12 o'clock Rule will not apply.

MR. STOREY: The point of my inquiry is this: Government business may go on to any hour of the morning, and a private Member would be kept waiting. What I suggest is that the Government should undertake to oppose the Bill. Otherwise a private Member who objects to it might be kept in his place until 3 o'clock in the morning simply to say "I object."

MR. HOWELL (Bethnal Green, N.E.): I wish to know whether the Government, during the Recess, will consider the propriety of making some of these Bills permanent Acts. Many of them have been Continuance Bills for a great number of years. If they are worthy of being kept on the Statute Book year after year, surely it is time some of them were made permanent Acts.

MR. WINTERBOTHAM (Gloucester, Cirencester): I appeal to the First Lord of the Treasury not to accede to the request of the hon. Member for Sunderland. Why should private Members be prevented by the Government from getting their Bills through? If the hon. Member objects to any Bill—being, perhaps, the only Member who objects to it—it is surely not too much to expect

*Mr. W. H. Smith*

that he should be in his place when it comes on. The effect of the hon. Member's suggestion is that no private Bill should go through after 12 o'clock.

(5.8.) MR. E. HARRINGTON (Kerry, W.): I find that paragraph 6 of the Schedule relates to the county cess in Scotland. I wish to impress upon the Government the uselessness of continuing a Bill of this kind. Apparently, there is no inherent power of enforcing penalties on the cess collector. There was the case of a collector in Kerry last year who ran away with £2,000, and there was the case brought before the House of another collector who had £42,000 in the bank credited to his own name, and not in the name of the county. These serious irregularities occur, and the Lord Lieutenant has no power to enforce that there shall be regularity in the administration of the public funds. I think it is too much to pass this blank cheque, as it were, to the Grand Juries of Ireland, who can do what they like with the public money, and actually employ the Irish Police to collect the money out of which the public are robbed and cheated by these collectors. I merely wish to emphasise the fact that the people have no control over these Grand Juries, which are not representative, and are virtually created by the Lord Lieutenant.

\* (5.10.) MR. MURPHY (Dublin, St. Patrick's): I am sorry the right hon. Gentleman the Irish Attorney General is not in his place, because I should like to get some explanation of the continuance of the dwellings of the Working Classes (Ireland) Act. An Act has been passed this Session for the purpose of consolidating all these enactments relating to the dwellings of the working classes, and it very likely repeals this Act which you now include in the Expiring Laws Continuance Bill.

MR. SEXTON: The Act to which my hon. Friend refers is an old Act, and I do not think you could make much of it one way or the other. With regard to the question I asked of the Irish Law Officer, I think we know what he will say, and that we need not wait for him. Question, "That Clause 2 stand part of the Bill," put, and agreed to.

[Mr. MADDEN entered the House.]

Schedule.

Mr. SEXTON: Now that the Attorney General for Ireland is here, I wish to ask him what will be the precise effect of continuing for a year three of the Irish Land Acts?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN, Dublin University): The hon. Gentleman asked why in the Schedule reference is made to the Leaseholders' Clause in the Act of 1887. The object is to extend for another year the time during which leaseholders can make applications under the Act of 1887.

Mr. SEXTON: Is it the object to continue the officials of the Land Commission?

Mr. MADDEN: Yes; it is the object to continue them for another year.

Schedule agreed to.

Preamble agreed to.

Bill reported, without Amendment; to be read the third time to-morrow.

#### SUPPLY—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

##### CLASS II.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £7,533 be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1891, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Office of Her Majesty's Secretary for Scotland and Subordinate Officers."

\*(5.13.) Mr. MARJORIBANKS (Berwickshire): I rise to move to reduce the salary of the Secretary for Scotland by the sum of £100. I wish, first, to draw attention to the great inconvenience caused to Scotch Members by the postponement of the Scotch Estimates to this very late period of the Session. Had the Votes been taken in their regular order, it would have been possible to discuss many most interesting points which must now be passed over in comparative silence. The second point to which I wish to call attention is the manner in which the Secretary for Scotland has treated the Scotch fishery interest. I myself have never made

these Scotch fishery subjects a Party question, because it is one on which I think both sides of the House may not only agree, but may do much good by that agreement. I have to complain, however, of the treatment which this matter has received at the hands of the Secretary for Scotland, and doubtless this is a matter which is very much a personal one as between the noble Lord the Secretary for Scotland and myself. About three years ago the Secretary for Scotland asked me to preside over a Committee to inquire into the mussel fisheries of Scotland and to report upon that and other cognate matters. Accordingly, I and two Colleagues entered upon that inquiry, and we made a Report which I was assured was a very reasonable and moderate Report. I then asked the Secretary for Scotland what course he intended to take upon that question, and he said would it not be better for me to put my views and those of my Colleagues in the form of a Bill. I said I would do so, and accordingly I carried that promise out. A Bill was drawn up, and the principal part of that Bill was the giving to Scotland of the same advantages which England already possesses in regard to District Fisheries Committees. England obtained these advantages two years ago, and we naturally desired that they should be conferred upon us; but when our Bill was formed, objection was taken to the method adopted for the introduction of a representative element on the Scottish Fishery Board. It was thought that the proposals for the election of representative members were too vague, and accordingly the Government, when that Bill was introduced last Session, opposed it. This Session I re-introduced the Bill with some Amendment especially relating to the point on which objection was taken the year before. As an illustration of the character of that Bill, I would state that on the back of the measure beside the names of hon. Members sitting on this side of the House from all parts of Scotland are those of the hon. Members representing Inverness (Mr. Finlay) and Argyllshire (Mr. Malcolm). I do not think the House would be inclined to class these two gentlemen with any radical or revolutionary proposal, and both of them have told me they think the

Bill an excellent one, and that they agree with every word it contains, the hon. Member for Argyllshire being himself particularly interested in those matters which the provisions relative to the mussel fisheries would effect. But, nevertheless, I was again met by the *non possumus* of the other side of the House, although that opposition was to a certain extent modified by the promise of the Government that they would introduce a Bill upon the subject in another place. Well, Sir, I kept on putting questions as to when that Bill was to see the light. It so happened that the noble Lord the Secretary for Scotland took a trip to the Northern Isles about the middle of the Session, and none of us were able to find him, because he was beating about among the Orkneys. His absence under these circumstances was assigned by the Government as a reason for the late introduction of the measure. At last that Bill did appear, and what did I find? Why, that it was actually drafted from my own measure; that is to say, it was my own Bill cut down and mutilated. That fact gave me the hope that it would be proceeded with; but when, eventually, it came before the House of Lords; the Secretary for Scotland said he could see no chance of carrying the measure through, and therefore he moved the discharge of the Order. I cannot understand what valid reason there was for such a course. I regarded the Bill as a very modest attempt to realise the object we had in view; and I was prepared to accept the Government measure, not, perhaps, with gratitude, but at any rate on the principle that half a loaf is better than no bread, in a belief, and certainly in the hope, that I might have been enabled to improve it to some extent. There was one provision in that Bill which proposed to divide the Scotch coasts into four district areas. I should have tried to extend that number, my own Bill having originally provided for six District Committees, but I had considerable doubt as to whether the number should be six or eight. I do not, however, wish to go into all the minutiae of the Bill. What I wish to put before the Committee is that England, having already its District Fishery Committees, and all sides agreeing that it is impossible for

*Mr. Marjoribanks*

us to satisfactorily manage our Scotch Fisheries without some such arrangement, the Government having also indicated their opinion that a considerable reform is needed, especially in regard to the constitution of the Scottish Fishery Board, and in the management of the mussel fisheries of Scotland by the appointment of a Committee over which I had the honour to preside, it is, I say, a scandal and a shame that nothing should have been done this Session on so important a matter, about which there was practically a general agreement. I suggested earlier in the Session that the two Bills should be referred to a Select Committee; and if the Government had assented to that course, we should have been able to take a great step in advance in regard to our Scotch fishery business this Session. For the reasons I have just given, I, now beg to move the reduction of the Vote for the salary of the Secretary for Scotland by £100.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Item A (Salaries), be reduced by £100, part of the Salary of the Secretary for Scotland.—(*Mr. Marjoribanks.*)

(5.23.) MR. MUNRO FERGUSON (Leith, &c.): I desire briefly to second the Amendment of my right hon. Friend. When we realise in Scotland that nothing has been done in these matters during the present Session, great discontent will be created throughout the fishing community. You can find time to wrangle for a couple of days over a question of how a few thousand pounds are to be expended in connection with the local taxation scheme, and yet you say it is impossible to consider a Bill such as that brought on by my right hon. Friend and adopted by the Government for dealing with important and vital interests affecting the Scotch fisheries. The subject of the reform of the Scotch Fishery Board is one which is constantly being discussed among the fishers of the North. It is one on which deep feeling is entertained. The body as it exists is one that has done little or no good; it has removed very few evils, and there is very slight hope that it will ever serve any really useful purpose. At any rate, the complaints which have at different times been addressed to the Board by the

fishermen of Scotland have received very scant attention.

**THE CHAIRMAN:** I would point out to the hon. Member that his remarks are getting somewhat beyond the proposal contained in the Amendment.

**MR. MUNRO FERGUSON:** I was only emphasising certain matters on which the people of Scotland were anxious that there should be legislation during the current Session. I will, however, only add that I extremely regret that nothing has been done in this direction, and that this subject should have been treated with culpable neglect by Her Majesty's Government.

(5.26.) **THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. P. B. ROBERTSON, Bute):** I think hon. Members will see that, looking at the period of the Session at which we have arrived, and at the amount of business which must necessarily be got through, it would be impossible to pass such a Bill as has been recommended by the right hon. Gentleman opposite, especially when it is remembered that the right hon. Gentleman has just indicated much larger and more ambitious views than those to which the Government propose by their Bill to give effect. Were those views enforced by the right hon. Gentleman and his friends it is clear that it would be practically impossible to secure the passing of such a measure. The withdrawal of the Bill has, therefore, been inevitable, but at the same time there can be no doubt that its introduction has had good effect of placing on record a definite, although perhaps, a moderate proposal. I trust that hereafter, when this matter comes up for practical treatment, we shall be enabled, as I hope will be the case from what has been said by the right hon. Gentleman, to secure the co-operation of hon. Members on both sides of the House to secure a reasonable and satisfactory proposal on this important subject. I will not now enter into details with regard to this question, especially after the rulings we have had from the Chair, but I can assure the Committee that the Government will bear in mind the anxiety that has been expressed in many quarters that there should be legislation on this subject, and that they will give a full consideration to the reasonableness of the views that

have been expressed during this discussion.

\*(5.30.) **MR. MARJORIBANKS:** I can hardly accept the explanation which has just been given by the right hon. Gentleman as satisfactory, because I cannot think the Government has been so pressed for time in regard to this matter that they could not have brought forward at an earlier period some measure on the subject. My Report on the mussel fisheries was presented to the House in 1889, and I subsequently introduced a Bill which was practically the same as my Bill of this Session, except as regards mere points of detail. In fact, last Session I was thanked for the valuable contribution I was said to have made on this subject, and I was assured that the matter would be carefully considered during the Recess. Therefore, I can hardly conceive what excuse the right hon. Gentleman and the Government of which he is a Member can have for not having proceeded with a Bill on the subject this Session. If those who preside over the Scotch Department were really anxious to deal with this important question they ought to have produced their Bill at the beginning of the Session after the consideration they were supposed to have given to the subject during the Recess.

(5.32.) **MR. A. SUTHERLAND (Sutherland):** I join in the regret which has been expressed that the Government have not dealt with this matter in relation to the constitution of the Scotch Fishery Board this Session, but at any rate we have been enabled to extract a promise from the right hon. and learned Gentleman that next Session the Government will proceed to consider that matter and deal with it in a practical way. The fact that the Government have agreed to take the question up at all is tantamount to the expression of an opinion that the existing Board is entirely out of date. I trust, therefore, that after the promise just made by the right hon. and learned Gentleman we shall have a Bill next Session very much in advance of the proposal hitherto made, and that some tangible result will be arrived at. If my right hon. Friend goes to a Division on his Amendment, I shall have much pleasure in supporting him, because I cannot but join in the protest which has



been made against the Government's neglect of the Scotch fishing interest.

\* (5.34.) MR. ANSTRUTHER (St. Andrews, &c.): I have only to say that I feel it my duty to support the Amendment of my right hon. Friend, and, in doing so, I must express my regret that no reform of the Scotch Fishery Board has been carried by the Government this Session. There is among the fishing community of Scotland a widespread feeling that the organisation and administration of the Fishery Board should be improved. If the Amendment of my right hon. Friend is pressed, I shall be bound to give my vote in its favour as an expression of my disappointment.

(5.35.) The Committee divided:—Ayes 79; Noes 113.—(Div. List, No. 239.)

(5.43.) MR. E. ROBERTSON (Dundee): I have now to move the reduction of this Vote by the sum of £50, in order to make a protest on one point in connection with the Secretary's Office. Most of the Scotch Members on this side of the House hold a strong opinion that the Secretary of Scotland ought to be a Member of this House, and not of the House of Lords. I am well aware that in the conditions under which this Vote comes before the House it is impossible to attempt anything like an adequate discussion of this question, and I would guard myself against any misunderstanding by stating that I do not wish to say a word against Lord Lothian personally, because I believe the Scotch Members generally are perfectly well satisfied as to the personal qualifications of the noble Lord. Nor do I desire to say anything derogatory to the character and conduct of the right hon. and learned Gentleman who is in this House the representative of the Secretary for Scotland, but I must protest against the system of keeping the Secretary for Scotland in a House in which we cannot have recourse to him. We believe that the office he holds was created with the intention that the Scotch Secretary should be in this House, but as long as the post is filled by a Member of the other House it will fail to receive the confidence of those who sit in this Assembly. Having said this, I will content myself with

*Mr. A. Sutherland*

simply moving the reduction of the Vote by £50.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Item (a) (Salaries), be reduced by £50, part of the Salary of the Secretary for Scotland."—(Mr. Edmund Robertson.)

(5.47.) MR. HUNTER (Aberdeen, N.): This is a most important question in connection with the office of Secretary for Scotland. Every year we have to complain of the manner in which Scotch business is conducted, and one of the principal grounds of our complaint arises from the fact that the gentleman responsible for the conduct of Scotch business is not a Member of this House, and therefore inaccessible to its Members; and the result is that communication between Members of this House and the Secretary sitting in the other House is practically impossible. Another serious injury to Scotch business arises from the fact that in regard to Scotch measures the Lord Advocate, who represents in this House the Secretary of State, is here simply as an agent instead of as the principal. Great difficulty thus arises, because the Lord Advocate is not always in a position to consult his chief on questions that arise in Debates in this House. We desire, therefore, to enter an emphatic protest against a system which greatly reduces the efficiency of the office. If we do not succeed in inducing the present Government to make the change we desire, I trust that at any rate their successors in office will give some consideration to Scotch opinion and see that that change is effectuated.

(5.50.) The Committee divided:—Ayes 64; Noes 105.—(Div. List, No. 240.)

Original Question again proposed.

(5.58.) MR. ASHER (Elgin, &c.): There is a matter connected with this Vote of some importance to my constituents to which I desire to call the attention of the Committee. I allude to the scheme of the Educational Endowment Commissioners for the administration of certain endowments in the County of Banff. I know that I should not be in order in discussing the altera-

tion which has been made upon that scheme, but my constituents have grave cause for complaint as to the course taken by the Secretary for Scotland in this matter. A deputation, consisting of the Duke of Fife, the hon. Member for Banff (Mr. Duff), and myself, and a large number of gentlemen representing the educational interests of Banffshire, waited on the Secretary for Scotland for the purpose of asking him so to frame the scheme as to make the bursaries under it tenable in schools for higher education to be approved by the Scotch Education Department, and which were near the bursars' homes. The Secretary for Scotland adopted the views of the deputation, and remitted the scheme to the Commissioners, who altered it accordingly, and it was thereafter approved in that form by the Scotch Education Department. My constituents, of course, assumed that the scheme which had been thus adjusted would have the support of the Government. But on the morning of the day on which the House adjourned for the Easter Recess, a Motion was made by the hon. Baronet the Member for Ipswich for undoing the very thing the deputation had got the Secretary for Scotland to get inserted in the scheme. The right hon. and learned Gentleman who represents the Scotch Department in this House voted in favour of this Motion without giving any explanation of the unusual course he was adopting. Under these circumstances I say we have serious cause for complaint, and we are entitled to know whether the Secretary for Scotland has changed his mind, or whether the Scotch Education Department has changed its mind, and if so why this change was not communicated to the deputation who waited upon the Secretary for Scotland. I accept entirely the responsibility of not being in my place to defend the scheme as it stood. That is not the question. The question is, whether we were not entitled to look to the Secretary for Scotland to take care, after what had taken place with regard to the adjustment of the scheme, that the scheme and the views embodied in it and approved of by the Scotch Education Department should receive the support of the Government

in this House. This is the only opportunity I have had of bringing the matter before the House. I thought the occurrence I have mentioned must have happened through an oversight, and I, therefore, introduced a Bill for the purpose of restoring the scheme to the form in which it stood when it passed the Education Department. I have had no opportunity of discussing this matter in connection with that Bill, the measure having been systematically blocked by the Government and the hon. Member for Ipswich since its introduction. So far as I have been able to discover there is not a single Scotch Member in the House opposed to the Bill—

THE CHAIRMAN: Order, order!

\*MR. ASHER: I may, Sir, have gone beyond the limits of the question before the Committee, but my point is that we are entitled to complain that the Secretary for Scotland did not take care that the alteration which had been introduced into the scheme of arrangement with him would be supported by the Representative of the Scotch Education Department in this House, or at any rate that he did not give us notice of any change of opinion or intention so as to put us on our guard.

(6.4.) MR. MARJORIBANKS: As my constituents are very much interested in this question I wish to endorse the views of my hon. and learned Friend. My constituents are sorely vexed about the matter. Throughout the County of Banff, except in one parish, the people are unanimous in wishing that the views of the Commissioners had been carried out. I am at a loss to understand how it was that the Lord Advocate opposed the views of his Colleague Lord Balfour of Burleigh. The Commission recommended a certain course, which was adopted by the Government, but subsequently the hon. Member for Ipswich—a Scotchman, but not a Scotch Member—brought forward a Motion by which the recommendation was upset. The First Lord of the Treasury voted for his Colleague Lord Balfour of Burleigh, but the right hon. and learned Gentleman supported the Amendment, and,

very naturally, my constituents were very much astonished at what took place. I cannot go into the merits of this question, but I would emphasise the statement of my hon. and learned Friend who expressed surprise at the representative of a Scotch Department going directly against the views of the Commission.

(6.6.) MR. J. P. B. ROBERTSON: I cannot help thinking that the speeches we have just heard arise from a misconception of the position of the Government as to a scheme of this kind. The hon. Member for Banffshire goes the length of saying that because Lord Balfour of Burleigh was a party to a certain scheme that, therefore, we were bound to adhere to it. That is altogether erroneous. What has occurred is this. These schemes require, in the first place, to obtain the sanction of the Scotch Education Department. That sanction is given, not on the footing of any absolute or implicit approval, but as showing that the Scotch Education Department do not see cause to interfere with the scheme. The scheme then has to lie on the Table of the House, when a Motion may be made to reject it. In several cases, when schemes have received the approval of the Scotch Education Department the Government have formally agreed to Motions to reject them. That took place in two instances only a few weeks before this Banff scheme came up, namely, in the cases of the Fergusson bequest and the Orphan Hospital of Edinburgh. In each case the Government intimated that the Motion to reject the scheme would not be opposed. In the case under discussion the Government left the matter open, and the Government Tellers were not employed. The hon. and learned Gentleman opposite will see that he goes too far when he attributes misconduct to a Member of the Government every time he votes for the rejection of a scheme which has received the *imprimatur* of the Scotch Education Department. In this case we did not cast the weight of the Government against the scheme, but left it an open question, and, that being so, every

*Mr. Marjoribanks*

Member on this Bench who was impressed by the statement of the hon. Member for Ipswich very naturally voted with him. All that can be said against the Secretary for Scotland is that he received a deputation, and listened with great patience to their statements, the result being that the scheme was remitted to the Commissioners and altered in accordance with their view; but that did not preclude the Government from taking the course they did when the scheme came before them in the House, that is to say, from allowing it to be considered on its merits.

\*(6.9.) MR. ASHER: I do not for a moment suggest that the Government are bound to support all the schemes of the Commissioners, but in this instance the Secretary for Scotland had arranged the terms of the scheme, and we therefore had a right to expect that the Government in the House of Commons would support the views of the Secretary for Scotland. I addressed a question to the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Lord Advocate a short time ago, as to the course he took in regard to this scheme, and he informed me that he had been convinced by the arguments of the hon. Member for Ipswich. I then, naturally, looked at the reports of the observations of that hon. Member, but neither in *Hansard* nor in the *Times* could anything in the form of an argument be found. The right hon. and learned Gentleman has never given a single reason for the change of opinion of the Secretary for Scotland.

(6.11.) MR. CRAWFORD (Lanark, N.E.): I am glad this point has been brought before the House, as it is a matter which has excited a good deal of feeling throughout Scotland. The doctrine laid down by the Lord Advocate in this case is an important one. He says that when the Commissioners have framed a scheme and submitted it to the Education Department—

THE CHAIRMAN: This is irregular save under very special circumstances, which bear on alterations made in schemes through the influence of the Secretary for Scotland. If the right hon. Gentleman desires to discuss these schemes he must wait for the Scotch Education Vote.

MR. CRAWFORD: I was going to discuss the action of the Secretary for Scotland as Vice President of the Education Board in regard to these schemes.

THE CHAIRMAN: His action as a member of the Scotch Education Board must be discussed on the Scotch Education Vote. There were special circumstances which made the first part of the discussion not inappropriate.

MR. CRAWFORD: I will only say that I entirely demur to the doctrine of the Lord Advocate, that the Government are entitled to throw over schemes which are approved by the Secretary for Scotland, as head of the Education Department.

(6.14.) MR. LABOUCHERE (Northampton): We have had a great many interesting discussions, because these are Scotch matters, but the English taxpayer is entirely lost sight of. The Votes are put off to such a time that it is almost impossible for the advocates of economy with any effect to call attention to the most gross and reckless waste on the part of the Government in regard to these Votes. This is a new office, created only a short time ago, and yet I find that there is a Secretary for Scotland at a salary of £2,000 a year, an Assistant Permanent Secretary at a salary of £1,500, and another Under Secretary at a salary of £1,000. Besides these officials there are five clerks, who really do whatever business there is to do in the office, and two private secretaries, six messengers, and five charwomen. I would point out that whenever these new offices are established, instead of distributing the work fairly, and taking a sufficiency of men to do it, the Government immediately foist into high places a number of gentlemen with the sole object of giving them salaries. That is the result of the policy of the right hon. Gentleman, and of the Estimates being put off from one year to another. I think the attention of the public ought to be drawn to the matter.

(6.16.) MR. BARCLAY (Forfarshire): I desire to say, having had business negotiations with the Scotch Office, that the

offices in the Department are by no means sinecures. I should say that instead of there being an excess of clerks there is a deficiency.

SIR G. CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.): I have often called attention to this matter, but have refrained from doing so to-day, because I wished to save time, and because I am a patriotic Scotchman, and this is money which goes to Scotland. I think care should be taken to properly organise these Departments, and to see that highly-paid officials are not appointed to do the work which, properly speaking, should be done by ordinary clerks.

(6.17.) DR. CLARK (Caithness): The Assistant Permanent Secretary is only paid at the rate of an ordinary clerk in the English Home Office, next door to the Scotch Office. The Secretary for Scotland only receives £2,000 a year, whereas the Secretary for Scotland gets £5,000. In connection with Scotland, everything seems to be screwed down to the lowest.

Question put, and agreed to.

2. £3,795, to complete the sum for Lunacy Commission, Scotland.

3. £4,025, to complete the sum for the Registrar General's Office, Scotland.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."

(6.18.) MR. BRYCE (Aberdeen, S.): I hope we shall be able to dispose of the Foreign Office Vote as well as the Scotch Estimates to-morrow.

(6.19.) MR. LABOUCHERE: I think we should have some explanation as to the meaning of this proposal to report Progress. Yesterday the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the House proposed that the Rules should be suspended, so that we might go on for any length of time. Is that only to apply to Sittings after 12 o'clock? If so, my strictures of yesterday are correct, and the right hon. Gentleman wants to force us to sit after midnight, and to pass Votes when our energies are exhausted.

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At present, our energies are not exhausted—mine are not. I am quite fresh, and am ready to go on to a reasonable hour—to 11 or 12 o'clock. I think it right to draw attention to the conduct of the Government in this matter, for it shows how hollow and loose are their assertions when they charge us with impeding the progress of Business. As a matter of fact, the object of this Motion to report Progress is to enable Ministers to go and indulge in an orgie in another part of London with a corrupt Corporation. To enable this to be done, the Session is to last one day longer. After this, I hope the right hon. Gentleman opposite will not complain of my humble efforts to advance the business of this House.

\*(6.21.) MR. W. H. SMITH: I shall always be careful not to attribute to the hon. Gentleman anything which he does not attribute to himself. No one has insisted more on the orderly conduct of business than the hon. Member for Northampton—always, Sir, from his own point of view. I am in the recollection of the House, I know, when I say that it is not customary to sit much beyond 6 o'clock on Wednesdays, and, recognising that great progress has been made within the last two days, I do not think it fair to impose too heavy a task on hon. Members. As regards the Foreign Office Vote, referred to by the hon. Member for Aberdeen, I am entirely in the hands of the House, and I have undertaken to place the Vote as first Order of the Day after the Bills have been disposed of, which undertaking has met with the approval of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Edinburgh (Mr. Childers). If the House generally wishes that the Vote shall be taken before the Scotch Votes, I am perfectly willing to accept such an arrangement. I cannot ask the House to sit to an unreasonable hour on Thursday, but if the Scotch Estimates are completed at 10 or 11 o'clock, there would be no objection to take the Foreign Office Vote then. However, as I say, I am entirely in the hands of the House, having, earlier in the day, promised that the Vote shall be taken as the first Order on Friday.

*Mr. Labouchere*

(6.25.) MR. BRYCE: The right hon. Gentleman has not quite understood me. I did not suggest that, the Scotch Estimates having been introduced, they should be stopped in order to interpose the Foreign Office Vote, but that the Foreign Office Vote should be taken after the Scotch Estimates are concluded.

\*MR. W. H. SMITH: I am perfectly prepared to assent to that. I could not ask the House to sit to an unreasonable hour to consider the Foreign Office Vote. If the Scotch Estimates should be concluded to-morrow at a reasonable hour—say 10 or 11 o'clock—there would be no objection to going on with the Foreign Office Vote.

(6.26.) MR. LABOUCHERE: I think there was a definite arrangement made at the commencement of to-day's Sitting that the Foreign Office Vote should be taken on Friday. The object was that there should be a clear day for the discussion, and that it should take place at a reasonable hour. I do not say it should not go on till a little after 12, but that it should not be continued till 1, 2, or 3 o'clock in the morning. Will the right hon. Gentleman agree to report Progress at about half-past 12 if he takes the Foreign Office Vote to-morrow?

\*(6.27.) MR. W. H. SMITH: If we finish the Scotch Estimates to-morrow at 10 or half-past 10 there would be every desire to meet the views of the hon. Member for Aberdeen, and if the discussion has not been completed by, say, 1 o'clock to report Progress.

\*MR. PROVAND: Are we to understand that the Scotch Votes will be taken first to-morrow?

\*MR. W. H. SMITH: After the Bills.

Resolutions to be reported To-morrow,  
Committee to sit again To-morrow.

It being after Six of the clock, Mr. Speaker adjourned the House without Question put.

House adjourned at half after  
Six o'clock.

## HOUSE OF LORDS,

*Thursday, 7th August, 1890.*EDUCATION OF BLIND AND DEAF-MUTE CHILDREN (SCOTLAND) BILL.  
(No. 123.)

Returned from the Commons agreed to, with amendments: The said amendments to be considered on Monday next.

## PARTNERSHIP BILL.—(No. 153.)

Returned from the Commons agreed to, with amendments: The said amendments to be considered To-morrow.

## LOCAL TAXATION (CUSTOM AND EXCISE) DUTIES BILL.

Brought from the Commons; Read 1<sup>st</sup> (*The Earl of Jersey*); to be printed; and to be read 2<sup>nd</sup> on Monday next. (No. 261.)

## POLICE BILL.

Brought from the Commons; Read 1<sup>st</sup> (*The Lord De Ramsey*); to be printed; and to be read 2<sup>nd</sup> on Monday next. (No. 262.)

## POLICE (SCOTLAND) BILL.

Brought from the Commons; Read 1<sup>st</sup> (*The Lord Ker, M. Lothian*); to be printed; and to be read 2<sup>nd</sup> on Monday next. (No. 263.)

## ALDERSHOT ROADS BILL.—(No. 219.)

Read 3<sup>rd</sup> (according to order) with the amendments, and passed, and returned to the Commons.

## BANKRUPTCY BILL.—(No. 237.)

Read 3<sup>rd</sup> (according to order), with the amendments; further amendments made; Bill passed, and returned to the Commons.

## HOUSING OF THE WORKING CLASSES BILL.—(No. 253.)

House in Committee (on Re-commitment) (according to order); Bill reported without further amendment; and to be read 3<sup>rd</sup> to-morrow.

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## TENANTS COMPENSATION BILL.

(No. 254.)

House in Committee (on Re-commitment) (according to order); Bill reported without further amendment; and to be read 3<sup>rd</sup> on Tuesday next.

METROPOLIS MANAGEMENT AMENDMENT ACT (1862) AMENDMENT BILL.  
—(No. 213.)

House in Committee (on Re-commitment) (according to order); Bill reported without further amendment; and to be read 3<sup>rd</sup> on Tuesday next.

## METROPOLIS MANAGEMENT AND BUILDING ACTS AMENDMENT BILL,

*now*

## METROPOLIS MANAGEMENT AMENDMENT BILL.—(No. 252.)

House in Committee (according to order.)

## Clause 3.

\***LORD STANLEY OF ALDERLEY:** My Lords, there are two Bills before the House in relation to Metropolitan buildings. It is rather singular that this, which is a public Bill contains no provision to prevent such monstrosities as the Hankey Buildings and Queen Ann's Mansions. The County Council Bill has a clause to prevent houses being erected above 70 feet in height, but the noble Lord the Chairman of the Select Committee has struck out that limit and has altered it to 90 feet, and two storeys in the roof, so that the height of the building altogether may be raised to 105 feet, as it is impossible to make a story less than 7 feet, and allowing a foot for a floor it gives 15 feet. The County Council Bill is a private Bill, and up to the present time it has not been communicated to the Metropolitan Members, and very few of your Lordships, I imagine, have seen that Bill. The Board of Works do not appear to have taken any part in it. The answer given to Lord Hardinge was that they would be glad to see any efforts which he might make successful, and that anything he attempted to carry out would receive the warm support of the Office of Works. Nothing further has been done in that sense. My Lords, these enormous buildings are not only very unsightly, but entail very great danger, especially danger

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from fire. I think the noble Lord the Chairman of the Committee took no evidence upon the subject of danger from fire, but if he had it would not, I think, have been of much value, because the precautions against fire in these very high buildings only consist of cisterns in the roof with hydrants to be applied when occasion requires. But it is quite certain that many people would be lost in case of fire in these high buildings, because it would be trusting to a broken reed to expect that suddenly roused people in the middle of the night, perhaps frightened women, would be able to set those hydrants to work. Any of your Lordships who have seen the large hotels in Paris must know how very dangerous they are. Besides, the rooms in the roof would not always be healthy in summer, they would be most unwholesome, and they cannot be properly provided with fires in the winter. The Amendments which I have placed on the Paper I will not press now, as they might come more appropriately upon the County Council Bill, but I think it is for the convenience of the House that this discussion should take place at the present time, for every day the attendance in the House gets smaller. I propose to point out what is regarded as the sanitary scale, that is the height of buildings shall not exceed the width of the street. That is already the Statutory provision with regard to new streets, and in old streets, it should be taken into consideration in any Amendment that might be made as to the height of the houses. If the question of the manner in which old streets have been built is to be gone into, I think Her Majesty's Government will meet the desires of everybody if they will appoint a Select Committee next Session to go into this question of the erection of these very high buildings in the Metropolis. I understand that Baron Hausmann in Paris endeavoured to follow the same sanitary scale, that is to say, the height of the houses not exceeding the width of the street; but in London it is not always possible to follow that out. Here there are some streets fully as narrow as those in Paris, such as Jermyn Street, for instance. That may be done in Paris which cannot be done here in consequence of the dampness of the climate and the narrowness and darkness of

*Lord Stanley of Alderley*

the streets. There is one thing upon which I must compliment the Chairman of the Select Committee, and that is the clause which he has permitted to be added in page 36, providing that where, as in some streets already, such as Victoria Street, there are at present gaps, the new houses shall be of the same height as the existing buildings. That is a very good provision, and gets rid of some of the difficulties which many persons have urged against any alteration in height as the provision now stands in the Bill, that is the height of 90 feet. I should like to add, with regard to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, who have a large amount of property in the Metropolis, that the Secretary told me the Commissioners would not raise a finger to increase the limit, which had originally been fixed of 70 feet. They are very good judges on the subject. I heard one person say that those who had proposed this knew nothing about their business and were sacrificing property, but I do not think that is the case; on the contrary, by showing themselves moderate they would be more likely to obtain sanction to their proposals without opposition, the same would be the case with Government Offices. I hope some of your Lordships will enter into the discussion, which up to the present has been carried on almost entirely with closed doors. There have been so many other subjects before the public that it has not been discussed in the Press, as so important a matter, I think, should have been, because there can be no doubt that buildings 105 feet in height in the Metropolis will be very dangerous and unhealthy, and especially dangerous from fire. I move the Amendment which stands in my name.

Amendment moved, after Clause 3, insert as a new clause—

"After the passing of this Act, it shall not be lawful to erect a building higher than what is allowed by the sanitary scale sanctioned by the late Metropolitan Board of Works, namely, the height not to exceed the width of the street, nor to exceed seventy feet where there is an open space in front of the building, without the sanction of the county council, after the application to the county council shall have been duly advertised."—(*The Lord Stanley of Alderley.*)

LORD HERSCHELL: No doubt it is a very interesting subject which the noble Lord has raised for discussion, but it has

not really reference to the Bill which is now in Committee, which does not deal with buildings, or the height of buildings. It has great relevance, no doubt, to another Bill which is now before your Lordships' House, which has passed from a Select Committee and come back to your Lordships, and which will have to be considered either to-morrow or on some future occasion. That Bill deals with this specific question of the height of houses. My noble Friend is afraid that when that Bill comes on the number of your Lordships present will be even more limited than to-day, but I am afraid that is hardly a reason for discussing upon this Bill a proposition which really arises on another Bill. We can hardly insert such a clause as he suggests in this Bill when there is another analogous Bill which is coming before your Lordships after it has been dealt with by the Select Committee. I am not without some sympathy with the noble Lord in his desire to prevent these very high buildings being erected in London, but, after all, that seems to me to be a question which cannot properly be discussed on the present occasion.

\***LORD STANLEY OF ALDERLEY**: I withdraw my Amendment.

Amendment (by leave of the House) withdrawn.

Report of Amendments to be received to-morrow.

#### PUBLIC LIBRARIES ACTS AMENDMENT BILL—(No. 205.)

##### THIRD READING.

Order of the Day for the Third Reading, read.

Bill read 3<sup>a</sup> (according to order).

\***LORD THRING**: The Amendment which has been proposed in this Bill will, I am sure, commend itself to your Lordships' House. It is merely to provide that where land in the Metropolis or in large towns is devoted expressly by the Trust upon which it is held for an open space, it shall not be built upon by virtue of the provisions of this Act.

Amendment moved, in Clause 8, page 3, line 21, insert—

"Provided that land situated in the metropolis or in any town of over twenty thousand inhabitants which is held on trusts to be pre-

served as an open space, or on trusts which prohibit building thereon, shall not be granted or conveyed for the purposes of this Act."—*(The Lord Thring.)*

Agreed to.

Bill passed, and returned to the Commons.

#### DIRECTORS LIABILITY BILL—(No. 242.)

Amendment reported (according to order); and Bill to be read 3<sup>a</sup> To-morrow.

#### CENSUS (ENGLAND AND WALES) BILL. (No. 226.)

Read 3<sup>a</sup> (according to order), with the amendment, and passed, and returned to the Commons.

#### MARRIAGES IN BRITISH EMBASSIES, &c. BILL—(No. 167.)

Read 3<sup>a</sup> (according to order), with the amendments; further amendments made: Bill passed, and returned to the Commons.

#### ROYAL UNITED SERVICE INSTITUTION.

**VISCOUNT SIDMOUTH**, in rising to inquire the intentions of Her Majesty's Government respecting the future accommodation of the Royal United Service Institution's Museum and Library; and to move for Correspondence between the Council of the Institution and Her Majesty's Government, said: My Lords, the Institution referred to in the Question which I rise to ask, has been, as your Lordships are aware, established for a great number of years, and has received a certain amount of support from the Government. The value of the Institution as regards its monetary position has very greatly increased during the last 50 years. I think they began with stock of the value of £40 or £50; that stock has now increased, and the value of the models, engravings, and many other articles, which are of the utmost value to both the Naval and Military Services, is about £20,000. The books, which, when they first commenced, were very small in number, have now increased to a very large library, which is most valuable for Military and Naval purposes, and that library is valued at £23,000. The subscriptions have doubled. Such of your Lordships as have attended the



various lectures, which are given during the season about once a week, must be perfectly aware of what immense value those lectures are to both Services. I may say they are attended not only by the most prominent members of both the Military and Naval Services, but that officers from the private fleets as well as engineers of great eminence attend those discussions and render the proceedings of the utmost possible value. If your Lordships have attended, as I have no doubt many have, you must be perfectly aware that some of the most distinguished officers in the Army and Navy take a lively interest and a very prominent part in those discussions; and whilst the scientific character of the Navy, as well as of the Army, is gradually increasing, the discussions of the newest subjects in science which take place there are of the utmost value to both Services. We have had meetings there presided over by the illustrious Duke the Commander-in-Chief, by His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh, and by the different First Lords of the Admiralty. Last year a deputation waited upon the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and I should mention, as showing what a precarious position the Institution now stands in, that this most valuable Museum is now crowded into a dark building where there is not room for anybody to examine its contents, or even a small portion of them; and the building itself is so dilapidated that it probably will not last many years longer. Moreover, they are in this precarious position: that the building is Government property; they are under notice to quit; and may be turned out at any moment. Her Majesty's Government have from time to time made, not exactly promises, but have held out very great hopes of assistance, and I was myself present about two years ago when the First Lord of the Admiralty used language which led us to hope that the Government certainly intended to give a new building or to provide facilities for procuring a new one. Since then an address has been presented to His Royal Highness the Commander-in-Chief on the subject, and a deputation has waited on the Chancellor of the Exchequer. At first the answers given on behalf of the Government were tolerably encouraging, but I am sorry to

*Viscount Sidmouth*

say on the last occasion (I think it was last month) the Chancellor of the Exchequer, or the First Lord of the Admiralty, after communication with the Chancellor of the Exchequer said the matter was hung up and that he could afford no hope to the Institution of any immediate assistance being given. Your Lordships are perfectly aware that the Institution and its valuable museum stand upon threatened ground. There are alterations going on in every direction round it, and the building itself is a perfect disgrace to the locality. I do venture to ask that Her Majesty's Government will give their attention to this matter, which is one of the utmost importance to the Military and Naval Services; both Services are interested in it, and the benefit which has been conferred by it I am sure no one who is connected with either of those Services will venture for a moment to deny.

Moved,

"That there be laid before this House, Correspondence between the Council of the Royal United Service Institution and Her Majesty's Government respecting the future accommodation of the museum and library of the Institution."—(*The Viscount Sidmouth.*)

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (EARL BROWNLAW): In the absence of the Prime Minister I have to state that this question has not been at all lost sight of; on the contrary, it is still under consideration, but it is considered that, pending a decision, it would be undesirable to produce the correspondence which has passed on the subject.

VISCOUNT SIDMOUTH: I withdraw the Motion after what the noble Earl has stated, but I am really rather surprised that the Government should object to produce the correspondence.

A noble LORD: I believe the correspondence is not yet completed.

Motion (by leave of the House) withdrawn.

#### PROPOSED DOCK AT GIBRALTAR.

##### QUESTION—OBSERVATIONS.

VISCOUNT SIDMOUTH, in rising to ask for information as to the proposed dock at Gibraltar, said: My Lords, before the close of the Session, I wish to ask Her Majesty's Government the question which stands in my name with reference

to the proposed dock at Gibraltar. In April last Lord Elphinstone informed the House that the Admiralty were taking the matter in hand, and that they were extremely anxious that the dock should be commenced as soon as possible. As, however, I have been informed that nothing has been done, and seeing that the Session is nearly at an end, I should like to hear definitely from a Member of the Government whether anything has been done in the matter or not.

**EARL BROWNLOW:** In answer to the question of the noble Viscount, I have to state that up to the present time no final decision has been arrived at as to the manner in which the construction of the proposed dock at Gibraltar will be carried out. I believe it was stated by Lord Elphinstone on the 24th April, in reply to the noble Viscount, that difficulties had arisen in carrying out the original proposals, and I am informed that since that time the whole matter has been under the consideration of a Departmental Committee. I am further informed that the Committee have now completed their work; but though the inquiry has been concluded, up to the present they have not reported to the Admiralty.

#### THE ATLANTIC CATTLE TRAFFIC.

##### QUESTION—OBSERVATIONS.

**EARL DE LA WARR,** in rising to ask Her Majesty's Government whether they propose to take any steps to regulate the Atlantic cattle traffic; and whether the Act of 1878 gives sufficient power to the Privy Council to provide proper accommodation for the transit of cattle; also, to move for a Return of Transatlantic ships which arrived in British ports with live cattle in the years 1888 and 1889, showing the losses sustained by each ship during the voyage, said: I wish to ask your Lordships' attention for a few moments to the condition in which cattle are found to arrive in this country which are brought over from the other side of the Atlantic. I believe a Bill was introduced into the other House of Parliament this Session bearing upon the subject; but it appears that that Bill, like, I am afraid, several other Bills, is about to be dropped for the present. I therefore venture to

ask for some little information from Her Majesty's Government as to whether any steps have been taken to impose more stringent regulations than now exist with regard to the accommodation for cattle on board these transatlantic ships. I know it has been sometimes mentioned that it would be very desirable that no live cattle should be transported from the other side of the Atlantic owing to the great difficulties attendant upon the traffic; but I do not wish now to enter upon that question. I think, however, it is a matter of the greatest importance to prevent the large amount of suffering and cruelty, besides loss of animals, which now exist, and that some very stringent regulations should be imposed by Her Majesty's Government to prevent these very serious cases of cruelty and loss of cattle. Now, to give your Lordships very shortly an idea of what has been going on, it has been reported that a deputation has waited upon Sir Michael Hicks Beach, consisting of Members of Parliament, on the subject of Mr. Plimsoll's Bill bearing upon this question, and Sir Michael Hicks Beach said, "The loss of animals shipped on some of these transatlantic vessels is horrible." I have a list of ships which arrived in British ports during 1888 and 1889, and I will read to your Lordships the names of some of the ships giving the numbers of animals which were lost:—The *Palestine* lost 168 out of 344 cattle; the *Blenheim* lost 128 out of 204; the *Rialto* lost 314 out of 328; the *North Durham* lost 281 out of 380. That was in 1888; and in 1889 the *Oxford* lost 151 out of 187; the *Iowa* lost 519 out of 625; the *Lake Superior* lost 313 out of 470; and the *Manitoba* 204 out of 246. By this it appears that the loss of cattle was over two-thirds of the animals shipped. Now, assuming this to be correct as reported, what I would ask your Lordships to do is to authorise the verification by a Parliamentary Return of the particulars here given, which, I conclude, only forms a part of the subject. At the same time I wish to ask Her Majesty's Government whether any steps are proposed to be taken to regulate this traffic for the future, and whether there is not already sufficient power in the Act of 1878, as I believe there is, given to the Privy Council to ensure proper accommodation

in the transit of cattle. I beg to move for the Return mentioned in my Notice of Motion.

Moved—

"That there be laid before this House, Return of Transatlantic ships which arrived in British ports with live cattle in the years 1888 and 1889, showing the losses sustained by each ship during the voyage."—(*The Earl De La Warr.*)

\*THE PAYMASTER GENERAL (The Earl of JERSEY): There is no doubt whatever that the subject to which the noble Earl has drawn attention is one which must excite our compassion, and I am glad to think that the answer I have to give him will prove satisfactory, at least, I hope so. A Departmental Committee of the Board of Trade and Board of Agriculture has been appointed to consider what further regulations may be necessary for protecting animals from unnecessary suffering during their transit by sea, and I believe it held its first meeting to-day. There is ample power given by the Act of 1878 for, making regulations in regard to the transit of cattle by sea. As regards the Return which is asked for, a similar Motion has been made in the other House of Parliament. The Return has been granted, and has been ordered to be printed, but it has not yet been circulated. It will be issued shortly, and, therefore, I presume the noble Earl will not require to have a duplicate Return made for this House.

EARL DE LA WARR: Then I withdraw the Motion for the Return.

Motion (by leave of the House), withdrawn.

#### THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT (SCOTLAND) ACT.

##### QUESTIONS—OBSERVATIONS.

\*THE EARL OF WEMYSS, in rising to ask the Secretary for Scotland whether County Councils, having in view the economical administration of the Local Government (Scotland) Act, may, under Sub-section 2, of Section 52, consistently with the spirit and intention of the said Act, appoint, by arrangement with the District Committees, medical officers and sanitary inspectors, who shall act as the officers and inspectors alike of the Council and of the districts, said: I have a question on the Paper which I wish to

*Earl de la Warr*

put to my noble Friend the Secretary of State for Scotland. It is a question which affects Scotland in particular; but it is a question which affects all your Lordships more or less, as it refers to the administration by County Councils of Local Government as between the County Councils and the District Committees. There are not yet, I believe, District Committees in England, but there is a prospect of there being a District Local Government in the form of District Committees in England at no distant period. Now, my object is, if possible, to ascertain whether the course which I think might be pursued under the Act, is one which is in accordance with the spirit and intention of that Act, and with a view to economy. There is no doubt that popular feeling as to rates is becoming very strong, both as regards rates in the country and rates in towns. This morning I was for a considerable time attending my duties as a Vestryman in St. James', and the question which came up there was the question of rates and their rapid and very great increase. In the parish of St. James's rates have risen to 4s. in £1—that is, a fifth of a man's income. So strong is the feeling that some limit ought to be put to rating, that I have given notice of a question which I shall not put until Parliament meets again. I have merely put it down in order that Her Majesty's Government may take it into consideration. It is to this effect: To ask Her Majesty's Government if they will bring in a Bill for the purpose of fixing the amount of rating by the London County Council, the London School Board, and other Metropolitan Municipal Authorities. So much for the feeling in London. In my own county this is the sort of thing with regard to rates that we have to deal with, and I think nothing gives a worse picture of the position of affairs throughout the agricultural districts than the figures which I have to submit to your Lordships. County Councils may not give us better government, or less expensive government; but I think they have done this, they have forced the members of those Councils to go more narrowly into this question of expenditure and rates than they would have done had not this system of Local Government been established. We have had to do that in my

county, and I find that this is the state of affairs there. As regards the county in general the valuation, in 1845, was £246,000; in 1880, it was £354,000; and in 1889, it had fallen to £244,000. That is the county valuation in what is generally supposed to be a prosperous county, the County of Haddington. That is, in 1889-90, it is £2,000 less than it was in the year 1845. But how, as to the rates and assessment? Why the assessment which was in the year 1845 £8,000 is £17,000 on the reduced valuation of 1889. Let me take the case of an estate in that county; the rents of that estate are down 25 per cent., while the taxation or rates are up 50 per cent. Now, I think, under those circumstances, it is desirable that this new Local Government Act in Scotland, and everywhere else, should be administered with due regard, of course, to efficiency, but also with the utmost regard to all possible economy. As regards the sanitary provisions under that Act, there is a provision by Sub-section 2 of Section 52 by which, by an arrangement between the District Committees and the County Council, the medical officers of the districts or of the County Councils may be made to do double duty—that the officers of the district shall be officers of the Council. On the other hand, it is possible to appoint a head officer, who may or may not be resident, as a sort of hi-rarch, with sanitary officers under him. That means the displacement of existing medical officers and Sanitary Inspectors; it means a great deal of heart-burning and a great deal of friction; and I cannot but think that this provision was introduced by the noble Lord into his Bill with a view to the more full, and, at the same time, more economical, administration of the Public Health Acts, without raising questions which are invidious as regards the merits of the different local Medical and Sanitary Authorities, and creating, as I have said, much friction, heart-burning, and jealousy. On the other hand, I have heard it said that such a provision would not be in accordance with the intention of the Act. I ask, why, then, is there such a provision in it? My firm belief is that it is in accordance alike with the spirit and the intention of the Act, and that it will tend, as I

believe, to the good working of the Act in the different counties of Scotland. There is, moreover, in case of any difficulty arising, an appeal to the Board of Supervision, and, besides that, it would be competent for the County Council to take the opinion of some medical authority upon sanitary matters, if any special occasion arises, as they can now take a legal opinion upon ordinary law and other matters. I think, then, it was intended under this Act that County Councils should, if they think fit, act in the way I have ventured to suggest, and it is with a view of getting this matter cleared up that I now put the question which stands in my name.

THE MARQUESS OF HUNTLY: Before the noble Marquess replies to my noble Friend's question, which I have no doubt in my own mind will be in the affirmative, I should like to allude to the subject under discussion, as it is one of great importance in Scotland, and I do so also as Chairman of the Public Health Committee in my own county. I do not apprehend the very great difficulties which the noble Earl does. I think the matter will depend entirely upon the management of the County Council as between it and the District Committee. In our own case what we have done is this: we have resolved at once, in accordance with the Act, to appoint a head Sanitary Inspector; we have proceeded to appoint a Sanitary Inspector for the County of Aberdeen; we have then suggested to the District Committees that his services should be at their disposal, and that he should have the supervision of the local Sanitary Inspectors. We were, of course, alarmed at the extraordinary volume of expenditure we might have had to rush into if we appointed Sanitary Inspectors all over the districts, and we have approached this question prudently. Hitherto the Public Health Acts in Scotland have been administered at a very low cost indeed. I can tell your Lordships that the Public Health Acts for the whole county of Aberdeen, comprising 87 parishes, have been administered by medical officers and inspectors, at yearly salaries of £267 altogether. There is a medical officer for each parish, and a Sanitary Inspector for each parish, and it is very easy to see that the salaries of those

in the transit of cattle. I beg to move for the Return mentioned in my Notice of Motion.

Moved—

"That there be laid before this House, Return of Transatlantic ships which arrived in British ports with live cattle in the years 1888 and 1889, showing the losses sustained by each ship during the voyage."—(*The Earl De La Warr.*)

\*THE PAYMASTER GENERAL (The Earl of JERSEY): There is no doubt whatever that the subject to which the noble Earl has drawn attention is one which must excite our compassion, and I am glad to think that the answer I have to give him will prove satisfactory, at least, I hope so. A Departmental Committee of the Board of Trade and Board of Agriculture has been appointed to consider what further regulations may be necessary for protecting animals from unnecessary suffering during their transit by sea, and I believe it held its first meeting to-day. There is ample power given by the Act of 1878 for, making regulations in regard to the transit of cattle by sea. As regards the Return which is asked for, a similar Motion has been made in the other House of Parliament. The Return has been granted, and has been ordered to be printed, but it has not yet been circulated. It will be issued shortly, and, therefore, I presume the noble Earl will not require to have a duplicate Return made for this House.

EARL DE LA WARR: Then I withdraw the Motion for the Return.

Motion (by leave of the House), withdrawn.

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\*THE EARL OF WEMYSS, in rising to ask the Secretary for Scotland whether County Councils, having in view the economical administration of the Local Government (Scotland) Act, may, under Sub-section 2, of Section 52, consistently with the spirit and intention of the said Act, appoint, by arrangement with the District Committees, medical officers and sanitary inspectors, who shall act as the officers and Inspectors alike of the Council and of the districts, said: I have a question on the Paper which I wish to

*Earl de la Warr*

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that he must understand that any opinion which I give is simply an opinion of my own, because it is impossible for me or anyone else to give a legal interpretation of an Act of Parliament. That can only be done by a Judicial Tribunal. I should like to make one more observation before I reply to the noble Earl's question. I have gathered from his speech that there is an impression in his mind that there has been some extravagance on the part of the County Councils, or some tendency on the part of the County Councils to extravagance in the management of the county business. I do not know whether I am mistaken in that or not, but as far as I am concerned, I think the County Councils have entered upon their new duties with every desire to carry them out with efficiency and economy combined. With regard to the question put by the noble Earl, I think the remarks which fell from the noble Marquess opposite have pretty nearly answered that question. Much depends upon what the object of the noble Earl is in asking the question. He refers to Section 52 of the Local Government (Scotland) Act. He states very truly that the County Councils are bound to appoint medical officers and Sanitary Inspectors for the county, but Sub-section 2 modifies that to this extent, that the County Councils, by consent, and by mutual arrangement with the District Committees, may appoint the County Sanitary Inspectors and medical officers as officials for the different districts. I think that sub-section was inserted in the Act with the obvious intention of economy, because it tends rather to discourage, as far as might be desirable, the appointment of separate medical officers, and separate Sanitary Inspectors in every district in the county. Of course, if the county officers are appointed district officers also, no doubt great economy will be effected. But, as far as I gathered from the speech of the noble Earl, his object is to get an opinion from me that it is desirable, and that it would be within the scope and intention of the Act that all the district officers, as such, should be appointed county officers. I am bound to tell him that I do not think that that is within the intention of the

Act, and I think it is pretty obvious it cannot be so, because from the clause, if looked at, it is evident the whole object of the arrangement is that the county officials shall supervise and inspect the work of the district officials. If you appoint the latter to be county officials, they would simply be revising and inspecting their own work. Under those circumstances it would not be a very desirable arrangement, even if it were within the scope of the Act that such an arrangement should be carried into effect. I fail to see where the question of economy comes in. Take the case of the county in which the noble Earl is interested. There are 10 medical officers in that county with districts of larger or smaller size. Some of those Inspectors receive £5, and one of them receives not more than 30s. salary. If those officers are discharged they will be entitled now to some sort of superannuation. Still the amount which would come to them under salaries of that amount would not be very ruinous. On the other hand, I think a large saving would be effected to the county if such arrangements under Clause 52 could be carried into effect, and if the county officers were made, where desirable, district officials as well. I am bound to say that I think the wording of the section would give that interpretation which the noble Earl puts upon it, but that as far as the intention of it goes, in reference to the noble Earl's last question, I do not think that is within the intention of the clause. With regard to what fell from the noble Earl opposite (Lord Camperdown) there is but one point which I need refer to, and that is the question of the Conference he suggests between the Chairmen of Committees, or conveners of the different County Councils. I entirely agree with what has fallen from the noble Earl, and I think nothing could be more desirable than that there should be some general idea arrived at in regard to carrying out the work of the County Councils. I think that should be brought about by some such means as he has suggested, and I do not think any difficulty whatever would be raised by the Board of Supervision in carrying out such an idea. All I can say is, that if I can do anything in the matter I shall be most happy to do so. I think

men would be about from £3 to £4 only. It was absurd to suppose that you could carry out the provisions of this new Act at that low rate, but we believed that we ought not to rush into expenditure, and therefore we have informed the District Committees that the services of our Sanitary Inspector were at their disposal for the purpose of supervising their local men. Before the noble Marquess replies I would remind the noble Earl that there is a great difficulty in laying down hard and fast rules on the matter, because the districts vary so in size. For instance, there may be a district lying close to a town where the County Sanitary Inspector can easily supervise the District Committee's men, locally in each parish, but if you take the case of some far away district in the Highlands it would be impossible for the County Sanitary Inspector to overtake the whole of the duties over that district. So that we have suggested that the parishes should group their districts, but always bearing in mind that the County Sanitary Inspector should be their head. I do not apprehend that Scottish prudence will very readily lead these bodies into reckless expenditure in this matter. I do not think County Government has been extravagantly managed in the past, and therefore I do not believe that in the future the County Councils are going to be extravagant.

\*THE EARL OF CAMPERDOWN: I do not think there is any doubt as to the answer which will be given by the noble Marquess, because there is a clause in the Act which states that such an arrangement as the noble Earl proposes may be made between the County Councils and the District Committees. It is evidently the intention of the Act that such arrangements should be made, where possible, for the purpose of economy and good management. But I do not desire to go at any length into the matter, I have only risen because this question of Medical Inspectors has now, for the first time, been mentioned to this House, which is, I think, a most important question with regard to the administration of Local Government in Scotland. At the present time, in the county which I have to deal with, the county of Forfar, it is generally felt that the good management of the County Ad-

*The Marquess of Huntly*

ministration will greatly turn on the manner in which these appointments of medical officers and Sanitary Inspectors are made. We feel that there is a great risk that if we make appointments of medical officers at high salaries, and of Sanitary Inspectors also, we shall find ourselves in this position, that we shall not be able to change our arrangements, we shall not be able to get rid of these Inspectors after we have once appointed them, without the approval of the Board of Supervision, and that naturally makes us careful and cautious as to what we do. The County Council with which I am connected will meet next week to consider this matter, and I wish to say one thing to the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for Scotland which I think he may, perhaps, deem worthy of attention. It is this: That many of us feel we should be in a much better position to deal with this difficult question if we had some means of consultation or conference with the Board of Supervision in Edinburgh, at which the various Councils were represented. Of course, I do not mean, for a moment, that the Board of Supervision should attempt (and I am sure they would not wish in any way to do so), to force their authority on the County Councils. On the other hand, I am convinced that the County Councils, or, at least, all the sensible County Councils, would be very much obliged to the Central Authority if they would invite a Conference at which all these questions might be considered and discussed. It is obvious, as has already been stated by the noble Marquess the Marquess of Huntley, that these matters must be thoroughly considered and discussed if we are to arrange our local business in an economical and prudent manner, and it is for that purpose that I am sure—I, at all events, as Chairman of a County Council, may say that I should be very much obliged for any suggestions or hints that I may receive as to the manner in which these appointments may best be made for such a county as that which I represent.

\*THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR SCOTLAND (The Marquess of Lothian): The noble Earl has asked me a question to which I have great pleasure in replying, but I should like to remind him before I proceed to give my reply

that he must understand that any opinion which I give is simply an opinion of my own, because it is impossible for me or anyone else to give a legal interpretation of an Act of Parliament. That can only be done by a Judicial Tribunal. I should like to make one more observation before I reply to the noble Earl's question. I have gathered from his speech that there is an impression in his mind that there has been some extravagance on the part of the County Councils, or some tendency on the part of the County Councils to extravagance in the management of the county business. I do not know whether I am mistaken in that or not, but as far as I am concerned, I think the County Councils have entered upon their new duties with every desire to carry them out with efficiency and economy combined. With regard to the question put by the noble Earl, I think the remarks which fell from the noble Marquess opposite have pretty nearly answered that question. Much depends upon what the object of the noble Earl is in asking the question. He refers to Section 52 of the Local Government (Scotland) Act. He states very truly that the County Councils are bound to appoint medical officers and Sanitary Inspectors for the county, but Sub-section 2 modifies that to this extent, that the County Councils, by consent, and by mutual arrangement with the District Committees, may appoint the County Sanitary Inspectors and medical officers as officials for the different districts. I think that sub-section was inserted in the Act with the obvious intention of economy, because it tends rather to discourage, as far as might be desirable, the appointment of separate medical officers, and separate Sanitary Inspectors in every district in the county. Of course, if the county officers are appointed district officers also, no doubt great economy will be effected. But, as far as I gathered from the speech of the noble Earl, his object is to get an opinion from me that it is desirable, and that it would be within the scope and intention of the Act that all the district officers, as such, should be appointed county officers. I am bound to tell him that I do not think that that is within the intention of the

Act, and I think it is pretty obvious it cannot be so, because from the clause, if looked at, it is evident the whole object of the arrangement is that the county officials shall supervise and inspect the work of the district officials. If you appoint the latter to be county officials, they would simply be revising and inspecting their own work. Under those circumstances it would not be a very desirable arrangement, even if it were within the scope of the Act that such an arrangement should be carried into effect. I fail to see where the question of economy comes in. Take the case of the county in which the noble Earl is interested. There are 10 medical officers in that county with districts of larger or smaller size. Some of those Inspectors receive £5, and one of them receives not more than 30s. salary. If those officers are discharged they will be entitled now to some sort of superannuation. Still the amount which would come to them under salaries of that amount would not be very ruinous. On the other hand, I think a large saving would be effected to the county if such arrangements under Clause 52 could be carried into effect, and if the county officers were made, where desirable, district officials as well. I am bound to say that I think the wording of the section would give that interpretation which the noble Earl puts upon it, but that as far as the intention of it goes, in reference to the noble Earl's last question, I do not think that is within the intention of the clause. With regard to what fell from the noble Earl opposite (Lord Camperdown) there is but one point which I need refer to, and that is the question of the Conference he suggests between the Chairmen of Committees, or conveners of the different County Councils. I entirely agree with what has fallen from the noble Earl, and I think nothing could be more desirable than that there should be some general idea arrived at in regard to carrying out the work of the County Councils. I think that should be brought about by some such means as he has suggested, and I do not think any difficulty whatever would be raised by the Board of Supervision in carrying out such an idea. All I can say is, that if I can do anything in the matter I shall be most happy to do so. I think



that answers the question which has been put, and I do not think I need trouble your Lordships with any further remarks upon this matter.

\*THE EARL OF WEMYSS: Then, as I gather from the noble Marquess, he admits my interpretation, and that what I have proposed is legal according to the wording of the Act, but that the Act does not really carry out the intentions of its framers.

\*THE MARQUESS OF LOTHIAN: No. What I say is that the language of the section might bear that interpretation, but it is not the intention of the Act that such an interpretation should be put upon it.

\*THE EARL OF WEMYSS: Then that is exactly what I have said.

House adjourned at half-past Five o'clock, till To-morrow, a quarter-past Four o'clock.

## HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Thursday, 7th August, 1890.

### QUESTIONS.

#### SILVER CURRENCIES.

MR. HOYLE (Lancashire, S.E., Heywood): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade what was the declared value of the exports for the year 1889 of British and Irish manufactures, machinery, &c., to countries having a silver currency, and on that amount what would be the increase remitted home in sterling owing to the rise in exchange on the basis of the exchangeable value of the rupee having risen from 1s. 4d. to 1s. 7d.?

\*THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE (Sir M. HICKS BEACH, Bristol, W.): I am not quite clear, from the hon. Member's question, whether he desires to show the exports of British produce and manufacture to countries with a silver currency or with a silver standard, which is not quite the same thing; because gold standard countries, as well as silver standard countries, may have a good deal of silver currency, as in England, France, Germany, and the United States. Taking, however, the

*The Marquess of Lothian*

list of the principal silver-using countries given by the Gold and Silver Commission at page 30 of their final Report, namely, India, China, Japan, Ceylon, Straits Settlements, Mauritius, Mexico, and Central America, I find the exports of British and Irish produce and manufacture amounted to £48,088,857 in 1889. I am unable to give a reply to the second part of the hon. Member's question, as the points involved are mainly matters of opinion and argument.

#### INDIAN CIVIL SERVANTS.

MR. MURPHY (Dublin, St. Patrick's): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India whether the principle of the justice of the Civil Servants' claims having been admitted by the Report of the Select Committee on the grievances of the Indian Uncovenanted Service, the Government will now fix the payment of the Indian pensions at a constant uniform rate of 2s. to the rupee in the cases of old servants employed when that was the prevailing rate of exchange for Government transactions with them, as shown in evidence; whether, inasmuch as the Select Committee were precluded from making inquiries into the grievances of servants who claimed to have been inadequately pensioned, including those members of the Public Works Department, retired under resolution of the Government of India, No. 2,079, 31st July, 1879, before they had served the period to qualify for full retiring pensions, the Committee will be re-appointed to inquire into such claims, with a view to the pensions of those gentlemen being equitably settled according to the hopes held out to them when they joined the Service, and according to the agreements, tacit or recorded, entered into by Government; and whether the recommendation of the Select Committee, fixing 1s. 9d. per rupee as the minimum rate for pensions, will be given retrospective effect in the same way as rules, made since the first appointment of those Civil Servants, have been hitherto applied?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Sir J. GORST, Chatham): The answer to the first question of the hon. Member is in the negative. The Secretary of State cannot admit the accuracy of the statement on which the question is founded. The answer to the

second question is that the question is one which hardly ought to have been put to me. It is not a question for the Secretary of State, who does not appoint Select Committees, but it depends upon the wisdom of the House of Commons, which does. The answer to the third question is in the negative.

#### TREATIES OF COMMERCE.

**MR. HOWARD VINCENT** (Sheffield, Central): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies if the several colonies of the British Empire are entitled to enter into negotiations with Foreign Powers to conclude with them independent Treaties of Commerce, or if such matters are left exclusively to the care and conduct of the Imperial Government; and, in the latter case, bearing in mind the declarations to Sir Alexander Galt and the Dominion Government of the late Lord Carnarvon in 1878, and of Lord Kimberley in 1881, which were interpreted by General Laurie, M.P., in the Canadian House of Commons, on the 21st of April last, "to be a Charter to the Colonies, authorising them to have a voice in all Treaties made with Foreign Powers in which colonial interests are concerned," if steps will be taken to ascertain from the representative Governments in Canada, Australasia, and South Africa, and the Chambers of Commerce in India and other British Possessions, if in their views the Treaties now being reviewed by a Government Committee are susceptible of any extension or modification for the advancement of trade between the United Kingdom and the colonies, and between the colonies and Foreign Powers?

**THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES** (Baron H. de Worms, Liverpool, East Toxteth): It has been the practice for the Imperial Government alone to conclude Commercial Treaties of Commerce with Foreign Powers, but on special occasions the representatives of the colonies have been consulted or admitted to take part in the negotiations. In regard to the latter part of the question of the hon. Member, it is not proposed to ascertain the views of representative Governments, or of Chambers of Commerce in India and other British Possessions until the Government have received the Report of the Committee.

#### MINE INSPECTORS—MR. T. CADMAN.

**MR. D. THOMAS** (Merthyr Tydvil): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether, in reference to the superannuation allowance of Mr. Thomas Cadman, late Her Majesty's Inspector of Mines for the South Western District, "The Coal Mines Regulation Act, 1872," only created one class of Inspectors; whether in a letter dated 11th October, 1887, from the Home Office to the Treasury, it was stated that certain persons appointed under the Act of 1872

"Were within the department known as Assistant Inspectors, but were appointed as Inspectors, and exercised the powers of Inspectors, the Statute authorising the appointment only of Inspectors:"

and further, that the Secretary of State concurred in the view, that to deprive these officers now of the augmentation provided under Section 4 of "The Superannuation Act, 1859," and promised to Inspectors of coal mines in a Treasury Minute of the same year, would operate with severe hardship upon them and their families, and would constitute—

"A real grievance, of which they might justly complain:"

if any steps have been taken by the Treasury to obtain the opinion of the Law Officers of the Crown as to the legality of withholding from Mr. Cadman the full superannuation allowance promised Inspectors of coal mines in the Treasury Minute of 14th June, 1859; and whether, having regard to the necessity of maintaining good faith with the servants of the State as to superannuation, the Treasury will once more re-consider Mr. Cadman's case?

**THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY** (Mr. JACKSON, Leeds, N.): The Act referred to created only one class of Inspectors, and the words specified are correctly quoted from a Home Office letter to the Treasury, dated 11th October, 1887. I have directed that an opinion should be obtained from the Law Officers of the Crown as to the legality of the pension award which has been made in the case of Mr. Cadman. When that opinion is before me I will consider whether it renders necessary any modification of the Treasury decision.

#### LIBEL ACTION AT MANCHESTER.

**MR. SCHWANN** (Manchester, N.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the

Home Department if his attention has been drawn to the report of a libel action tried at the recent Manchester Assizes before Mr. Justice Vaughan Williams, wherein it was stated that the police had handed over to the plaintiffs in the case a petition against a house which it was alleged or suspected was used for immoral purposes, and if it is customary to treat such communications as privileged; and whether the police exceeded their duty in handing the document to the tenants of the house in question, upon which letter the case was based?

\*THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. MATTHEWS, Birmingham, E.): I have seen a newspaper report of the trial, and I am informed by the Chief Constable that after the defendants had repeatedly accused the plaintiffs of keeping an immoral house, and had been informed by the police that these accusations were unfounded, they reiterated the charge, and the Superintendent accordingly visited the house himself. The occupiers demanded to know the reason of the visit, and the Superintendent informed them of the letter of complaint alluded to in the question. The police were subpoenaed to produce this letter at the trial. Such communications are usually treated as privileged; but, in the opinion of the Chief Constable, this case was a most exceptional one, as malice was palpably shown; a view which was borne out by the proceedings at the trial. Under these circumstances I do not see that the police exceeded their duty.

Mr. SCHWANN: Can the right hon. Gentleman give his own opinion upon the matter?

\*Mr. MATTHEWS: No. I must decline to do that.

#### COAL MINES REGULATION ACT.

Mr. DONALD CRAWFORD (Lanark, N.E.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether his attention has been called to the complaints of the Lanarkshire miners, that they have no place to prepare their cartridges, cartridges being the only form in which they are permitted by the Coal Mines Regulation Act to take gunpowder into the mines; and whether, since the preparation of the cartridges in their own houses is attended with great

*Mr. Schwann*

danger, even when compressed gunpowder is used, which is expensive, and not always made up in suitable quantities, he will consider the expediency of legislation to amend the General Rules of the Act, and make it compulsory on colliery owners to provide magazines in which the miners can make their cartridges?

\*Mr. MATTHEWS: I have received a complaint from the Lanarkshire miners that places are not provided for them to prepare their cartridges. The law already forbids miners from resorting to the dangerous practice of making up cartridges in their own homes; and I have pointed out, in reply to the complaint alluded to, that there was no necessity that this practice should be continued; for the law enables the mine-owners to establish workshops where cartridges can be made up, and many such workshops have been established; and there are in Lanarkshire licensed factories for the making up of blasting cartridges; and such cartridges (whether of loose or compressed powder) can also be purchased direct from the manufacturers. I do not think it would be reasonable to propose legislation compelling all colliery owners, or owners of gunpowder stores, to provide a workshop in which miners might make up their own cartridges.

#### POLICE CONSTABLE MARR.

Mr. SCHWANN: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether a police constable named Marr, who, at the Manchester Assizes in December, 1888, was convicted of manslaughter and sentenced to 18 months' imprisonment, being at the same time severely censured by the Judge for having perjured himself, has, since his release, been re-admitted into the Force, and is at the present time serving in the D Division of the Manchester City Police, or is on the probation list with the view of being reinstated in the Police Force?

\*Mr. MATTHEWS: Yes, Sir; I am informed by the Chief Constable that this man, on his release, applied to the Watch Committee for reinstatement in the Force, and they, as I understand, taking into account the recommendation to mercy of the jury, and the strong opinion in his favour expressed by numerous Magistrates, and

Stipendiary Magistrates, as well as by the Coroner, Mayor, ex-Mayor, and County Court Judge, an opinion which the Watch Committee shared, have agreed to his being taken on as a probationer. It is not the fact that he was censured by the Judge for having perjured himself.

#### OUTRAGES IN MACEDONIA.

MR. SCHWANN: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether he has had any Report as to the hardships endured by the Christians of the district of Alassonia, in Southern Macedonia, ever since martial law was proclaimed here; whether his attention has been particularly drawn to the case of the seizure a few days ago of 20 Christian notables of Siatista, who were taken bound to the town of Servia, and beaten unmercifully to compel them to reveal the names of those persons who were supposed to harbour brigands; and to the report that some gendarmes thrust a red-hot bayonet into the nose of Nicholas Doukas, a notable, who is dying from the effects of the cruelty and violence shown to him; has he, further, any information of the seizure of some 200 persons belonging to the district of Anaselitza, who were conveyed to the town of the same name, and tortured in order to extract money; and will he make inquiries into these alleged atrocities, and remonstrate, if they prove true, with the Turkish Government?

\*THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Sir J. FERGUSSON, Manchester, N.E.): No such information has been received. Inquiry will be made of Her Majesty's Consul General at Salonica.

#### ANGLO-FRENCH AGREEMENT.

MR. SAMUEL SMITH (Flintshire): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether the Government has entered into negotiations with France respecting Madagascar; and, if so, whether they will give the House an opportunity of pronouncing a judgment before concluding a Treaty on the subject?

\*SIR J. FERGUSSON: The House is aware that France has for some years desired to procure the recognition of her Treaty with Madagascar, which would confer upon her the Protectorate of that

island. It would not be possible to submit the question of such recognition by Her Majesty's Government to Parliament, but in no case would it be entertained by Her Majesty's Government without full security for the rights of Her Majesty's subjects and religious liberty for all.

MR. BRYCE (Aberdeen, S.): There is a statement in the daily papers this morning as to an Agreement which is said to have been arrived at between Her Majesty's Government and the Government of France with regard to Madagascar, and the area of influence in what is called North Central Africa. Can the right hon. Gentleman give the House any information on the subject, or say what truth there is in the statement in the papers?

\*SIR J. FERGUSSON: Her Majesty's Government have concluded an agreement with the French Government on African affairs, and that agreement will be communicated to Parliament on Monday.

MR. S. SMITH: Henceforth are all negotiations with the Hovas to go through France, or without an intermediary?

\*SIR J. FERGUSSON: The hon. and gallant Member for South West Lancashire (Colonel Sandys) has a question on the Paper on that subject.

COLONEL SANDYS (Lancashire, S.W., Bootle): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether it is the case that the "Hovas," who are the dominant race in Madagascar, have hitherto enjoyed, through their Sovereign and Government, the privilege of direct negotiation with the British Government; whether it is now the intention of Her Majesty's Government to yield up this privilege of the Hova people, and to cede this political recognition of British interests in Madagascar to France in return for their conceding certain Treaty rights in the Island of Zanzibar to us; and whether it is the intention of the Foreign Office that for the future the negotiations between Her Majesty's Government and the Hova Government, that is to say, between England and Madagascar, shall be conducted through the medium only of French officials?

\*SIR J. FERGUSSON: The foreign relations of the Hova Government have

been governed since 1885 by their Treaty with France, which was presented to Parliament in March, 1886. That agreement provided that France should represent Madagascar in all her foreign relations. I have stated that the terms of the agreement with France will be communicated to Parliament on Monday, and I cannot enter into any detailed statement now.

MR. BRYCE: As this revelation has been made, it will be extremely inconvenient to discuss the Foreign Office Vote in the absence of this agreement.

\*SIR J. FERGUSSON: I believe that the Foreign Office Vote is to be brought on to-morrow upon the earnest representations of the hon. Member himself.

COLONEL FALKLAND WARREN.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR (Donegal, E.); I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies whether any notification has been received at the Colonial Office of the proposed retirement of Colonel Falkland Warren from the Cyprus Civil Service; and whether, in view of the frequently expressed desire of Her Majesty's Government to reduce the British staff in Cyprus and to curtail the expenses of government in that island, the Secretary of State will consider the advisability of amalgamating the offices of Chief Secretary to Government and Director of Survey at an inclusive salary of £600 per annum, and thereby effecting an immediate saving of £1,200 per annum to the Island Exchequer?

\*BARON H. DE WORMS: The retirement of the Chief Secretary to the Cyprus Government has taken place at the instance of Her Majesty's Government, with a view to effecting economies; but as the post of assistant to the Chief Secretary is at the same time to be abolished, it would be impossible to effect the amalgamation of offices suggested by the hon. Member. The changes now made will, however, result in an immediate net saving of about £600 a year.

MR. A. O'CONNOR: Can the right hon. Gentleman say what change has been made?

\*BARON H. DE WORMS: The change has been the abolition of the post of Assistant Secretary.

MR. A. O'CONNOR: Who does the work?

*Sir J. Fergusson*

\*BARON H. DE WORMS: The hon. Member must give notice of that question.

#### ARMY MEDICAL DEPARTMENT.

DR. FARQUHARSON (Aberdeenshire, W.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether he expects to be able, before the end of the present Session, to state the terms of his reply to the deputation of the Medical Corporations of the United Kingdom, which recently waited on him with reference to the claims and grievances of the Army Medical Department?

\*THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Mr. E. STANHOPE, Lincolnshire, Horncastle): I am very doubtful whether the time mentioned will be sufficient to enable us to give full consideration to the representations of the recent deputation.

#### PORTUGAL IN EAST AFRICA—DETENTION OF THE CREW OF THE *JAMES STEVENSON*.

MR. BUCHANAN (Edinburgh, W.) I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether he can state whether the crew of the *James Stevenson* illegally arrested and detained at Quilimane have yet been released?

\*SIR J. FERGUSSON: We have not yet heard whether they have been released.

#### SWAZILAND.

MR. BAUMANN (Camberwell, Peckham): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies whether the words "a joint Government," used by the Secretary of State, mean a joint Protectorate of Swaziland; what jurisdiction either the Queen or the South African Republic can have, under the Foreign Jurisdiction Acts, in an independent country with a Regent; whether the Court of Justice to be established will be presided over by a Dutch or an English Judge, or both; whether the Judge or Judges will be duly qualified lawyers; and whether there will be an appeal from this Court; and, if so, to what tribunal?

\*BARON H. DE WORMS: Joint Government does not mean a joint Protectorate. The Government, which is only over the white settlers, will be jointly administered by the Represen-

tatives of Swaziland, England, and the South African Republic acting together. With regard to the second paragraph of the question, there is no such jurisdiction. The jurisdiction is that of the Swazi Regent, and the powers to the joint Government will be given by the Regent. The nationality of the Judge—or of the Judges if more than one are appointed—will be decided when the time comes for selecting them. It may be assumed that the Judges will be qualified lawyers. The Court will be the Chief Court of Swaziland, and no appeal will lie to the Court of any other country.

#### THE WELLINGTON BARRACKS SHOOTING CASE.

MR. WEBB: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether, in view of the recent shooting at an innocent person by a sentry at Wellington Barracks, and bearing in mind the fact that many Members of this House, besides numbers of the general public, have to pass along Birdcage Walk at all hours of the night, he will consider the propriety of directing that under normal circumstances ball cartridge should not be served out to the sentries at Wellington Barracks?

\*MR. E. STANHOPE: The matter is primarily one for the consideration of the Military Authorities, to whom I have referred the question.

MR. MAC NEILL (Donegal, S.): Why did this man have ball cartridge at all? It is proved that he had six rounds.

\*MR. E. STANHOPE: That is the very question asked by the hon. Gentleman, and it is the question that I have referred to the Military Authorities.

SIR W. LAWSON (Cumberland, Cockermouth): Is it the custom to serve out ball cartridge to sentries in time of peace?

\*MR. E. STANHOPE: Yes, Sir, it is; and I have asked the Military Authorities to consider whether it is necessary to continue it for the public service.

#### GUNBOATS FOR THE ZAMBESI.

MR. BUCHANAN: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether the two river gunboats for the Zambesi and Shiré are still at Zanzibar; and whether they will soon be sent on to their destination, that

free communication may be maintained and protection given to the transit of mails, goods, and travellers, between the coast and the British settlements in the Shiré Highlands and Nyassaland?

\*SIR J. FERGUSON: The gunboats are still at Zanzibar. It has not been decided when they will be forwarded, but the question of freedom of communication in the Zambesi is receiving the attention which its importance deserves.

#### EX-POLICE SERGEANT DRUMMOND.

MR. CAUSTON (Southwark, W.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether he will return to ex-sergeant Drummond, of the M Division of the Metropolitan Police, any documents that he may have received from him, either directly or indirectly, in connection with the charges made against him, and which resulted on 27th June, 1887, in his being reduced in rank; and whether he will allow the solicitor of Drummond to have a copy of the letter of complaint made against him by Mr. Simmonds?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (MR. STUART WORTLEY, Sheffield, Hallam): The only documents still in the possession of the Home Office, and which have not been returned to Drummond, are petitions and statements by him which have been registered as official documents, and it would be contrary to practice to return them; but copies will be furnished to Drummond's solicitor at his expense if he desires it. The letter of complaint is not at the Home Office, but with the Commissioner of Police, who has been advised that he should adhere to the general rule, and should not disclose communications of that nature.

#### RAILROAD TO KOSI BAY.

MR. LAWRENCE (Liverpool, Abercromby): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies whether the power of the Transvaal to acquire concessions in Amatonga is confined strictly to the right of way for a railroad to Kosi Bay, or will permit it to acquire lands for purposes of re-sale by concessionaires of railway; if the latter, whether any, and what, limits of purchase are provided for; and whether

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such lands are to be subject to Transvaal or English jurisdiction?

**BARON H. DE WORMS**: It is not contemplated that by the Treaty with the Queen Zambili, the terms of which are to be approved by Her Majesty's Government as provided by Article IV of the Convention of 1884, more land is to be acquired than is substantially required for the service of the railway, including strips of land on each side. The contingency contemplated by my hon. Friend does not appear to arise. The lands would be subject to Transvaal jurisdiction, but rights of crossing are preserved.

#### SIERRA LEONE.

**SIR JOHN KENNAWAY** (Devon, Honiton): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs if there is any truth in the report that the Government have entered into negotiations with France for giving up Sierra Leone?

**\*SIR J. FERGUSSON**: There is no idea of any such cession. On the contrary, last year a delimitation took place between the British and French territories in that region.

#### NEWFOUNDLAND.

**MR. GOURLEY** (Sunderland): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether any and what arrangements have been arrived at with the Newfoundland delegates, regarding the Anglo-French partnership and fishery disputes; whether the *modus vivendi* regarding lobster fisheries is to be permanent; and whether the Bait Act is to be repealed, or a new arrangement entered into, similar to that signed at Paris on 14th November, 1881?

**\*SIR J. FERGUSSON**: 1. No arrangement has yet been come to. 2. No; the *modus vivendi* is for this season only. 3. There is no intention of repealing the Bait Act, so far as Her Majesty's Government are aware. It is impossible to say at present what the nature of any future arrangement may be.

#### THE JEWS IN RUSSIA.

**MR. S. SMITH**: I beg to ask whether the Government can give the House any information respecting the Jews in Russia?

*Mr. Lawrence*  
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**\*SIR J. FERGUSSON**: I am able to say that Her Majesty's Ambassador at St. Petersburg has reported that the Russian Government deny emphatically the truth of the statements which have appeared in the *Times* on this subject.

#### DUBLIN SCIENCE AND ART BUILDINGS.

**MR. PATRICK O'BRIEN** (Monaghan, N.): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury if he can state the names of all the firms who were privately asked to tender for lighting by electricity the new Science and Art buildings in Dublin, giving the amounts of each tender respectively, and say which of them, if any, are manufacturers of electrical plant; and whether, before closing the contract, he will require the Messrs. Edmundson to give a preference to an Irish firm for the execution of the work?

**MR. JACKSON**: Four firms were invited to tender for lighting the new Science and Art buildings in Dublin by electricity, namely, Messrs. Siemens Brothers and Co., Messrs. Johnson and Phillips, Messrs. Edmundson and Co., and the Brush Company; and tenders were received from the three first-named. I am not able to state to what extent any of the firms are manufacturers of electrical plant. Messrs. Edmundson's tender for £8,375, being the lowest, was accepted; the contract with them contains no stipulation as to giving a preference to any firm.

#### POSTAL ACCOMMODATION IN WEXFORD.

**MR. JOHN REDMOND** (Wexford, N.): I beg to ask the Postmaster General whether he is aware that great inconvenience is caused to the people in and around Clondaw, County Wexford, through defective postal accommodation, owing to the fact that, under the present arrangement, letters for the district are brought from Ferns, five miles distant, and that the letters of persons who do not happen to meet the postman are left with a local shopkeeper, who keeps them only to oblige his neighbours, and who is not responsible for their safety; and that, in consequence of the risk attaching to this arrangement, many people who expect communications of importance prefer to go to Enniscorthy or Ferns, four or five miles distant; whether he is aware

that the district round Clondaw is very populous, and that increased facilities would probably increase postal business to such an extent as to more than counterbalance the outlay required in order to make adequate accommodation; whether it is a fact that adequate postal accommodation could be provided for about £6 or £7 annually; and whether, under the circumstances, a Post Office will be established at Clondaw?

A LORD OF THE TREASURY (Sir HERBERT MAXWELL, Wigton): In reply to the hon. Member, I have to state that the official delivery in the neighbourhood of Clondaw has quite recently been extended, and it is now as comprehensive as the circumstances will allow. The question of opening a Post Office at Clondaw has been carefully considered, but the letters which would be left at such an office number only six or seven a day, and the further expenditure involved in establishing a Post Office would not be warranted.

#### MR. J. POWELL AND THE MIDLAND TRIBUNE.

MR. MOLLOY (King's Co., Birr): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether the police have, for the third time, commenced a prosecution against Mr. John Powell, editor of the *Midland Tribune*, for inserting in his journal reports of meetings and other matter ordinarily inserted in newspapers: whether Mr. Powell was imprisoned in 1888 for two months, with the result that Mr. Powell lost the sight of one eye, besides permanent injury to his health; whether this same gentleman was again imprisoned in 1889, with the result that this imprisonment again injured his health, causing severe spitting of blood, and to such an extent that upon the prison doctor's certificate he was dismissed before the expiration of the term; and whether the Chief Secretary will use his influence to put an end to this persecution?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.): I am informed that the facts are not accurately represented in the question. Mr. Powell was not in prison in 1888. He was committed to Tullamore Prison in January, 1889, for seven days for contempt of Court, and in April, 1889, for two months for intimidation, not con-

tained in matter ordinarily inserted in a newspaper, but in leading articles in two successive issues of his paper. The medical officer of the prison reports that neither his health nor his eyesight was in any way injured by imprisonment, but, on the contrary, his general health was better on his discharge from prison than it had been on committal, he being naturally a delicate man, and he gained in weight during imprisonment. In August, 1889, he was brought before the Magistrates, charged with unlawfully inciting in a sub-leading article of the paper, persons to use violence and intimidation to others, and required to show cause why he should not find sureties for his future good behaviour. He was ordered by the Magistrates to give such surety, but declined to do so, electing to go to prison for three months in default. During that imprisonment he had a slight attack of blood-spitting. He was subsequently discharged from custody on the recommendation of the Medical Officer.

#### IRISH CONSTABULARY FORCE FUND.

MR. SEXTON (Belfast, W.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland what is the present condition of the Constabulary Force Fund, particularly as to the gross assets, the annual receipts, and the annual expenditure; by whom the account is kept, by whom it is audited, and whether any periodical statements are published or furnished to the contributors; what is the intention of the Irish Government in regard to the fund; and whether they are disposed to wind it up at the desire of the contributors?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I shall be obliged if the hon. Member will put off the question until to-morrow.

#### DUBLIN POST OFFICE

DR. FITZGERALD (Longford, S.): I beg to ask the Postmaster General if it is true that a certain number of Provincial Clerks-in-charge-ships were allowed to the Dublin Post Office by the late Mr. Fawcett; if these appointments have invariably been filled from the sorting office; what reason is assigned for not giving a proportionate share of these appointments to the telegraph branch; why such vacancies as Inspecting Telegraphists have not been offered



to the Dublin Telegraph Office clerks; and if, considering the stagnation of promotion in the Dublin Telegraph Office, he will take steps to insure that such sources of promotion will in future be offered to officers in this branch of the Service?

SIR HERBERT MAXWELL: No record can be found of Mr. Fawcett having assigned any appointments as Provincial Clerks-in-Charge to the Dublin Post Office; and as regards the other matter referred to by the hon. Member, time has not admitted of inquiry being made.

#### THE IRISH MAILS.

MR. SEXTON: I beg to ask the Postmaster General whether he is aware that the mails to Belfast and the North of Ireland, *via* Holyhead, due in Belfast before noon, were hours late three days last week, on the first occasion being delivered after 2 o'clock, on the second, in some parts of Belfast, after 4 o'clock, and on the third occasion, Saturday last, after 2 o'clock, when all the banks were closed, and the banking of remittances by merchants was, in consequence, suspended from Friday to Tuesday, Monday being a Bank Holiday; whether he is aware that on all these occasions the mails conveyed by the Stranraer route were delivered without delay; whether the President and Secretary of the Belfast Chamber of Commerce have represented that great dissatisfaction exists in Belfast on the subject of the mail service *via* Holyhead; whether, with regard to the case laid before him by a deputation from Ulster, on the 24th of June last, he has applied to the companies for estimates; and, if so, when, and whether any, and, if so, what, replies have been received; and whether, in view of the urgency of the case, the decision upon it can be announced?

SIR HERBERT MAXWELL: In reply to the questions of the hon. Member for West Belfast and the hon. Member for South Londonderry, I beg to state that the Post Office is aware that complaints have been made by the Belfast Chamber of Commerce of the late arrivals of the English mails *via* Holyhead at Belfast, in consequence of fogs and pressure of holiday traffic. The service on the whole, however, is performed with admirable regularity. No com-

*Dr. Fitzgerald*

plaint has been received of delays by the Stranraer route. The Postmaster General has not called for the estimates alluded to, but will consider any offer which may be made to him for the conveyance of mails according to a fixed time table by the Stranraer route.

MR. SEXTON: Did not the Postmaster General declare in the Debate upon the Post Office Estimates that he had not yet received estimates from the Railway Companies? Although a deputation waited upon the right hon. Gentleman six weeks' ago, it would appear that no application has yet been made to the Railway Companies. What is the cause of the delay?

SIR HERBERT MAXWELL: I am afraid that I can offer no further explanation. My responsibility in the matter ends with the answer I have given.

#### EVICTIIONS ON BLASKET ISLANDS.

MR. SEXTON: I beg to ask the Attorney General for Ireland what was the legal character of the seizure of boats belonging to fishermen of the Blasket Islands by the party conveyed from the mainland in the gunboat *Britomart*?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (MR. MADDEN, Dublin University): The legality of the seizure would depend upon the facts of the case, in regard to which I can give no opinion.

MR. SEXTON: Before the Irish Government made a requisition for a Queen's ship to make a seizure of this kind did they take any steps to ascertain whether the seizure was legal, because there is at this moment a Statute in existence protecting implements of trade from seizure. It is too late to go back upon the incident which has already occurred, but I want to know if the Government will ever again consent to ask for a Queen's ship for the purpose of making a seizure of this kind?

MR. MADDEN: The Government could not possibly have any knowledge at the time they sanctioned the use of the ship of the character of the seizure. If there has been any illegal act the persons aggrieved have their remedy.

MR. SEXTON: That would mean these poor fishermen?

MR. MADDEN: Yes; any person whose goods have been illegally seized would have a remedy at law.

**MR. SEXTON** : I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether he is aware that the gunboat *Britomart* was recently employed to convey the agents and servants of an Irish landlord to and from the Blasket Islands, and to bring away from the islands certain boats, the property of fishermen there, which had been seized in satisfaction for rent ; and whether such use of a Queen's ship is sanctioned ?

**THE SECRETARY TO THE ADMIRALTY** (Mr. Forwood, Lancashire, Ormakirk) : The First Lord of the Admiralty is aware that the *Britomart* was recently employed in conveying the officers of the civil power holding writs from the Court of Queen's Bench against the tenants of Blasket Islands, who, as I am informed, are occupied as farmers as well as fishermen. The Sheriff applied for the use of the gunboat in the absence of any other means of communication, and it was sanctioned. The boats were, it is understood, seized by the Sheriff's officers for the six years' rent due, as being more readily moved from the island than cattle, and more easily returned to the owners in the event of a settlement. A settlement has since been made, and the boats returned to the owners. They were towed away from the island by the gunboat, at the request of the Sheriff's officers in whose charge they were.

**MR. SEXTON** : The hon. Gentleman has not replied to my question, but has simply given a narrative of the facts. I want to know whether the agents and servants of an Irish landlord were conveyed to and from the Blasket Island in one of Her Majesty's ships, and whether the use of a Queen's ship for such a purpose is sanctioned by the Admiralty ?

**MR. FORWOOD** : I believe that the persons who were engaged in the execution of a decree were conveyed to and from the Blasket Island by the *Britomart*, and that she towed the boats from the island.

**MR. SEXTON** : Is there any precedent for such a use of a Queen's ship ?

**MR. FORWOOD** : If the hon. Member will give notice of the question I will have inquiries made.

**MR. E. HARRINGTON** (Kerry, W.) : Is it not the fact that the nets of these poor fishermen were taken on board the gunboat, and that the sailors admitted

that the task allotted to them was a very disagreeable one ?

**MR. FORWOOD** : If the hon. Member desires, I will make further inquiry.

#### THE POTATO BLIGHT.

**MR. WEBB** (Waterford, W.) : I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that the potato blight is spreading in the county of Waterford, as well as in other parts of Ireland, as already reported ; and whether the Government is fully alive to the necessity of making preparations for meeting possible distress consequent thereupon ?

**MR. A. J. BALFOUR** : It appears from local official inquiries that while the earlier crop of potatoes in the county Waterford will, owing to the bad weather experienced in the commencement of the year, be deficient in yield, the later crop, of which the champion potato forms by far the greater portion, is still ripening, and if the improvement in the weather continues there will be no ground to apprehend a scarcity in the coming winter. There would be no difficulty in meeting any exceptional distress if such arose, which, however, the Government are glad to say they do not at present anticipate.

**MR. SEXTON** : Have any Reports been laid on the Table ?

**MR. A. J. BALFOUR** : No, Sir ; I do not think it will be possible to lay the confidential Reports of the Local Government Board upon the Table.

**MR. SEXTON** : What can there be of so confidential a character in a Report as to whether the potato blight exists or not, that it is considered necessary to suppress it ?

**MR. A. J. BALFOUR** : That is not the point. If it were to become the practice to lay these Reports on the Table it would be necessary to alter the character of the documents themselves. It is not that these particular documents could not be produced, but I must refuse to lay confidential Reports upon the Table.

#### KILLYBEGS LIGHT RAILWAY.

**MR. DALTON** (Donegal, W.) : I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury, with reference to the Gazette Notice which has appeared, announcing that an application has been made for an Order in Council for the Killybegs Light Rail-

way, whether this application could be heard until an agreement between the Light Railway Company and the Treasury had been concluded; whether such an agreement has been concluded; and whether he will without further delay put the Stranorlar and Glenties Light Railway Company in a position to proceed for an Order in Council for that much more important and really necessary undertaking?

MR. JACKSON: The Notice referred to is a necessary Notice preliminary to a hearing. The case mentioned is being carefully considered, and I understand that negotiations are going on.

#### WRITING INKS IN IRISH PUBLIC OFFICES.

MR. MURPHY: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether the writing inks used in public offices in Ireland are supplied from England through Her Majesty's Stationery Office; whether he is aware that excellent writing inks are manufactured in Ireland, which are being used by the National Board of Education to their entire satisfaction for the last seven years; whether application was made by a Dublin manufacturer to Her Majesty's Stationery Office for a portion of the contract for ink, offering to supply it of as good quality and at a lower price than it was costing the Stationery Department; why was this application not entertained; and will Irish manufacturers in future get an opportunity of contracting for at least the supply of ink used in Government Departments in Ireland?

MR. JACKSON: The ink used in public offices in Ireland is supplied from the Stationery Office. Tenders for the supply of ink were called for in August, 1889, and the contract (which was taken by a London firm) came into operation on the 1st January, 1890. On the 12th May, 1890, an application was received from a Dublin manufacturer to supply inks for part of the contract at prices, in some cases higher, in others lower, than those paid under the contract. The application should have been made several months earlier; and during the continuance of the present contract it cannot be entertained.

MR. MURPHY: Is there any objection to having a separate tender for Ireland?

*Mr. Dalton*

MR. JACKSON: I can understand that a sub-division of tenders might increase the cost. At the same time, I see no objection to any Irish or Dublin manufacturer, who is competent to give an adequate supply of the proper quality, being included in the list of persons who may tender.

#### MILITARY INSUBORDINATION.

SIR S. NORTHCOTE (Exeter): I wish to ask whether the Government have any information with regard to the reported occurrence of military insubordination among the Artillery at Topsham?

\*MR. E. STANHOPE: My attention has been directed to the occurrence, and I have called for a Report, but up to the time when I left the War Office to come here no reply had been received?

#### ATTACK ON CATHOLIC EXCURSIONISTS.

MR. SEXTON: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary if he is aware that as 800 Catholics, men, women, and children, were about to leave Belfast yesterday morning on an excursion on board the steamship *Victoria*, a murderous attack was made upon them by a body of workmen, who threw iron bolts by hand and by sling as missiles, and that some of the women and children were injured, one of them, a boy, very severely?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I have received information of the attack, and I am glad to say the most serious injury is a scalp wound on a little boy, which is not of a dangerous character. The proceeding was very disgraceful, and every effort would be made to bring the guilty parties to justice.

MR. SEXTON: I am glad to hear the right hon. Gentleman's statement. Have any arrests been made, and what steps will be taken in the matter?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I can give no further information.

#### BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

\*SIR W. BARTTELOT (Sussex, N.W.): May I ask the First Lord of the Treasury when it is probable that the Army Estimates will be taken?

\*THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (MR. W. H. SMITH, Strand, Westminster): I hope to be able to take both the Army and Navy Estimates to-morrow.

**MR. SEXTON:** What steps will be taken on the part of the Government to keep faith with the Irish Members in reference to the Dublin Corporation Bill?

**MR. A. J. BALFOUR:** When the Bill comes back to this House I propose to move the re-introduction of the clauses struck out in the other House.

**\*MR. H. H. FOWLER** (Wolverhampton, E.): I desire to put two questions to the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the House with regard to public business. If it is the general desire that the Session should, if possible, be brought to a close not later than Saturday week, I desire to ask what is the last day on which Supply must close, in order to secure that desirable consummation. I also wish to ask the right hon. Gentleman what course the Government intend to take in respect of the 40 Bills of private Members which at present stand upon the Order Book? The Government have now appropriated all the time of the House, and without their consent it is impossible for any one of these Bills to be brought on. It would be a convenience to hon. Members to know that they have been decently interred.

**\*MR. W. H. SMITH:** In answer to the first question of the right hon. Gentleman opposite, I have to say that if the ordinary course be followed it would be necessary that Supply should close on Saturday, in order that the prorogation should take place on the following Saturday. The right hon. Gentleman is aware that after Supply is closed the Resolutions in Committee of Ways and Means must be reported, and the Appropriation Bill could not be brought in until the following Monday. That Bill would take, in the ordinary course, four days in this House before it could be sent to the Upper House, and two days would be necessary to pass it through that House. I believe it would be convenient to the House that the sitting on Saturday should not be held subject to the Wednesday Rule, and that I should move that after the Government business is concluded the Speaker should adjourn the House without Question put. In answer to the question as to private Members' Bills, the right hon. Gentleman is aware that, although the

Government have taken the whole time of the House, there remains during the progress of the Appropriation Bill through the House a certain amount of time at the disposal of private Members, which, if they think fit, the Government would arrange so as to enable them to forward their own measures. There are one or two Bills of private Members which the Government would wish to see passed, but, as a general rule, undoubtedly, the Government would discourage the further progress of Bills which, in the great majority of cases, cannot possibly be passed into law this year. I would appeal to hon. Members in charge of Bills not to put their Colleagues in this House to the inconvenience of remaining longer than is absolutely necessary.

**MR. LABOUCHERE:** May I ask whether 60 or 70 Votes in the Estimates are to be taken on Saturday and whether the House is to sit until those Votes are taken?

**\*MR. W. H. SMITH:** I answered the question addressed to me by the right hon. Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. H. Fowler) in the spirit in which it was put. The right hon. Gentleman asked me on what day it would be necessary for Supply to be closed if the prorogation was to take place on August 16, and I answered that question. The Government have indicated their plan, and it is for the House to consider what course it will be necessary to take.

#### THE VATICAN.

**\*MR. SUMMERS** (Huddersfield): Will the Government consent to give the Return on the Paper—an Address for a Return of all Papers relating to the Special Mission of the Duke of Norfolk to the Vatican, and of all correspondence or communications that passed between the Duke of Norfolk on the one hand, and the Vatican or the British Government on the other, either before, during, or after the period embraced by the said Mission, in regard to the relations of the Holy See with Ireland, or with any other portion of the British Empire.

**\*SIR J. FERGUSSON:** The Government cannot consent to the Address in the altered form in which it appears. They would have consented to it in the form in which it appeared on the Paper

on Tuesday last. The hon. Member has since altered it, and we cannot consent to it for the reason that there are no such Papers, and there has been no such Mission.

#### LOCAL TAXATION LICENCES, 1889-90.

Return ordered—

"Of the amount received in respect of each Administrative County and County Borough in England and Wales for Local Taxation Licence Duties and Penalties, under the Act 51 and 52 Vic. c. 41, in the year ended 31st March, 1890."—(*Mr. Ritchie.*)

Return presented accordingly; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 358.]

#### HOLYHEAD HARBOUR.

Copy ordered—

"Of Correspondence between the Board of Trade, the Postmaster General, and the City of Dublin Steam Packet Company upon the subject of the present system of shipping and landing mails and baggage at Holyhead."—(*Sir Michael Hicks Beach.*)

Copy presented accordingly; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 361.]

#### STATUTE LAW REVISION (No. 2) BILL [LORDS].—(No. 405.)

Reported from Select Committee, without Amendment.

Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 359.]

Minutes of Proceedings to be printed. [No. 359.]

Bill re-committed to a Committee of the whole House for to-morrow.

#### TRADES (HOURS OF WORK).

Return ordered—

"Showing the average number of hours worked as a week's work in the chief trade centres by the following industries in the years 1860, 1860, 1870, 1880, and 1890:—Agricultural and Dock Labourers; Bakers; Building Trades; Cabinet Making Trades; Chemical Workers; Cigar and Tobacco Trades; Clothing Trades; Coach Making; Engineering Trades; Glass Trades; Manufactured Iron Trade; Mining; Pottery Trades; Printing and Book-binding; Railway Employés; Shipbuilding Trades; Textile Trades."—(*Mr. Broadhurst.*)

#### CUSTODY OF CHILDREN BILL [LORDS].

Bill read the first time; to be read a second time upon Saturday, and to be printed. [Bill 410.]

*Sir J. Fergusson*

#### PRIVATE BILL LEGISLATION.

Return ordered—

"For each of the ten years ending the 31st day of August, 1890, of—

1. The number of Petitions for Private Bills deposited in the Private Bill Office;
  2. The number of Private Bills read a first time in the House of Commons;
  3. The number of Private Bills first considered in the House of Lords under Standing Order 79;
  4. The number of Private Bills first considered in the House of Lords under Standing Order 79, brought from the Lords.
  5. The number of Private Bill (Estate, &c.) originated in and brought from the Lords;
  6. The number of Private Bills decided upon by Committees on Opposed Bills;
  7. The number of Private Bills treated as Unopposed and referred to the Chairman of Ways and Means.
  8. The number of Private Bills that received the Royal Assent;
- distinguishing in all cases between Bills which affected England, and Bills which affected Scotland, and Bills which affected Ireland, respectively (in continuance of Parliamentary Paper, No. 396, of Session 2, 1880)."—(*The Chairman of Ways and Means.*)

#### COAL MINES REGULATION ACT, 1887, (PROSECUTIONS).

Address for—

"Return of Prosecutions under 'The Coal Mines Regulation Act, 1887,' from the commencement of the Act, setting forth—

1. Date of Trial;
2. Place of Trial and Court by which Case was tried;
3. Name of Inspection District;
4. Initials of name of Person charged;
5. Description of Person charged, whether Miner, Manager, Agent, Owner, or otherwise;
6. Offence charged;
7. Person at whose instance charge was made, whether Inspector, Owner, Agent, Manager, Miner, or otherwise;
8. Result of Trial, and of Proceedings, if any, on appeal;
9. Penalty."—(*Mr. Donald Crawford.*)

#### MESSAGE FROM THE LORDS.

That they have agreed to Census (Scotland) Bill without Amendment, Companies (Winding-up) Bill, Pharmacy Act (Ireland) (1875) Amendment Bill with Amendments.

#### COMPANIES (WINDING UP) BILL.—(No. 283.)

Lords Amendments to be considered upon Tuesday next, and to be printed. [Bill 411.]

**PHARMACY ACT (IRELAND) (1875)  
AMENDMENT BILL.—(No. 241.)**

Lords Amendments to be considered upon Monday next, and to be printed. [Bill 412.]

**FACTORS (SCOTLAND) (No. 2) BILL.  
(No. 366.)**

Considered in Committee, and reported, without Amendment; read the third time, and passed, without Amendment.

**PUBLIC WORKS LOANS BILL.—(No. 329.)**

As amended, considered; read the third time, and passed.

**ORDERS OF THE DAY.**

**EXPIRING LAWS CONTINUANCE BILL,  
(No. 403.)**

**THIRD READING.**

Order for Third Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read the third time."

\***(4.14.) MR. BRADLAUGH** (Northampton): I have no wish to detain the House, but will the right hon. Gentleman tell the House and the country whether the Employers' Liability Bill is to be carried on from year to year, or whether a serious attempt will be made next Session to pass it into law? If the 3rd section were entirely dropped, though I regret that the attempt of the Select Committee of 1886 to provide against all injuries, whether or not actionable, has failed, I believe there would be no serious difficulty in passing the Bill through the House, and it would effect an enormous improvement in the law. In the present year, grievous cases have come under my knowledge in which poor men have not been able to get justice owing to the defects in the law. It is a great pity that it has been found impossible to come to some arrangement. It is a bad thing that a Bill should have been repeatedly mentioned in the Queen's Speech and nothing be done, and I hope to hear from the right hon. Gentleman that it is not intended to hang up the Bill from year to year.

**MR. SEXTON:** What are the two Private Members' Bills which the Govern-

ment are desirous of seeing passed into law?

\***MR. W. H. SMITH:** One of the Bills which the Government desire to see passed is the Intoxicating Liquors (Ireland) Bill. So far as the Government are concerned, they desire to pass the Employers' Liability Bill, and they entertain a hope that it may be possible to do so. The Government do not relinquish the hope that it may be possible next Session to deal with the question, but they cannot enter into any engagement.

**MR. STOREY** (Sunderland): The right hon. Gentleman said there were two Private Members' Bills the Government wished to see passed, but he only mentioned one.

\***MR. W. H. SMITH:** The other is in the House of Lords. As far as I know there are none on the Paper which we desire to see passed except the one I have mentioned.

Question put, and agreed to.

Bill read the third time, and passed.

**SUPPLY—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES,  
1890-91.**

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

**CLASS II.**

1. £16,122 (including a Supplementary sum of £1,874), to complete the sum for the Fishery Board, Scotland.

**(4.20.) MR. DUFF** (Banffshire): The Committee now approach this Vote under somewhat unfavourable circumstances. It is not only brought forward at a late period of the Session, but the Report of the Fishery Board has not yet been presented to the House. I think we have just cause to complain of the great delay which has taken place in presenting it. I regret that I feel it my duty to complain of the action of the Fishery Board. For some years after the appointment of the Board they performed their duty in a fairly satisfactory manner, but of late years they have ceased to give satisfaction either to the fishing community or to the public of Scotland. Personally, I think it would have been better for the Government not to have introduced their Bill for the re-constitution of the Board unless they felt that they were able to carry it. It will be in the recollection of hon. Members that

at the commencement of this year, a deputation waited on Lord Lothian, which I had the honour to introduce, representing the sentiments of the fishing community of Scotland in reference to the disposal of what is known as the surplus herring brand; and the answer which they received was very satisfactory, his Lordship admitting the justice of their claim, and holding out every encouragement that they would get the money they asked for. But what occurred subsequently? I was in Scotland at Easter time, and I found that Mr. Johnston, a member of the Fishery Board, had been going about the country saying that he did not care whether they got the £31,500 or not, because it would not be of much good to them; that what they wanted was £2,000,000 or £3,000,000. I certainly maintain, however, that the Scotch fishermen have just claims to a larger sum than this £31,500. I trust that, as the Government have approached the subject, they will go on with it, and that they will give to the Fishery Board a representative form and character such as will enable it to win the confidence of the Scotch people. I come now to the sum of £1,500, which is applied to the extension of telegraphs; we were always given to understand that the surplus herring brand fees were to go towards harbour extension. It is very hard on the fishing communities in Scotland that this money should be taken out of the surplus and used for Imperial purposes. I do not deny that the telegraphs are of great importance to the fishing community, but I contend that they are used, as in the recent Naval manoeuvres, for Imperial purposes. I moved for a Return on the subject, but I must say that the Return has not been fairly filled up. I have made a calculation which shows that from 1883 to 1888 £4,000 were expended out of the fishery brand upon the extension of telegraphs, while the sum of £1,017 only was expended in harbour extension. Another matter upon which I desire to have information is, the instructions given to officers in command of the fishery cruisers. I am not going to make any complaint against the officers. I believe that, generally speaking, they perform their duty in a very creditable manner, but complaints have reached me on the subject,

*Mr. Duff*

and I think it would be satisfactory, both to the officers and the fishermen, to know from the Government what their duty really is. According to my idea it is the duty of these officers to protect the trawlers, and I put that as a case in regard to which I should like to have some answer from the Lord Advocate. I do not ask him to produce the instructions given to these sea police officers; but I hope he will be able to say that the boats are there for protection, and not merely for ornament. I know it is a difficult matter to look after trawlers, and I have no reason to suppose that these officers are not fulfilling their duty satisfactorily; but I should like some Member of the Government to inform us, a little more in detail than anyone has informed us yet, what are the duties to be performed. When the Local Government Bill was before the House efforts were made to introduce clauses to create Local Authorities for small fishing communities which are not police burghs. These communities have, in several cases, spent considerable sums of money in building piers and harbours; but they have no legal means of imposing dues, whatever dues are paid being voluntarily paid. This is a very hard position. We endeavoured to get an end put to it when the Local Government Bill was before the House, but our efforts were not successful. However, we have received an assurance from the right hon. Gentleman that the matter is looked upon as one of pressing importance, and will receive the early attention of the Government. I know cases in my own county where a total expenditure of £10,000 or £12,000 has been incurred, and where the fishermen themselves have raised £4,000 or £5,000, but where there is no means of imposing dues. No doubt the power of levying dues on boats entering the harbour might be obtained by means of Provisional Orders; but Provisional Orders are very expensive things, and there is no reason why these small communities should be put to such expense when the mischief might be remedied by legislation. I hope the right hon. Gentleman will admit the truth of that proposition, and that the Government will turn their attention to this matter early next Session. These small communities have no Local Authorities, and, therefore, if

they want to get a loan from the Public Works Loan Commissioners there is no one they can get to deal with that body, who are only empowered to deal with Local Authorities. There is another matter that has been frequently brought before the Government, and that is that nothing has yet been done to facilitate fishermen obtaining titles for their houses.

**THE CHAIRMAN:** The hon. Member is now going wide of the Vote before the Committee. The point he is alluding to has no relation to the Fishery Board.

**MR. DUFF:** The Fishery Board Report dealt with the subject, Sir; but I will only say with regard to it, that I hope it will receive the attention of the Government. I will not continue my remarks any further. I think the Government have shown, by what they have done on the West coast, that they have some sympathy with the fishermen. I give them credit for philanthropic motives, but I must say they have been more philanthropic than successful. I do not think they have done much good. So far as the district I represent is concerned they have done nothing whatever to benefit the condition of the fishing, but I sincerely hope that early next Session they will give attention to some of the points I have mentioned.

(4.36.) **MR. BARCLAY** (Forfarshire): This Vote has been looked forward to with a great deal of interest by the fishermen on the East coast of Scotland. I very much regret that the Government have not been able to bring forward a Bill for the re-constitution of the Fishery Board. During the last few years there has been a great scarcity of bait on the East coast, and the fishermen have been looking forward with hope to the adoption of the valuable and practical recommendations of the Departmental Commission which sat on this subject under the Presidency of the Member for Berwick. The case of the fishermen was that the mussel beds are not sufficiently protected, that insufficient attention is given to the cultivation of mussels, and that the price of bait is consequently extremely high. I have heard of cases in which the value of the fish caught by the fisherman has very little exceeded the price paid for the bait. I do not think it would require

any large grant of money to remedy this state of things. What is wanted is a responsible body, aided by a grant of public money, to initiate the fishermen into the methods of cultivating bait, and who will be responsible for the protection of the beds. If that were done I believe it would be attended with such satisfactory results that the money advanced would ultimately be repaid. I regret the tone in which the hon. Member for Banffshire referred to the Fishery Board and to Mr. Johnston. In connection with the Fishery Board Mr. Johnston and his colleague have rendered valuable service to the fishermen. They have gone to the Continent and witnessed the methods of fish curing practised in foreign countries, and they have given the benefits of their views and conclusions to the fishermen of Scotland. As regards the particular matter to which my hon. Friend referred, I contend that if Mr. Johnston erred at all it was on the side of zeal for the fishing interests, because he believed that Scotland was entitled to a far larger sum than £31,500 out of the surplus herring brand. I hardly think that Mr. Johnston was correctly reported in the speeches that he made. The present Fishery Board is a great improvement on the previous one, and, although it is not equal to the expectations I had formed of it, I do not think the blame lies with the present Government. It lies, I think, further back. But let us hope that the Government will bring forward a measure early next Session which will provide us with a satisfactory Board, and also give us a sum of money for the purpose of benefiting the Scotch fisheries. The money we at present receive is altogether inadequate, and if the Chancellor of the Exchequer had been in the House I should have ventured to appeal to him to extend the grant. The small sum we have received has been, so far, well and judiciously applied. Steps have been taken in the direction of making scientific investigations, but it is impossible to expect a large amount of scientific work to be done, seeing that the Scientific Department of the Board receives no remuneration. It is not to be expected that that amount of time can be devoted to the work which the necessities of the case demand. From the example of other countries, I think



a great deal ought to be done in the way of cultivating fish in Scotland, especially the mussel. It is not money so much as intelligence that is required; and I hope the Government will bear this in mind, and will endeavour to secure the services of some scientific men who will devote a considerable amount of time to the work. Another thing in connection with which there is a good deal of excitement and irritation amongst the fishermen, is the police of the sea. Acts have been passed in this House for the purpose of excluding trawlers from within three miles from the coast, and a Bill has been passed this Session largely increasing the penalties, but what is wanted is that the police of the seas shall be more vigorously administered. Trawlers, in the absence of the police boats, frequently come within the three mile limit, and do great damage, and I think steps should be taken to render this impossible. This Vote is altogether inadequate, and I think the Chancellor of the Exchequer should see his way to spend at least £5,000 on improving the Scotch fisheries. I think my hon. Friend has largely over-estimated the expense of Provisional Orders. If there is no opposition—and I think there will be none in this case—a Provisional Order could be obtained for £130 or £150. I obtained a Provisional Order for a small harbour on the coast of Forfarshire two years ago, and I think the figure I have named would be ample. I hope the Government will not fail to bring forward the new Fishery Bill at an early period next Session, and that they will give ample power to the Fishery Board, particularly with a view to the cultivation and preservation of mussels.

(4.47.) MR. MUNRO FERGUSON (Leith): I think all will acknowledge that the Scotch Fishery Board, so far as it is able, endeavours to do its best for the interests committed to its charge. There are one or two points to which I wish to draw the attention of the Committee in connection with the Vote. Constant complaints have been made by fishermen in Mid Lothian that trawling is not sufficiently watched, especially during the night time, and that trawlers poach on waters which are supposed to be protected. I think it will be realised that one ship cannot protect the whole of the coast nominally placed under the pro-

*Mr. Barclay*

tection of the cruisers, and that it would be well to add another cruiser to the Service. I recently suggested to the Mid Lothian fishermen that they should petition in favour of an additional cruiser; but they declined to do so, because they said that unless there was on board the cruiser some local man who knew the coast and the habits of the trawlers, the Service would not be efficiently conducted, and no benefit would be obtained from the expenditure. I have no doubt the captains of the cruisers do the best they can, but the complaints are constant, and I believe that until some local man who knows the coast is put on board the cruisers, the fishermen will not be content with the protection afforded them. I sincerely hope the Government will realise that some further sum should be allowed in the form of a harbour grant. With respect to the herring brand surplus, it has been the cause of great discontent among fishermen that no money has been received by them for the improvement of Fishery Harbours out of that surplus. The example of other countries is, certainly, worth paying some attention to. I see that in France £30,000 has been spent by the Government on harbours within the last 50 years, and I think some further attention might be given to the wants of the poorer localities in regard to the fishery accommodation in Scotland. I hope we shall have some assurance from the Lord Advocate that next year a Bill will be introduced and carried through on the subject.

(4.52.) DR. CLARK (Caithness): I quite agree with what my hon. Friend says about the herring brand fishery surplus. This year we have a surplus of £1,500, and last year there was no surplus at all. If the Treasury acted fairly towards us, and did not charge £300 for a pension, and large sums for stationery and other things, there would be a larger sum to devote to this purpose. I wish the Treasury would treat us with one-tenth of the generosity with which they treat Ireland. I do hope that when the Fishery Board is re-constructed the Chairman will be a practical man, who will devote his entire time to the work. I think it is time that the gentleman at present holding the position should retire on a full pension. He has served his country long and honourably, and if

pensions ought to be given to anybody he has a good right to one. I am sorry to see that between the scientific element and the practical element on the Board there has been some little trouble, and a very able scientific man who acted as assistant to the scientific member has been discharged. I very much regret that so unwise a step should have been taken with regard to the *Jackal*. I may say if the First Lord of the Admiralty had been here I would have moved a reduction of the Vote. The noble Lord was asked in this House whether it was the duty of those on board the *Jackal* to give assistance to the fishing boats when they got grounded, and when they could not get round during gales, and he replied that it was not their duty. We are giving £100 to the Commander of the *Jackal*, and we are providing £200 a year for the *Vigilant*. We have a right, under these circumstances, to demand that these vessels should give assistance to the fishing boats when they are in distress. Certainly, if assistance be refused again we shall move the reduction of the Vote, as a protest against such unbecoming conduct.

\*(4.57.) MR. H. T. ANSTREUTHER (St. Andrews, &c.): I would ask the Lord Advocate to be so good as to inquire, with respect to what has been called the police of the sea, if it be not the case that the average speed of the steam trawlers who fish in prohibited waters is higher than that of the cruisers placed there to prevent them from committing offences against the law? I am informed on good authority that this is the case. If so, it is easy to see that no amount of goodwill, or zeal, or efficiency on the part of those on board the cruisers can prevent them being at a disadvantage in bringing the offenders to justice.

(4.58.) DR. FARQUHARSON (Aberdeenshire, W.): I have taken great interest in the scientific part of the work of the Fishery Board. That work is extremely valuable, not only in the interest of abstract science, but in the interest of the fishing community generally and of the country at large. It is to be regretted that Professor Cosmo Ewart is the only member of the Board who is entirely unremunerated for his services, but it is remarkable to observe how much good work he has done.

The scientific labours of the Board are not only carried on in Edinburgh, but all along the Scottish coast in connection with researches into the habitats of fish and into the damage done by steam trawling. I wish again to complain of the non-appearance of the Report, and I venture to hope that in future years we will have this Report in our hands while the discussion of these estimates is proceeding, so that those who have an interest in scientific work of the Board should be able to say a word appreciative of that work.

(4.59.) MR. ANGUS SUTHERLAND (Sutherland): My constituents take a very great interest in this matter of the Fishery Board. I am sorry to say that they have come to the conclusion that this is an entirely inadequate scheme; and I think that the want of confidence in the Board on the part of the fishermen is an obstacle to this House framing a scheme. This Fishery Board was first instituted to administer the bounty system. The bounty system has been abolished, but the Board remains; and it is perfectly evident that the machinery created for the purpose of administering the bounty system, now dead, cannot be the one best fitted for carrying out all that pertains to the industry at the present time. I have had occasion more than once to call the attention of the Lord Advocate to the vexatious restraints placed on this industry by antiquated regulations. I have pointed out that the prosecutions of the fish-curers have been a source of very great expense and annoyance, the prosecutions being instituted when the packages were only an infinitesimal fraction short of the standard. The fish curers represent to me the great disadvantage they are put under in the foreign markets by compelling them to put the fish into packages of a certain size. I hope the Government will bring in the promised Bill for the re-constitution of the Fishery Board, and that other matters to which I have referred will not be overlooked.

\*(5.5.) MR. MARJORIBANKS (Berwickshire): I will not go into the question of the Fishery Board. I think my views on the matter are pretty well known to the right hon. Gentlemen opposite. I would rather refer to the work of the Board, and I think that what has been said about the

scientific work of the Board is exceedingly true. I believe they have done very valuable service, both to the fishery industry and to science generally, by the investigations they have made, and I hope no check will be placed on that useful work. In that connection, however, I think it is rather a pity that the Board are inclined to throw cold water on the work done in the St. Andrews Laboratory. I hope they will be induced to make greater use of that very invaluable institution. Another point I wish to raise is the question of police. I do think the Scotch fisheries want to be better policed altogether. They want the regulations better enforced, and it is impossible to do that unless you have a sufficient number of fast cruisers to act as police. It is undoubtedly the fact that the trawlers do constantly evade the restrictions placed upon them and come into territorial waters. I do not think it is possible to enforce these regulations too severely, and I hope that greater attention will be given to this point than in the past. With regard to the question of the Harbour Fund in the hands of the Scotch Fishery Board, it is not very large in amount. Harbour works are, unfortunately, expensive matters, and, therefore, at present the Fishery Board has not the power of doing very much good in this respect. The Board, I believe, maintains that it has not the power to use the funds for the purpose of collateral security for the loans by the Public Works Loans Commissioners. If that is the case, I think it is a very great pity. I believe it would be a very useful way of using the fund at the disposal of the Board to help on works arranged for by the Local Authorities. I hope the right hon. Gentleman may be able to give us encouragement to hope that if the Board has not the power now, it will have the power in the future to use the fund for the purposes of collateral security. Another point is that of the officers of the Fishery Board. Whatever we may say of the Board, we can all join in praising the work of the officers. I think they are an admirable body of public servants who have a great deal of work to do, and who have carried out that work well. These men have had an enormous number of extra duties imposed upon them in recent years, and

*Mr. Marjoribanks*

they have had no increase of pay. The Fishery Board officers, as a rule, had originally nothing to do but superintend the mere act of branding the herring. They only required a special knowledge of the method of the white herring cure, and of the make and size of the barrels. But now they have duties of a very much larger and wider description. To some extent they are policemen, and to some extent Magistrates. They really deal with many of the smaller cases of dispute, and settle them to the great satisfaction of the fishermen, and with a great saving of expense to all parties. The Fishery Board officer is besides a collector of statistics, and he has many points of many Acts to administer. I think it very hard that these men should have had no increase of pay given to them for so many years. When I brought this subject before the Government on a previous occasion, I was told that the matter was worthy of consideration, and that the case ought to be attended to and looked upon favourably. But again it is one of those cases where delay has been the order of the day. Whatever may be done with regard to the Fishery Board, the officers will have to be maintained. I hope before another year comes round there will be some amelioration of their condition, and that an addition will be made to their pay.

(5.20.) COLONEL NOLAN (Galway, N.): Whenever I have asked for the prohibition of trawlers in Irish waters, I have been requested to await the result of the experiment in Scotch waters. Now, that experiment has been going on for several years, and I want to know from the Lord Advocate whether he can state that any success has attended it.

(5.21.) THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. P. B. ROBERTSON, Bute): In reply to the hon. and gallant Member, I have to say, with regard to the experiment of prohibition, that the Act was only passed last Session, and there has not been time to gain information. There is no doubt that the experiment has been successful. The right hon. Gentleman opposite has alluded to various topics. Of course, it is quite proper that Parliamentary attention should be called to them, but it is rather for the Fishery Board to take notice of the suggestions of hon.

Members than that they should be discussed here. As regards the Report of the Fishery Board, I am sorry that it is not in the hands of hon. Members. I imagine that the cause of the delay is the exceedingly elaborate nature of the Report. There are a variety of duties connected with the duties of the Board, and there are statistics of a very elaborate and instructive character. So far as we are concerned, every effort is made to press on the Report. Various remarks have been made on the Scotch Fishery Board, but I do not think it desirable to say anything discouraging to them during the remaining years of their office. I have no doubt they will take in a good spirit all that has been said with reference to their administration. Reference has been made by several hon. Gentlemen to the position of the Herring Brand Fund. I hope hon. Gentlemen have not failed to observe that the present position of the Herring Brand Fund is greatly improved, in so far as the amount available is concerned. A Departmental Committee was appointed, and their Report led to a re-arrangement of the charges which are put upon the Herring Brand Fund. That is evidenced by the large amount of expenditure in the original estimate, and the considerable amount which appears in the supplementary estimate. The hon. Member for Banffshire did not approve of the amount paid for telegraphs, and says it is really in aid of Imperial expenses, and ought not, therefore, to be part of the system. That is barely accurate. The grant is not in aid of Imperial Funds, for this reason: that the money is paid out of the Herring Brand Fund simply for the benefit of those who are unable to raise the guarantee required by the Post Office. Then it is urged that there is not sufficient assistance given for the increase of fishery harbours, where the local funds are not sufficient for the purpose. I was asked by the Member for Berwickshire for some assurance as to using this money for the purpose of collateral security. I am aware that the debt on harbours has been paid out of the Herring Brand Fund, but this a point of considerable difficulty. I will take note of it, and see that the attention of the proper authorities is called to the subject. The hon. Member for Banffshire called attention

to the question of instructions to the cruisers. So far as the *Jackal* is concerned, I will speak with a certain amount of reserve, because it is a Queen's ship, while the *Vigilant* is under the control of the Fishery Board. Generally speaking, the duties they have to perform are to maintain the Fishery Conventions in the interest of the foreign fishermen and our own fishermen, when the latter were brought into contact with foreigners; to enforce the regulations in regard to fishing; to keep order where the fishing boats congregate; to prevent offences against the Act of Parliament relating to fisheries; and to aid in the recovery of nets and gear which have been lost or abandoned. I think that is a fair general statement of the duties which fall upon them. The hon. Member put a hypothetical case which he presumed had occurred. But these things are so much questions of special circumstances that I do not think he can base a conclusion on the question of responsibility, either for going or for refusing to go, on special occasions. It would depend largely on the distance which it was necessary to go upon the exigencies of the case, and upon the other duties which fall to be discharged by the boat. Of course, it would be rash on my part if I were to pronounce on the case which the hon. Member has put. Several hon. Gentlemen have described the existing police arrangements on the sea as inefficient. I suppose they will all agree that, given the existing staff, the fullest possible use is made of these two boats, and probably it is true that in a chase with a trawler the cruisers, not having the speed, may be at a disadvantage. But hon. Members must not attach too much importance to that. Under the valuable Anstruther Act the penalties for offences are increased to such an extent as to warrant the hope that the trawlers will take warning not to offend. We have not had time yet to see the full effect of that Act. Then the hon. Member for Sutherlandshire spoke of some prosecutions which he regarded as unnecessary, or which, at all events, might have been dispensed with, for offences in connection with the Herring Brand. The hon. Member has called attention to the subject in Parliament, but I do not think he can complain of such cases recently.

Mr. A. SUTHERLAND: What I wish is that the herring fishermen should be relieved from all anxiety on the subject, and not be liable to interpret rules which they cannot understand.

Mr. J. P. B. ROBERTSON: At any rate, it is a number of months since the question was raised, and I gather that nothing has occurred since then which has given rise to anxiety. The hon. Member for Banffshire has asked as to power to borrow on the rates. An answer to that question has already been given by the hon. Member for Forfarshire. I have looked into the question, and I think at present that the only solution of the difficulty which has been described, and which I quite believe has occurred in various parts of the country, is by a Provisional Order. The difficulty or expense of obtaining it depends on the conditions stated by the hon. Member for Forfarshire. If there were no opposition, the expense would be comparatively trifling, and it affords a complete solution of the difficulty. On the other hand, the efforts made to reduce the cost of the Provisional Order by having an inquiry locally would, of course, tend to reduce the expense. I think, however, looking to the existing Statute Law on the subject, the hon. Member has touched on a point where the facilities are not perhaps so complete as would be desirable considering the great importance of the subject. It will be looked into. The right hon. Gentleman has raised the question of the Fishery Board Officers—a subject to which he called attention two years ago. The reason of the delay has not been procrastination. The reason is this: As the right hon. Gentleman is aware, the whole subject of the expediency of continuing the Herring Brand has been again raised. The question of how the law should be enforced was raised, and the Fishery Board sent an expedition to the Continent, which has resulted, I believe, rather in confirming the opinion that the Fishery Board is efficient. But until the question is decided, more or less one way or the other, it is in vain to consider the salaries of these officers, because they might or might not have duties of a very considerable kind to undertake. But once it is ascertained what their duties will be, the question of their

salaries may fairly be taken into consideration.

(5.38.) Mr. DUFF: I think the Lord Advocate has replied in a very fair spirit. I quite admit that in this year's Estimates there has been a reduction of the amount to about £6,400, and that it was some years ago £5,000. So far I give the Government credit for that. But when the right hon. Gentleman came to deal with the Telegraph Vote, I do not think the explanation was quite so satisfactory. My complaint was that there was an expenditure of £5,017 on telegraphs for fishery extension, and that out of that sum the Fishery Board had paid about £4,000. Considering that these telegraphs are used for national purposes, I think it is unfair that so large a proportion of the Charge is laid on the Herring Brand Fund. I trust that matter will engage the attention of the Treasury. As to the *Jackal* being a Queen's ship, I would remind the right hon. Gentleman that the salary of the commander of that vessel is on the Votes, and we have a right to expect that the instructions given to the *Vigilant* should be extended to the *Jackal*. I think the right hon. Gentleman's answer satisfactory, but I should be glad to hear of more stringent instructions being given to the cruisers to afford greater protection. With regard to what fell from the Lord Advocate concerning a Provisional Order, the great objection to that is the expense. So far as my recollection goes, in a Return published of the expenses of Provisional Orders, none was under £160. I do not think the question would be entirely met if they did get a Provisional Order, or that it would constitute a Local Authority able to mortgage the fishery.

(5.40.) Mr. MUNRO FERGUSON: I suppose the Lord Advocate will understand that there is discontent with the management of the cruisers. There is the greatest possible discontent with the guardianship of the fisheries, and I am afraid there is some ground for that discontent. I was informed lately that the Admiralty had been applied to for an additional cruiser. I should be glad to know that there is a chance of an additional cruiser being supplied.

Mr. A. SUTHERLAND: In case of telegraphs being granted to a locality,

does it rest with the Secretary for Scotland or the Post Office?

MR. J. P. B. ROBERTSON: It rests with the Fishery Board. If there is any difficulty about the cruisers not being forthcoming, the proper course would be to apply to the Fishery Board with a view to having the cruisers used to the best advantage.

\*(5.41.) MR. T. SUTHERLAND (Greenock): I have to call attention to the extent to which a trawl fishing is now allowed. A Petition has been submitted to the Town Council and to the Fishery Board on this subject. It states that line fishing has been almost done away with in consequence of the extent to which trawl fishing prevails. I shall be quite satisfied if the Lord Advocate will say that this matter shall be looked into, because I believe permission has been given far too hurriedly by the Fishery Board for beam trawl fishing. I believe that it is only right and fair that a new line of demarcation should be drawn beyond which this mode of fishing should not be permitted.

MR. J. P. B. ROBERTSON: On the question to which the right hon. Gentleman refers, I presume that the Order in respect of the fishery was approved by the Secretary for Scotland.

\*MR. T. SUTHERLAND: In the neighbourhood which I represent the line fishermen on this question like Home Rule. We should like our "ain fish guts for our ain sea maws."

(5.42.) Vote agreed to.

2. £6,503, to complete the sum for the Board of Supervision for Relief of the Poor, and for Public Health, Scotland.

(5.43.) DR. FARQUHARSON: I do not wish to go at any length into the constitution of that mysterious body, the Board of Supervision. I find that a salary of £200 is given to the medical officer who is employed occasionally. He is a most excellent man—Dr. Littlejohn, Medical Officer of Health for Edinburgh—but I should think he is fully occupied in other directions, and that he has no time to give to the working of this great and comprehensive machine. A contrast should be drawn between this and the Local Government Board in England, where £13,000 is given for scientific purposes, and for collecting scientific information with a

view to the prevention of the spread of disease. I would point out that now Local Authorities throughout Scotland have to appoint sanitary officers, and that it is necessary to place the central machinery on a better basis for the purpose of receiving Reports from all over the country.

(5.43.) MR. J. P. B. ROBERTSON: The gentleman to whom the salary of £200 is paid is one of the highest medical authorities in Scotland, and the Board has the advantage of his experience and advice. This is not an appropriate occasion to raise the question of the expenditure of this Board under the Local Government Act, because each county will have to appoint its own Sanitary Officer.

DR. FARQUHARSON: I do not cast any imputation upon the abilities of Dr. Littlejohn, who is a personal friend of mine. He is a man for whose work I have the highest respect, and I only wish he could get treble the amount for it. My only fear is that he will not have time for the duties imposed upon him by the right hon. Gentleman.

(5.46.) DR. CLARK: In Ireland you give the chief officer £1,200 a year, and each of his staff £300; and in England you give him £1,200, and the members of his staff £800. You spend £13,000 in England, and about £4,300 in Ireland. In Scotland you only give this £200 a year to the Medical Officers. This is only one of many illustrations of the shabby manner in which you treat Scotland. People talk of the way in which India is exploited. As a matter of fact, the only country exploited is poor Scotland. Matters which in Scotland are paid for out of the local rate, are here met by Parliamentary grants. I hope to-night, now that the Rule is suspended, that the Motion for the appointment of a Committee, which has been put down week after week, will be dealt with, and that we shall get a Committee appointed, and a fair amount of money spent in Scotland. On the whole the present system works in a very unsatisfactory manner, and it would seem that these Boards are created less for the advantage of the public than for the benefit of certain individuals. I hope the Government will see their way to the re-construction of the Scotch Fishery Board in such a

way as to promote the interests of the fisheries at large.

Vote agreed to.

### CLASS III.

3. £87,423, to complete the sum for Law Charges and Courts of Law, Scotland.

(5.46.) MR. PHILIPPS (Lanark, Mid): I desire to call the attention of the Committee to a circumstance in connection with the prohibition of a public meeting which was to have taken place at Wishaw Cross on the 2nd of June last. It was called by the Wishaw United Temperance Council to consider the licensing clauses of the Local Taxation Bill, and at 25 minutes past 2 on that day the following notice was served on the organizer of the meeting:—

“Chief Constable’s Office,  
Lanark, 2nd June, 1890,  
2.25 p.m.

“Sir,

“It is my duty to inform you that the Constabulary have received instructions from the Magistrates of the Burgh of Wishaw that the open-air meeting advertised by placard to be held at the Cross, Wishaw, on this day, Monday, 2nd June, 1890, at or about 8 p.m., is prohibited, and must not be held either at the Cross or on or adjacent to the public streets of the burgh. Under the circumstances I shall be glad to receive your assurance that this order of the Magistrates will be strictly complied with, and I have desired the Constabulary Officer who will attend with this letter to ascertain if he can assist you or in any way facilitate whatever arrangements may be necessary to guard against public inconvenience.

“Believe me, Sir, your obedient servant,

“WALLACE B. M’HARDY,

“Com. R.N. and Chief Constable.

“To the Rev. G. Whittet,

Belhaven Terrace,

Wishaw.”

In consequence of this notice the meeting was not held at the Cross, but was held in another place, a hall or school-room. Now, Sir, Wishaw Cross is not a large place, but meetings are regularly held there every week nearly or quite the whole year round. The Cross is formed by the intersection of two roads. A very small portion of the space has been shut off for building purposes, but even allowing for this, the space left is large enough for any public meeting likely to be held in Wishaw. The roads measure 54½ ft., 35 ft., 50 ft., and 59 ft. respectively at the Cross. This is not a very large area,

*Dr. Clark*

but in a small town like Wishaw, where there is not a great deal of wheeled traffic, there is ample room for a meeting, especially when called for 8 o’clock in the evening, at which time the business traffic is practically over for the day. I should state that this is the first public meeting which has ever been stopped in the Town of Wishaw. I may add that I put a question to the Lord Advocate on this subject some time ago, and, in reply, the Lord Advocate stated that—

“The Magistrates, who are the elected police Magistrates of the burgh, had no apprehension of disturbance, and that their interference was in no way actuated by the nature or objects of the meeting or the conflicting opinions of any section of the community. They acted solely because the place proposed was a part of the streets where, in their judgment, a large public meeting could not be held without the ordinary traffic of the streets being interfered with, and danger of accident arising.”

Well, in answer to this, I have to say that meetings have always been held at Wishaw Cross, without let or hindrance, and that no disturbance or obstruction has ever taken place, the only ground for magisterial interference being where the Magistrates might apprehend or anticipate disturbance or obstruction. Well, Sir, the Lord Advocate went on to say—

“The primary object of the intimation was to prevent a meeting being held at this particular place. The Magistrates considered that that was entirely within their discretion.”

It will be seen that the Lord Advocate takes very good care not to make this statement his own. He goes on to say—

“The place was so narrow that a public meeting held there would obstruct traffic and endanger the lieges. They seemed to have extended the notice to the whole of the streets of Wishaw.”

THE CHAIRMAN: Order, order! I do not see how this can be connected with the Vote before the Committee. Perhaps the hon. Member may be able to explain how he can connect it with the question under discussion?

MR. PHILIPPS: My contention is this, that the action of the Magistrates was illegal, and that the Lord Advocate has practically justified that illegal action on the part of the Magistrates.

(5.52.) THE CHAIRMAN: I think that this is quite irregular. The Lord Advocate simply intimated the opinion of the Magistrates. If the action of the

Magistrates was illegal, there is a way to test that illegality. The Lord Advocate is not responsible for what they did, and cannot be questioned in this matter.

MR. PHILIPPS: I suppose I should not be in order in pressing the Lord Advocate to give a distinct answer as to what power the Magistrates possessed, and whence they derive that power. But surely I am in order on a question involving the Lord Advocate's salary in discussing the action of the Magistrates with regard to a particular matter which is justified by the Lord Advocate?

THE CHAIRMAN: You may examine the propriety or impropriety of the action of the Lord Advocate, and if you desire to get from the Lord Advocate an expression of his opinion, I think you may do so.

MR. PHILIPPS: I desire to ask under what Statute the Magistrates of a police burgh have power to prevent a public meeting being held? As I understand it, the powers of the Magistrates are derived from the Police (Scotland) Act, 1862.

THE CHAIRMAN: Order, order! The hon. Member cannot argue that question.

MR. PHILIPPS: But surely I may ask whether there is anything in Section 24 of that Act, giving the Magistrates such a power, and, if so, what it is?

MR. J. P. B. ROBERTSON: I stated that I understood the Magistrates to proceed on this ground, that they apprehended that a meeting on a subject of this kind was likely to draw a large crowd, and that such a meeting held in a narrow street would cause inconvenience and obstruction. I am not responsible for what the Magistrates have done. They are properly elected persons, and bear the responsibility for their own acts. But my view of the law is this: If the Magistrates had chosen to have waited until the event occurred, and a great crowd had collected, by which the ordinary traffic was stopped, it would have been their duty to remove the people. What the Magistrates did by their proclamation was to let the people know that if the meeting was persisted in they would put a stop to it, inasmuch as it was their duty to keep the streets open. Accordingly they simply gave an intimation through the chief of their police that if the people wished to hold

a peaceful meeting it would be better to hold it elsewhere than at the Cross. With regard to the power of the Magistrates to proclaim the meeting I entirely agree with what was said by the Home Secretary on that subject.

MR. PHILIPPS: I contend that in acting as they did the Magistrates exceeded their powers. They might have warned the organisers of the meeting that they could not occupy the whole of the space at the cross roads, and I want to get from the Lord Advocate some information on the question whether in Scotland meetings may or may not be held in the public streets? It seems to me a serious matter to say to those who want to hold meetings in the open air that they shall not be able to do so, and I trust the Lord Advocate will now lay down what he regards as the law on this subject.

MR. J. P. B. ROBERTSON: I stated frankly, but not in lecturing tones, that I considered the terms of the Proclamation were too wide, and when I stated that I assumed it would be understood that the Magistrates might take the hint from a Minister who was speaking with a certain amount of moderation.

(5.59.) DR. CLARK: I think we may be content with the answer which has just been given by the Lord Advocate, who has told us he thoroughly agrees with the Home Secretary. The Lord Advocate has practically adopted the view that there is a right of public meeting, and that the Magistrates cannot put a stop to public meetings in this fashion, although it would appear that the law is somewhat differently administered in Scotland to what is the case in England. In Scotland no redress can be obtained in such a case as this without the legal assent of the Lord Advocate, while in England no such assent is necessary. I wish to remind the Lord Advocate of an assurance he gave us some little time ago, with regard to the legal rights of those who desire to prevent the pollution of Loch Long. It was then understood that proceedings would be taken against those who polluted the water. I hope he will now give the Committee some assurance that the nuisance complained of shall be put a stop to. This matter is of importance to Scotland, because there are many outdoor meetings held in that



country in connection with mission, temperance, and political work.

(6.1.) MR. W. A. HUNTER (Aberdeen, N.): I have to apologise to the Lord Advocate for bringing forward without notice the matter on which I am about to speak, but my main object is to explain the facts, in the hope that the right hon. Gentleman will on Monday be able to give some explanation in regard to them. On the 19th of July a strike of cabmen occurred in Aberdeen. On the following Monday the Magistrates held a meeting and resolved not to issue new licences for any additional cabmen for 24 hours, in the hope that before that period expired the cab proprietors would come to terms with the cabmen. It appears that terms were not come to within that period, and the Magistrates thereupon decided that they would not issue any licences for a week. The consequence of that necessarily was that, the great majority of cabmen having withdrawn from employment, the only cabs that could be driven in the streets were those driven by unlicensed cabmen. It is obvious that the police must have known that these unlicensed men were employed during that seven days, and although the attention of the procurator fiscal was distinctly called to the subject—and it ought to have been under his cognisance without any special call—no attempt was made to prosecute any of these unlicensed drivers. This is a very delicate and very serious matter affecting the administration of justice in Scotland, because in Scotland, unlike England, there are no private prosecutors. The entire power of instituting a prosecution lies with the publicly appointed officer, and it is of the highest importance that he should be above suspicion, and that it should not be possible to say that he has abstained from putting the law into force against these unlicensed drivers with the view of assisting one of two parties to a trade disturbance. These facts have only been brought to my notice by the last post, and I state them with all reserve. I hope the Lord Advocate will, between now and Monday, make inquiries, and that if he finds any neglect on the part of the police to institute these prosecutions he will take some steps to secure that in future the balance of the police will be held evenly.

*Dr. Clark*

(6.6.) MR. J. P. B. ROBERTSON: As the hon. Gentleman conjectures, I have no knowledge on the subject, but I will make inquiry, and have no doubt I shall be able to give an answer on Monday. I may tell the House, however, that the matter is rather one for the Burgh Authorities.

(6.7.) MR. WALLACE (Edinburgh, E.): There are one or two points on which I should like to say a few words. There are certain increases on various items which, I think, require explanation. Take, for example, the case of the expenses of the clerk to the Lord Advocate. For years they did not exceed £180, and now they have gone up to £200. Then there is the Vote of expenses for the legal secretary to the Lord Advocate in London. That, too, has gone up in amount, and I should like to know why. I do not grudge any necessary expenditure, but I do think we should know why there is an increase of £50 in this one item. Again, the Vote for writing has gone up from £50 to £80, yet we have no explanation of it. Next there has been for several years an annual charge of £700, which has been paid to the legal secretary for drawing Bills for Scotland. If we get £700 worth of Bills drawn a year, we certainly do not get £700 worth of Acts passed. What is the use of having these Bills drawn if the Acts are not allowed to pass? I should think the average annual value of the legislation we get from Scotland is about 2s. 6d. Last year certainly we came off a little better, but only after a frightful besieging of the First Lord of the Treasury could we extort a promise from him that we should have what was, to a certain extent, a Scotch Session. In that Session we certainly got about half the value of the money we spent for drawing Bills. The next item to which I desire to call attention is that providing for the payments of £80 a year each to four trumpeters. Fancy a charge of £320 for four trumpeters! This is the year 1890, remember that. There ought to be a certain chronological congruity between facts and dates. If the payment had been for bagpipes, I think, considering the national character of the music, my opposition would have been disarmed, and, at all events, it would have been left to an English Member, like the

senior Member for Northampton, to challenge a Vote of this nature. The trumpeters not only get £80 a year each for the blasts they occasion, but they get more, because there is an item of £16 16s. 4d. for each of them under the head of salaries and allowances from the Consolidated Fund. I think, considering the inflictions which are imposed upon the community by these men, it would have been far more reasonable if their salaries had been reduced by the £16 odd instead of being augmented. Then they receive a uniform once every five years. I do think that that is too bad. I have had experience of these trumpeters, and I know what they can do. I have an early recollection of an event in my youth—a period which I need not connect with any historical or well-known date. At that time I repaired to the nearest Assize town, out of curiosity, to see how justice was administered in the country in which I hoped, in the future, to be able to play a part, public or private. The procession from the place where the Judges stayed to that in which they performed their functions, was a terrible show, to my youthful imagination, and even in my later recollection it was a remarkable scene. The performance of these trumpeters was a frightful performance, if I may be permitted to say so. It was simply appalling, and the only consolation is that it afforded certain relief in some rationalistic doubts which I had entertained about the falling down of the walls of Jericho. One of these trumpeters who gets £80 a year, is also in receipt of a pension of 2s. 6½d. a day, and I say that this is really a mispending of public money in a way for which it is impossible to find an excuse. The money might be much better spent. I do not see what good is done by making these frightful noises in the Assize towns, when the Scotch Judges go there to dispense justice. It is never done in Edinburgh. The Lord Advocate never has a trumpet, unless he blows it himself. There are no trumpeters appointed to the Judges in Edinburgh. I have seen those eminent legal gentlemen walking up the Mound in Edinburgh with no person in front proclaiming through any sort of instrument that anyone particular was ascending the declivity. I am glad to see that the First Lord of the Treasury

has entered the House, because I want him to know that £400 is spent every year in producing useless blasts—blasts which are not only useless but disagreeable and frightful as well. This money had better by far be devoted to endowing a historiographer or an archaeologist in Scotland. That would be a useful application of the money. It would be an encouragement to an excellent occupation, but to spend the cash in sending ridiculous individuals to make noises before the Judges when they are not wanted, ought to be condemned. The Judges administer justice in Edinburgh without any trumpeting, and I do not see why they want the trumpeters in Jedburgh, which was always famous for its justice. The people of Jedburgh do not require trumpeters; they only require the hangman. They first hang their criminals, and then they set to and try the case, and administer justice. These are the customs of our native country, and they are well known to the Lord Advocate. I think, if the Judges were asked, most of them would prefer to do away with these trumpeters. I know a great many of the Judges, both present and prospective. Many of them are men of strong and solid common sense. They are sure to be respected, even without trumpeters, and if any one of them still wants the trumpeting, I think he would be found perfectly well able to blow his own trumpet, without requiring any assistance from the country. Now, there is one other point referring to the Lord Advocate, not as a trumpeter, but as an anti-trumpeter. I am anxious to be relieved from the disagreeable duty of discussing it, and the slightest sign from the right hon. and learned Gentleman will make me subside. I think he has, during the last year—unconsciously I hope—been in the habit of blowing blasts of ridicule and of disagreeable observations against his native country, and its Representatives in this House. I do not want to enter upon this topic, but I am fully prepared to do so, and I have a hat-full of documents here on this Bench. If the Lord Advocate will only say that we are mistaken in thinking that he regards us, as a whole, as a contemptible set of beings, who are only good for the purpose of being ridiculed at country meetings at which he has to

make himself pleasant to his own supporters, I shall be satisfied. But he does not offer to do that. He is not willing to let bygones be bygones, and, therefore, I must proceed. I wish to make an appeal in connection with the relationship he seems to be pleased to occupy with regard to the Representatives of Scotland. I do not complain of what he does in this House. He may have prudential reasons for being pleasant to us here. But out of it, I do not think he conducts himself in such a way as to further the success of Scotch business and Scotch influence here. He must know it requires all the power which Scotch Members can command in order to secure a proper acknowledgment of the claims of Scotland in this House, and that any person in a high and well rewarded official position ought to consider it his duty not to weaken, but rather to strengthen, the hold which Scotland may have on the business of this House. Now, does the right hon. and learned Gentleman on all occasions so conduct himself as to promote the claims of the Representatives of Scotland with regard to public business? During the last Recess he went down to Inverness, and, speaking of us, he said that one of the greatest difficulties in the way of Scotch business arose from the unpopularity of Scotch Members in the House of Commons. He continued—

“It is idle to mince matters, but one of the chief things which make it difficult for a Minister to propose Scotch business is that it entails a torrent of idle talk from the dullest of speakers.”

He went on in other ways to emphasise the same description of his country and its Representatives, and when he was challenged, if I remember rightly, by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Berwickshire, he rather strengthened the cause of complaint by throwing additional ridicule upon us in speaking of the possibilities of a Scotch Parliament. He spoke of it as one of the most dismal prospects that could be seen, because of the dullness, the horribleness, of any such Assembly being created. What I want to ask the Lord Advocate is, whether this continual trumpeting of the ridiculous nature of his country, and of its Parliamentary Representatives especially, will conduce to the forwarding of Scottish business in the House?

*Mr. Wallace*

I appeal to the generosity of the right hon. Gentleman. It is all very well for the Lord Advocate, with his Titanic gifts, to bestride our narrow world like a colossus, while we petty men walk under his huge legs. If, while engaged in that humble, if unfortunate occupation, the right hon. Gentleman should sit down upon us when in his way, and squelch us into a political pulp, how can he expect that that will be a mode of making us fitter and better for the promotion of Scottish business? I think that the Lord Advocate should be generous in the exercise of the high gifts which, by his own declaration, he constructively possesses, and tolerant to the unfortunate gifts which, by the same declaration and acknowledgment, the Scottish Members possess. It is all very well to have a giant's power, but it ought not to be used with a giant's strength. The right hon. Gentleman ought to descend to the level of men of poor estate, and remember that the Scottish Members are doing the best they can with the scanty power which nature has bestowed upon them. The right hon. Gentleman ought to do the best he can to screen our defects, and to make apologies for our weaknesses, and to say that, as far as he has been able to observe, the Scottish Representatives are doing the best with the humble opportunities and with the imperfect powers that nature and Parliament have allotted to them. Indeed, the right hon. Gentleman's style of speaking of his country and of his countrymen is unworthy of him.

(6.35.) MR. J. P. B. ROBERTSON : The salaries for trumpeters are payable only to certain persons who were appointed before the new arrangement came into operation, but the present arrangement will probably soon pass into abeyance. The allowance for subsistence money of the clerk is regulated by scale, and the reason why the sum is larger in the case of the clerk than in the case of the legal secretary, is due to the clerk's being in town for a longer time during the year than the legal secretary. As to the cost of drafting Bills, no doubt there is a discrepancy between the number of Bills drafted and the number passed into law; but if the hon. Gentleman will lend the Government his aid in making the Bills Acts of

Parliament, the yield of legislation may be a great deal larger. As to the speech I delivered at Inverness, let me point out that I have already been tried for that speech. One of the Opposition leaders, the right hon. Member for Berwickshire (Mr. Majoribanks) took the earliest opportunity of bringing the question forward on the Address, and the worst passages of that speech were read out. [Mr. WALLACE: Not the worst.] The hon. Gentleman will, therefore, find that if the case has been misconducted against me on the first trial, and on which I was acquitted, the remedy lies, not against me, but against those who represented the hon. Gentleman on that occasion. The right hon. Member for Mid Lothian also took part in the discussion; so that if the case is one which, as treated by the right hon. Member for Berwickshire, miscarried, and after being treated by the right hon. Member for Mid Lothian again miscarried, I do not think that I am called upon to make any further defence. The hon. Member has spoken of the forbearance I have received from the Scottish Members. I agree with that observation, and I hope that nothing I have said or may say in future will be inconsistent with the personal good will I have enjoyed from my Scottish Colleagues.

(6.42.) MR. A. SUTHERLAND: I have only one word to add to what has been said by the hon. Member for Edinburgh (Mr. Wallace), and I say it rather in explanation of the circumstances under which the Lord Advocate made the speech which I presume I may characterise as an unfortunate speech. It must not be forgotten by my hon. and learned Friend that when the Lord Advocate made that speech his foot was on his native heath, and he was surrounded by the flower of the constitutionalism of the Highlands. Some allowance, therefore, may be made for the exuberance of spirit which the hon. and learned Gentleman displayed on that occasion. Knowing the circumstances, the people of the Highlands have forgotten what the right hon. and learned Gentleman said. The senior Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) had occasion to speak in Inverness very shortly after, and he administered to the Lord Advocate a well-merited castigation. The hon.

Member compared himself to young David who was taking a pebble from the brook to throw at Goliath. The people were satisfied with the efforts of the hon. Member for Northampton. I trust, therefore, that this matter, though it did cause a great deal of friction at the time, will now be forgotten.

(6.43.) MR. MUNRO FERGUSON: I should like some information from the Lord Advocate as to the circumstances under which he has taken no action in regard to the charges made by Mr. J. S. Scott against the right hon. J. H. Macdonald. The case is one which has excited considerable interest and a certain amount of sympathy in my own constituency.

(6.44.) MR. J. P. B. ROBERTSON: The case has been repeatedly considered by myself and my predecessors, and I cannot see any reason to depart from the conclusion arrived at—that there is no ground for any proceedings.

(6.45.) DR. CLARK: I trust that we shall soon get more money for Scotland, so that important legal functionaries, beginning with the Crown Agent and going down to the poorest Procurator Fiscal, will be placed in a position that they will be independent of private practice. In reference to this matter our complaint was that the English Members do not listen to our arguments, but come in to vote when the bell is rung. The right hon. Gentleman thought the reason was that we were rather dull speakers. Well, no one can say that the right hon. Gentleman himself is a dull speaker. There are few men in this House who have the clearness and eloquence of the right hon. Gentleman, but, by a curious irony of fate, when the right hon. Gentleman came to explain the provisions of the Scotch Police Bill—the only Bill passed this Session with reference to Scotland—all the Benches behind him emptied, and only five Scotch Members and four English Members on his own side remained to listen to his short and able exposition of the measure.

(6.46.) MR. A. SUTHERLAND: I wish to draw attention to a question in connection with the Procurators Fiscal in the Highlands. When questioned by me recently the right hon. Gentleman the Lord Advocate undertook that the Procurator Fiscal should not undertake any

duties other than his official duties. I have now to remind the right hon. Gentleman that gentlemen appointed to this position have had to suffer in their incomes on account of the carrying out of this undertaking, and I think it would be well if the right hon. Gentleman would bring his influence to bear in order to secure to Procurators Fiscal the making up of loss of income they have sustained in this matter.

Vote agreed to.

4. £26,559, to complete the sum for the Register House, Edinburgh.

(6.48.) MR. LABOUCHERE (Northampton): My hon. Friend the Member for Caithness (Dr. Clark) with the approval, I think, of many Scotch Members, pointed out just now that Scotchmen were almost always paid too little for the valuable services they render to the country, and when I questioned the accuracy of this observation my hon. Friend was quite aghast at such heretical notions being entertained by an Englishman. Now, I wish to have some information respecting this Vote. I see, in the first place, that the Keeper of the Records and the Registrar General gets £1,200 per annum. I should like to know who he is, and what he does. A deputy Keeper of the Records gets £600, and a Curator of the Historical Department £600 a year. Then there is a Keeper of the General Registry of Sasines and Hornings. What are Sasines and Hornings? There are six assistant Keepers to look after these Sasines and Hornings. The gentleman who looks after these Hornings gets £1,000 per annum, and I want to know what he and his six assistants do for the money.

(6.51.) MR. J. P. B. ROBERTSON: I am afraid the hon. Member would have to sit out a course of lectures in order to fully understand all these points. A sasine is a title to land. In our country these titles are registered, and we are proud of our system of registration. An enormous number of writings come within the jurisdiction of the Keeper of sasines. His is a highly responsible position, and the security of landed property, as far as administration goes, is really in his hands, and those of his assistants. As regards hornings, the requisite warrants for carrying out a decree used to be generally described by

*Mr. A Sutherland*

that old-fashioned word. I may say that the whole of this Registry has been recently explored, and I would refer the hon. Member for further particulars to the hon. Gentleman (Dr. Clark) who sits next to him.

(6.53.) DR. CLARK: I looked into this matter two or three years ago, and my mind was relieved on the subject by finding that this Registry costs us nothing at all, as the expenditure is covered by the fees paid by landlords. A short time ago we were making money out of these sasines and hornings. The Department is being revised now, and I hope the Treasury will, by-and-by, be making £10,000 or £15,000 a year out of the sasines and hornings. The Chief Registrar is also Registrar General, and he performs other functions; but we are practically able to get all the registration work done for nothing.

(6.55.) SIR G. CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.): I think this expenditure is fully justified, and that we have one of the best systems of registration in the world. I think we have reason to complain that the Lord Advocate did not defend our system sufficiently. The right hon. Gentleman is a paid officer, and I think it a pity he did not make a better reply, but left it to my hon. Friend (Dr. Clark) and myself to do it for him.

Vote agreed to.

5. £6,620, to complete the sum for the Crofters' Commission.

(6.57.) DR. CLARK: It is necessary to raise an important point with reference to this Vote. The great thing wanted in the Highlands, above all others, is the power to increase holdings, and I trust that before this time next year some measure will be passed on the subject. The Commissioners have not yet been able to hear all the cases brought before them. I have always held that if you give the bulk of the crofters their land for nothing you would not sufficiently increase their standard of comfort. In the 7,000 or 8,000 cases determined by the Commission it has been established beyond all question that rack-renting has been going on, because the Commissioners have reduced rent from an average of £6 a year to an average of £4 a year. Now, it is absolutely impossible for a man to bring up

a family in decency and comfort on a croft rented at £4 a year, and it is, therefore, necessary to increase the holdings. The Committee upstairs wanted to call the head of the Commission to give evidence as to why there has been practically no increase in the holdings, but we were told Sheriff Brand did not care about coming before the Committee. We were told that the Commissioners had sent a Memorial to the Secretary of State, and I trust we shall have that placed on the Table of the House, so that we shall know whether or not these clauses that are so necessary to the well being of the Highland people are a dead letter. With regard to the complaint made for two or three years by my hon. Friend the Member for Rossshire as to the reduction of rents made by the Commissioners, I have been able to verify it in my own county, and I say most emphatically that the Commissioners are not putting the Act into operation, but are wrestling its provisions for the benefit of the landlords and against the crofters. In one set of cases in Caithness the average reductions have been 50 per cent. on the rent and 75 per cent. on the arrears. These appear great reductions, but even a reduction of 50 per cent. left the rents higher than they should be. The crofters are entitled to an average reduction of 80 per cent., seeing that the rents are charged on the improvements made by themselves and their predecessors in title. The only way to determine the matter equitably is to give the landlords what is sometimes called prairie value—that is to say, the value of the land separated from the value of the improvements made by the crofters. This land, 30 or 40 years ago, in most cases was not worth 1s. an acre to the landlord, whereas now, thanks to the capital and labour of the tenant, it has risen in value as high as £2 an acre, and a reduction from £2 to 18s. an acre, which is the average reduction made by the Commissioners, is still an inadequate reduction. I do not blame the assessors, but the system of valuation. In the ordinary course the valuers value the croft as it stands, without considering the value created by capital and labour alone. And some of the decisions have been iniquitous. When a man has had a considerable reduction

made on his rental he has been compelled to pay a sum equivalent to two or three years' rental in the arrears. You have three Courts sitting, and all the valuers at work, and there is considerable difference in the decisions as to values and as to amounts of arrears. Sometimes only 12 months reduced arrears are awarded, and at times the amount is equivalent to a year's fair rent, while at other times it is equivalent to two or three years' fair rent. At one of the sittings we have had a Commissioner and two or three assessors. The Commissioner is an old factor who, I suppose, has given effect to considerations which have guided factors in times gone by. He has required the crofters to pay a large amount of arrears, and has given only a short time for settlement. The landlords, in some cases, availing themselves of their powers under the Acts, are anxious to secure a settlement before the appeals from the single Commissioner to the full Court can be heard. I think some steps should be taken to frustrate these tactics, otherwise, before the appeals can be heard the crofters will be declared bankrupts and driven from their holdings. I trust the Lord Advocate is considering this matter, and that before this time next year there will be an Appeal Court to consider these cases before the landlords are able to make the crofters bankrupt.

(7.7.) MR. BARCLAY: I consider the point raised by the hon. Member for Caithness is a very important one indeed, upon the principle that where the tenant has executed all the improvements the landlord is not entitled to anything more than the original value of the land, and, indeed, according to the provisions of the Act itself, I contend that the reductions, instead of being 30 per cent., ought to be 90 per cent. However, I hardly think this is a suitable occasion for considering the matter fully. It is worth a formal discussion in the House. The Lord Advocate cannot interfere with the judgments of the Commissioners, and it appears to me that the only influence which can be brought to bear upon them is discussion in this House. If the attention of the Commissioners is prominently called to the principle embodied in the Act, I think an effect would be produced in the direction the hon. Member wishes.

I would suggest, therefore, that next Session we should raise, or attempt to raise, a formal discussion on this question in the House, and that seems to me the only way to have a legitimate effect on the decisions of the Crofter Commission.

(7.10.) MR. A. SUTHERLAND : If rents are not reduced to just proportions, it is the fault of the Commission itself, because the latitude allowed under the Act is of the widest description. The Commissioners are asked to take into account all the circumstances of the locality, and, having considered the conditions of the holdings and of the tenants, to fix the rents accordingly. It cannot be denied that the whole of the improvements made in these holdings have been made by the people themselves, the land when taken in hand having hardly been worth 2d. an acre. If it had been worth any appreciable sum for grazing or other purposes, these people would never have got it. It is the crofter himself who has made the land valuable by the expenditure of his own labour and capital, and that he should now be called upon to pay for his own improvements, is a great grievance. Notwithstanding the respect I have for the President of the Commission, I think that many of the rents fixed are much too high. Even in cases where the reductions have been striking on rents charged on the tenants' own improvements, I think there is room for still further reductions. There is a point of hardship I should like to mention. Where a number of tenants join in making application for an enlargement of their holdings, each has to pay a stamp fee of 1s. 6d., even if there are 500 of them, whereas, when a landlord makes an application in respect of a number of tenants, he has only to pay for a single stamp. I called the attention of the President of the Commission to this matter, but, as far as I know, no alteration has been made in the practice. I agree with the hon. Member who last spoke that this Act is one which requires to be thoroughly discussed in the House, but I am of opinion that in order to remedy existing grievances legislation is required.

(7.15.) MR. J. P. B. ROBERTSON : The clause referred to by the hon. Member for Caithness with regard to the con-

*Mr Barclay*

solidation of crofts will be kept alive under the Expiring Laws Continuance Bill. The criticisms of hon. Members in relation to some of the decisions of the Commissioners, and the desirableness of their adopting a principle of more drastic reduction, are matters with which I cannot deal, as they are matters within the discretion of the Commissioners. The Commissioners are appointed to act as Judges under an Act of Parliament, and it is not for me to express approval or disapproval of the methods they adopt. The hon. Member must know that the reductions have been, in many instances, very striking, and also that there has been as much criticism on the action of the Commissioners in the other direction. With regard to the procedure of the Commissioners as to their sittings, that is a point on which they must be left to exercise their discretion. It seems a fair suggestion that the hon. Member has made, but the matter must rest with the Commissioners. The hon. Member for Forfarshire rather pointed to another occasion as the proper one for discussing the wide subject he is interested in, and the action he desires to see taken would very much involve the course suggested by the hon. Member for Caithness. I do not know that I need reply to the observations of the hon. Member for Sutherlandshire, for it seemed to me that his remarks were in the nature of criticisms for the information of the Commissioners, as to the light in which their proceedings are regarded. At any rate, he has made no practical suggestion for the modification of those proceedings.

(7.18.) MR. A. SUTHERLAND : Except as to the matter of stamps. And there is this other point I would draw attention to, namely, that the Commissioners, in whom full powers are vested in the matter, will persist in appointing assessors from a class that are opposed to the interests of those whose holdings they have to value. Is it because the Commissioners think that there are no persons sufficiently intelligent among the crofters to be able to fix rents, or because they have an animus against that class, that they never appoint crofters? So far as my knowledge goes, there is nothing which has roused more exasperation amongst the crofters than the method of selecting assessors.

(7.19.) MR. J. P. B. ROBERTSON: The Commissioners must take the responsibility for these appointments. Several questions have been addressed to the Government on this subject, and in each instance the objection has been submitted to the Commissioners. Their reply has been that they have confidence in the integrity and intelligence of the assessors appointed. As the hon. Member knows, almost any appointment would meet with criticism from one side or the other. We must rely on the discretion of the Commissioners. As to the matter of stamps, I will take care that consideration is given to the point mentioned by the hon. Member. As to the Memorial sent to the office of the Secretary for Scotland by the Commissioners, I presume it is confidential and cannot be laid on the Table of the House.

(7.20.) DR. CLARK: We have a right to know how it is that the benevolent intentions of Parliament in dealing with the one question of interest to the Highlands are practically a dead letter. The Act states that the Crofters' Commission, after considering all the circumstances of the case,

"And particularly after taking into consideration any permanent or unexhaustive improvement in the holdings which have been executed or paid for by the tenants,"

may fix a fair rent. We thought the insertion of that word "particularly" would have drawn special attention to the question. Well, I have waited for several years, and have inquired into some of these cases myself, and I find that, instead of deducting the rent which has been put on the improvements made by the tenant, or his father, they have merely reduced it. I trust we shall have a Bill on the subject next year. The other question to be considered is that of determining the appeals before the Commissioners go away to other places. It is looked upon as a very great grievance by the crofter, if he is unable to pay three years' rent in one year, that he should be forced to go away to another part of the country to appeal against such an injustice.

(7.23.) MR. J. P. B. ROBERTSON: I agree in principle with the hon. Member as to appeals, but it is impossible always to keep the Commissioners in one part of the country. If new cases have

been considered before old ones were disposed of, it has been because the new were more urgent than the old.

Vote agreed to.

6, £70,090, to complete the sum for Prisons, Scotland.

\*(7.24.) MR. C. S. PARKER (Perth): On this Vote I must call attention to what I regard as an act of gross injustice committed four years ago, for which, by much perseverance, I have obtained redress in the case of most of those concerned, but one or two are still suffering injustice in the General Prison of Perth. I believe, also, there are similar cases elsewhere. What I complain of is, that a binding contract was made, in some cases many years ago, with prison warders and clerks, that this contract included provision for free quarters, and that in the year 1886, by a mere stroke of the pen, the Prison Authority, as I contend, harshly, inequitably, and illegally took away those free quarters. The men affected appealed to the Prison Governor, who took their view of the matter, and represented it strongly to the Prison Commissioners. The Prison Commissioners communicated with the Treasury, and I have now reason to think that the initiative in breaking faith as to free quarters, came from the Treasury. On several occasions I brought the matter before the Earl of Dalhousie, the present Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. A. J. Balfour) and the present Secretary for Scotland, Lord Lothian, and, bit by bit, I obtained assurances that these men should be replaced in their free quarters. On the last occasion the question was referred to a Treasury Departmental Committee, which recommended that the free quarters should be granted in all the cases but two. I feel grateful for this decision, but I regret that it was not extended to the other two men. The language of these unfortunate men is most respectful. I hold in my hand a letter from one of those concerned. He is a first-class warder, and he produces a copy of a letter of 1882, granting him free quarters in the prison at Barlinnie, and a promise in 1884 that he should have free quarters in Perth Prison, which he held for two years, and then they were arbitrarily taken from him. I am anxious not to put the Committee to



any unnecessary trouble in this matter, but I think that a case like this, of justice to individuals, ought not to be allowed to drop because 14 out of 16 of them have had their just demands conceded. I am prepared to offer these terms to the right hon. Gentleman, that if he will carry out the engagement he has made, and let me know, detail, in what grounds can be assigned for making a distinction unfavourable to these men, I will fairly consider them, and, if there is anything substantial in them, I will not press the matter any further. If, however, the reasons are in the nature of special pleading, I must raise the question again in a full House. I really think if the Treasury would look at the matter in a broad spirit of equity they would see they ought not to have deprived these unfortunate men of that which was granted to them.

(7.34.) THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON, Leeds, N.): I am extremely sorry if the hon. Member has not had all the information it was in the power of the Treasury to give, so as to remove from him the obligation of periodically bringing forward this question. I hope I may be allowed to repudiate the suggestion of special pleading in the matter. There is no special pleading on the part of the Treasury, which, sometimes, however, has disagreeable duties to discharge. In this case everything has been done by the Treasury which could possibly be expected. A Departmental Committee was appointed to consider the matter, and the hon. Member himself will admit that no Committee was ever appointed which was more free from prejudice. The Treasury has given effect to the recommendation of the Committee, which decided that in the cases to which the hon. Member specially refers, the warders had no claim. The hon. Member asks for the grounds of the decision. I will let him see the official Report, and if he is not satisfied, he will be able to bring the matter forward again next year.

(7.38.) MR. CALDWELL (Glasgow, St. Rollox): These men had free quarters given to them, and then the free quarters were taken away again. I would ask the right hon. Gentleman to make inquiries into the matter, and to exercise his own judgment, which I should respect far

*Mr. C. S. Parker*

more than that of a Departmental Committee.

Vote agreed to.

#### CLASS IV.

7. £301,581, to complete the sum for Public Education, Scotland.

(7.39.) MR. J. P. B. ROBERTSON: It is usual to make a statement in introducing this Vote. The total annual grant this year is £522,963, as against £493,384 last year, or a nett increase of £29,579. This is due, in the first place, to £4,000 being granted in aid of certain districts in the Highlands, which was formerly charged under the Probate Act, but which now comes from the Imperial Exchequer, and to a considerable increase in the grants in aid of the schools. That is made up first by the increased attendances from 504,188 last year to 529,397, and in the second place by the increase of grants per scholar from 19s. 3½d. to 19s. 6d. The cost of the maintenance of schools has risen from £1,087,000 to £1,173,930. Of this sum the Parliamentary grant amounts to £354,000. But, in contemplating the burden on the rates, it is necessary to bear in mind that the rates continue to bear the cost of providing schools, which amounts to £545,000. The cost for maintenance, so far as the rates are concerned, is about 3d. per £1, while the cost altogether in pence is 6·36d. per £1. As regards the amount of rates in comparison with the previous year, when there was a large increase of rates—that is to say, in the class of parishes in burghs where the rates are over 9d.—the increase has been in the following ratio:—In the case of burghs, from 14 to 28 per cent., and, in the case of the parishes, from 20 to 23 per cent. Looking, on the other hand, to where the rates are over 6d. in the £1, there has been an increase in burghs from 62 to 77 per cent., and in parishes from 60 to 63 per cent. The total cost of providing schools since the Act of 1872 has been £4,371,609, with the result of providing 715,876 places, which is equivalent to 17 per cent. of the population. From a practical point of view, the result is that places are provided for what may be regarded as the whole number of persons who have to attend school, and, therefore, the necessities of accommodation under the new system have now practically been met,

and nothing but the normal increase will hereafter have to be provided for. I would like to refer to what, educationally, is of equal importance—the reconstruction of the Code, the significance of which can hardly be over-estimated. The Committee will remember that the abolition or limitation of individual examination has been recommended by the Scotch Education Department by way of experiment. The Department has been watching the experiment to see if an extension would be justified. The result has been a great success, and, accordingly, the new Scotch Code, for the first time in Great Britain, has done away with individual examinations, and has carried the other system into all the standards and schools. This has been cautiously but boldly done, and I am sure that all interested in education will watch with interest and hope the great experiment on a large scale which is being made. It should be borne in mind that the success of the system must depend, to a certain extent, upon the co-operation of the teachers, managers, and Inspectors, in order to see that education does not suffer. Another change which has been made, and which will be appreciated by those who are conversant with the practical working of the educational system, is the power of choice that has been given in regard to specific subjects. There is a large latitude allowed to managers of schools in their selection, and they are now the judges of what subjects best meet the educational wants of their district, and also what subjects can best be dealt with by the existing staff. Discrimination and discretion, no doubt, in selecting that which is best adapted both to the pupils and the capacity of the teaching staff, and here, again, reliance must be placed on the co-operation of all concerned. I think it would not be fair if I passed from this question without ascribing the praise that is due to the Secretary of the Education Department, who has had the charge of this great educational change. His constructive skill and knowledge are displayed in every duty he undertakes, but it is shown conspicuously in this great work. Again, in the higher class of schools the system of certificates has proved very successful, and the number competed for and obtained has largely increased relatively

and absolutely during the last three years. In 1888 there were 972 candidates; in 1889, 2,066; and in 1890, 2,528. The number of papers taken in 1888 was 4,300; in 1889, 4,200; and in 1890, 11,200. The results have been good. In all, 5,687 certificates have been issued, and 11,300 papers. The fact that these certificates have been accepted as evidence of proficiency by many Public Bodies, not only vouches for the value of the certificates, but also for the interest taken by these bodies in changes of this kind. Another feature of the past year relates to a more circumscribed area, namely, the Highlands; though it is of very great importance to that part of the country. The Committee will remember that not very long since there existed in many parishes in the Highlands a state of matters with regard to the schools which constituted a great difficulty in carrying out any educational system. The schools were in a very undesirable condition. The bank accounts were overdrawn; the teachers were unpaid; the managers of the schools were heavily in debt to the Local Commissioners; and the members of the Board were ready to resign. It was not impossible that, in some of those parishes, there might be a collapse of the educational work or system, and something was urgently required to be done. In this the objects to be obtained were to maintain the schools, to restore the credit of the Boards, to insure local co-operation, and to procure efficiency in the schools. By the changes made, and the offer of assistance to the Boards if they came under the arrangement laid down, I am glad to say that these ends have been largely secured in many of the Highland schools I refer to. Thirteen parishes, representing 81 schools, have already come under the arrangement, which is optional, and the results achieved in these schools are that while before many teachers were unpaid, now every teacher is being paid, efficiency in the schools has been restored, the debts of the Boards to the bankers have, in many cases, been entirely wiped off, and in others largely reduced, and the debts to the Local Commissioners have also been paid to a large extent. It is only fair to say that the Local Boards have cordially co-operated in bringing about these beneficial

changes. One of the results of the change has been a considerable reduction in the rates, though, perhaps, the greatest cause of satisfaction is the restoration of efficiency in the schools. While some of the rates stood at so high a figure as 5s. 4d. in the £1, and the average stood at 2s. 3½d. in the £1, the average now is 1s. 4½d. in the £1. Therefore, the anxiety which existed some time since with regard to the state of educational matters in the Highlands has, to a large extent, been allayed, and we may hope now that the School Boards will be able to give their whole attention to the progress of education. The system introduced has been successful, not only from an educational but also from an administrative point of view, and I feel sure that it will have the co-operation of the Scotch Members.

(7.55.) MR. SINCLAIR (Falkirk): We have to thank the Lord Advocate for the speech with which he has opened this Debate, and to congratulate him and the Government upon the very admirable Report he has been able to lay before the Committee. But I think it would not be right for us to let this occasion pass without taking some notice of the educational changes that have taken place during the past year. We have had little more than eight or nine months' experience of the working of the new system, which is not sufficient to enable us to arrive at any definite conclusion. We may see certain tendencies at work, but we cannot say what will be the ultimate outcome. One thing of which there can be no doubt whatever, is that the abolition of fees in the lower standards has brought about a great increase of attendance in infant schools and in the lower standards. I think we shall find that the attendance of infants will continue to increase, especially in the country districts, and that more school accommodation will be required. The question of regularity of attendance is somewhat more doubtful. In some places the attendance has been more regular and in other places it has not. I think those who look into the matter will find the explanation is, that the children of the better class of artisans, who realise the nature of the education, are attending better, while the children of the poorer classes, who do not know the value of education, are attending more

*Mr. J. P. B. Robertson*

irregularly. Then, again, it is doubtful whether the attendance in the higher or compulsory standards is increasing. I believe that while it has not increased it has not diminished. I believe that it will increase, and that those who thoroughly know the value of education will, by allowing their children to continue at school, secure the advantage of this better education. Those who do not appreciate the importance of education, not having the advantage of it themselves, rather look at the continuation of their children at school beyond the compulsory standards as a loss, and here arises the necessity so often urged for abolishing fees in the higher standards of elementary education. This is the more necessary when we find in the Report of the Education Department that it is stated that gradually children are leaving school at an earlier age, improvements in our educational system and better attendance enabling children to pass the compulsory standards more readily. This is remarked upon by Dr. Craik in his Report for the Southern Division. He says, while the age at which children pass the exemption standards is steadily diminishing, the question becomes a serious one, what shall be done with the children when school attendance is no longer compulsory, and the children are too young for employment. On educational grounds it is desirable to raise the exemption to Standard 6 from Standard 5. This important point will, I trust, receive the careful attention of the Government during the Recess. This brings me to the necessity for assisting the continuation or night schools, in regard to which we have had such a gratifying Report from the Lord Advocate to-night—gratifying so far as it goes. These schools seem to have increased not so much in numbers as in attendance, and if children are gradually leaving elementary schools at an earlier age it certainly is much more necessary that their education in high schools, or continuation schools, should be encouraged much more than in the past it has been. I am glad that, in my constituency, this matter has excited much attention, and the establishment of these schools in the burghs of Lanark and Airdrie has been attended with the most gratifying results in education of the children

attending. I desire to press upon the Government, most seriously, in view of what is before us in the coming Session, the necessity for careful, exhaustive examination and investigation into the various facts bearing on the present position of education in Scotland, where education has largely been made free, and especially as bearing upon higher and secondary education. Scotland now applies the amount received from the Probate Duty Grant to the relief of primary education, and the sum devoted to the purpose will be released when the general grant for assisting primary education is made from Imperial resources, but the claim of Scotland will undoubtedly be that, as this money comes from Scotland's own special Revenue, it should still be applied according to the wishes of the majority of the Scottish people, namely, to education. I sincerely trust that higher elementary and secondary education and, perhaps, too, university education will receive from this fund the assistance that is much needed. The Government are to be congratulated upon the assistance they have received from Dr. Craik. The Lord Advocate, in graceful terms, has acknowledged the care and ability displayed by Dr. Craik, both in the Code and in the necessary steps for carrying out the great experiment of assisted education in Scotland. I hope sincerely that when next we have this Vote under discussion we shall find this experiment still more successful towards realising that desire for a thorough system of education which is engraved in the Scottish character.

(8.5.) MR. HUNTER: Perhaps there never was a year when more important matters offered themselves for consideration in relation to this Vote, never a time when an exhaustive discussion of the present state of Scottish education and its future development was more desirable. But I cannot help remarking that this is the 7th of August, that two-thirds of the Scottish Members have left town, and that the remainder are anxious to follow their example. Under the circumstances it is not desirable to make the attempt to follow the Lord Advocate into those topics suggested in his speech, and, for my part, I propose to confine myself to a single matter which requires consideration at the earliest possible date by the

Education Department. The Lord Advocate has referred to the success of the leaving certificates. The idea of establishing this, which serves as a sort of mark of graduation, a title that the pupil has passed through a course of secondary education, was first suggested about 1886, and ultimately taken up two years later, and now, after three years' experience, the account given by the Lord Advocate shows that this happy idea has been successfully carried into practice, and has become a sort of formal degree which, from the popularity it has secured, shows that it supplies a felt want. Up to this point I have nothing to give the Department but praise for what they have done; but now I wish to ask the attention of the Lord Advocate to something the Department have left undone. When this experiment was first instituted we were, I think, justified in not pressing the Government too severely upon what we considered a somewhat narrow restriction in its application—the exemption from the leaving certificate examinations of certain elementary schools, which schools are not permitted to send up pupils. I am not going to move a reduction of the Vote, for I will not assume that my suggestion will be met in a spirit of hostility by the Government. The time has now come, after three years' experience, when this suggestion may be favourably considered. There is in Scotland a general, and, on the part of the schoolmasters, a unanimous feeling that the privilege of sending up pupils for leaving certificates should be open to all the elementary schools throughout the country. I think when the Government come to deal with this particular question, they will find little difficulty in giving effect to this opinion. I am aware that the view put forth is that the superior advantage of issuing these certificates is that not only is a certificate a test of the possession of a certain amount of knowledge, but it also testifies to the fact that the pupil has passed through a course of education in a recognised secondary school. That, of course, is perfectly true under existing rules; but it cannot be put forward as a serious argument in favour of the exclusive nature of the present arrangements. It is like saying you will give a man a certificate for cookery, and this shall be a certificate

not only of his proficiency as a cook, but that he comes from a classical kitchen. Most people, I think, would regard the latter as a very secondary consideration, the fact to establish being that the man could do his work well. If there were in Scotland a sharp line of demarcation between elementary and secondary schools, no hardship would arise from the present state of things, but one of the peculiarities of the Scottish system of education is that many of the so-called elementary schools are not really elementary. This is a peculiarity recognised in the Act of 1872. In that Act schools are not called elementary schools, nor, as regards many of them, are they so as a matter of fact. In many of these schools, for years past, it has been usual to carry the education of the children to such a point that they can pass from these so-called elementary schools to the Universities without passing through any intermediate or secondary course. No doubt this has become less frequent than it was, partly because of the more severe demands upon the elementary school teachers, and partly through the raising of the standard in the Universities. Still there is a class of schools which, though styled elementary, possess all the means of affording sufficient education to enable pupils to obtain the leaving certificate. This leaving certificate is becoming of great value. It is accepted in some professions as the pass of an entrance examination, and why, I ask, should you deprive a boy of the opportunity of obtaining a leaving certificate merely on account of the particular school in which he received his education? This is a question difficult to answer in a satisfactory manner. Further, there are 15 counties in Scotland where there are no schools of the class to which the leaving certificates are confined. So that the utility of the certificates is immensely circumscribed. Out of 24 large burghs, no fewer than 11 do not possess the kind of schools which alone qualify for leaving certificates. What harm can possibly accrue from the enlargement of the area? It is a point upon which schoolmasters in Scotland lay great stress. They are very anxious to have the opportunity of sending boys to compete for these leaving certificates, they take a pleasure in teach-

*Mr. Hunter*

ing a somewhat higher class of subjects, and the competition among masters to send up the largest number of boys with the best education is a thing I do not think we ought to do anything to discourage. Up to the present time the Department have not seen their way to extend competition for leaving certificates beyond secondary schools, but I hope now they will re-consider this when the leaving certificate has become an accomplished fact and has ceased to be an experiment, and promises to be a triumphant success. I do not believe the extension would in the least discourage higher education. In pressing this upon the Lord Advocate I know I express the very strong, the fervent opinion entertained, I think I may say universally, by masters of elementary schools, and I am sure the extension would be appreciated by those masters. I believe also it would have a good influence on secondary schools, which are yet in a half-and-half, and far from satisfactory condition in many respects.

(8.20.) *MR. E. ROBERSTON (Dundee)*: I agree it is impossible to attempt a discussion of these Estimates at a time when two-thirds of our Members have left town and only one-tenth are to be found in the House. It would be absolutely useless to attempt to test the opinion of Scotch Members on any subject whatever, and, therefore, these Votes must pass without serious extension. This will make matters easy for the Government, but I hope it will not induce them to repeat the performance of this Session next year, but that we shall have these Estimates before us earlier than in the concluding days of the Session. There are two points only to which I wish to call attention. The Lord advocate has said nothing about training colleges. The principle on which these colleges are based has been repeatedly challenged by Scotch Members, who desire that the teaching profession should be trained in the Universities. I am not going over the arguments formerly used, but I may say we do not depart in the least from our old attitude. I understand that the policy of the Department at this moment is undergoing some development, and that it has not yet assumed its final shape. I have a letter here from the Education Department on this question,

in answer to an appeal made by the combined Academical Authorities of St. Andrews and Dundee, that these institutions should be recognised as training colleges for teachers under a scheme they have jointly formulated, and as I understand, it is precisely the same demand we have repeatedly put forward, that Universities should be allowed to undertake the mission of training schoolmasters, as they now train clergymen, doctors, lawyers, and the professional classes. Apparently the Department, which has hitherto lent no countenance to our view, reserves its final conclusion until the University Commission now engaged in considering the subject of higher education makes its report. I do not know whether the Lord Advocate can add anything to this correspondence, but I hope, if he can, it will be in the direction of some sort of assurance that the strong desire which is felt, and which I should think is not confined to this side of the House, and certainly exists throughout the teaching profession, shall be met by the assistance of the Department towards giving schoolmasters the benefit of training for these professions at Universities among members of other professions. There is one other point to which I wish to refer, though I am not quite sure whether it comes within the province of the Lord Advocate to answer. I have been asked to call attention to a point of difficulty, namely, that the grant for drawing is, in the case of girls, conditional upon their being taught cookery as well. This is an arrangement to which the School Board of Dundee object. I believe their application to the Department has been met with the official *non possumus* which usually meets all suggestions. I am not fully acquainted with the merits of the question myself, but I draw the attention of the right hon. Gentleman to the point in the hope that he may see his way to gratify the wishes of the managers of schools on the matter.

(M.27.) MR. A. SUTHERLAND: I am free to join in the congratulations expressed towards the Scotch Education Department upon the improvements carried out during the year, improvements that have arisen from two causes, the increased liberality of Parliament and the initiation of

reforms which have yet to be extended further. I refer, principally, to the abolition of individual examinations. I brought this matter before the Lord Advocate last year, and I am very glad to hear the admission on the part of the Department that after an experience of 18 months the system has, on the whole, been adopted with great success, a success which I hope will encourage further extension, and the removal of restrictions now imposed. With regard to the Code, I am glad to find that managers in particular localities are allowed more freedom and discretion in fixing the curriculum. I need only refer to the importance of agriculture in some parts of the country, and I am sure that the discretion allowed to teachers and managers will result in advantage to education throughout the whole country. I am glad to hear the Lord Advocate state, that as regards the Highlands, there is a probability of matters reverting to their normal state, and that the financial difficulties of the School Boards there will be overcome. If we look at the circumstances, I think they justify the conduct of the Government to some extent. There is nothing but praise to be given, so far as I know, to the efforts made by the Education Department to enlarge the discretion allowed to managers and teachers. But I had expected, on examining the tables of salaries, to see some evidence of increased liberality to the teachers. Unfortunately it is not apparent, although in some parts of the country the authorities have profited largely by the introduction of the new scheme dealing with school fees, and have been enabled to reduce the local rates. I maintain that the reduction of the local rate is not the purpose to which this money should be properly applied. There are other objects to which it should be first diverted. Everyone practically acquainted with the system of education in Scotland knows that there is a great want of teaching apparatus. I know from personal knowledge cases in which Her Majesty's Inspectors have made complaints on that score. I hold, then, that this money should be devoted first to a reasonable augmentation of the teachers' salaries, and then to the provision of proper teaching apparatus. I feel that on this

point the Department would be justified in issuing a Circular to School Boards calling upon them to devote to these purposes any money they receive in excess of the school fees.

\*(8.33.) MR. C. S. PARKER: I agree with my hon. Friend that the claims of the teachers for increased salaries, and for improved teaching apparatus, should take precedence over the lowering of the rates. But he will admit that the grant has been distributed in a manner most beneficial and fair to the Highlands. In many schools there scarcely any money was received in fees, and had the Department gone on the principle of paying out of the Probate Duty last year sufficient to each school to replace the fees which they lost by the freeing of the standards, these Highland schools would have received but a very small share. But the Department went on a sounder principle; it realised that the money was paid by and belonged to the ratepayers; it came to the conclusion that each school was entitled to receive a share in proportion to the number of children receiving education in the school, and thus considerable relief has been given to the poorer districts. In that way it has, happily, been found possible to reduce the rates in some places in the Highlands where they were intolerably high. We can hardly find fault with the Lord Advocate for the brevity of his speech. But it is to me, and I think it must be to Scotch Members generally, a matter for regret that in a year so very important in the history of Scotch education, we should have had no opportunity to discuss in a full House the new departure and the new policy. I am pleased to notice that the Minister for Education in England is present to listen to this Debate, and I think it a matter of common regret that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Sheffield is unavoidably prevented attending, because every one knows that when he was Education Minister he constantly looked on Scotland as giving him a lead for his policy in England. The two main features of the new departure are the diminution of individual examination and the remission of fees in the compulsory standards. On the first point I will not detain the House. I will merely congratulate the House and

*Mr. A. Sutherland*

the Scotch Members on the movement in this direction, for two or three years ago, when I had the honour to serve on the Committee to which questions of education in Scotland were referred, this question was not laid before us till we were nearing the end of our labours, and we decided that we were not prepared to give an opinion upon it without first taking evidence from different parts of Scotland. At that time it was probably hoped that we would accept the partial remission of compulsory individual examination as tolerably satisfactory, but I think it has been well to go a step further. The second point, the remission of fees, is one of cardinal importance. And while I heartily join in the tribute of praise to the Education Department, I feel that neither in their Report nor in the Lord Advocate's speech have we had an adequate discussion of this new departure in practically doing away with the fees in nearly the whole of the standards. I hardly think, for instance, that hon. Members have realised the financial bearing of the change. The income derived from fees in the last year for which we have a Report was £331,000. Now, by this new system you have parted with that income, and, in lieu of it, you have received a somewhat smaller sum. Last year you got £240,000, and this year an extra £40,000, and if some fee-paying schools had not been kept alive your educational finance would have been very seriously crippled. It is the duty of this House to criticise the action of the Department and to watch the financial effects of its policy. I think the change has had grave consequences which ought to have been noticed more fully in the Report. Of course, I can sympathise with the permanent officials charged with the duty of framing the Report. I can quite understand that when great changes are being made it is not very convenient to expose them to the full brunt of Parliamentary criticism, whilst they are in a transitional state. But if in the coming year the Government fulfil their promises, and deal with the question of English education as regards fees, there will then be a very considerable fund available for Scotland, and unless we then face the problem of the organisation of education

in Scotland in connection with finance, we shall find ourselves in perplexity. We shall then have funds sufficient to provide a number of free places in the higher schools. I am convinced that the time has come for the Department to deal with the extraordinary overlapping which takes place between the higher grade schools and what are called the higher class schools. In many cases the difference between the two is not such as to justify their very different financial positions. The higher, grade school is a development of the ordinary school and receives a full grant from Parliament. Some of these schools are drawing very large sums directly from the Parliamentary grant. Yet by their side we have other high schools which are under public management, and which receive absolutely nothing from the Government grant. It is impossible to justify the distinction between the two. This is a grave question of educational policy, and it seems to me that in dealing with the schools which are so aspiring under the School Boards, it would be more fair not to assign to them so large a share of the Government Grant as they now receive, but to give the Grammar [Schools and the old High Schools some Imperial aid. These two kinds of schools should be classified very much together. I have two other points on which to say a word, and the first is that of training colleges. I think my hon. Friend the Member for Dundee has never fully understood the policy which was recommended by the Departmental Committee. It goes some way in the direction he desires, because besides promoting the attendance of teachers in training at University classes, it directly recognises the principle that any body of men coming forward as managers prepared to start a training school with adequate guarantees both as to finance and as to the standard of education to be maintained should meet with favourable consideration, and be put on precisely the same terms as the managers of other training colleges. I attach great importance to that, and I would urge upon the Lord Advocate to consider, favourably the case of the training college proposed for Dundee. The Universities of Dundee and St. Andrews, supported by the

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Dundee School Board, have made a definite proposal to the Department, and I think they ought to be treated as a body coming under the recommendations of the Report of the Departmental Committee. It is a weak side of training colleges that they have the name of being denominational even if they are not so in reality, and in the case of Dundee we now have the opportunity of securing a really undenominational college. I hope the chance will not be lost. With regard to evening schools—the last point on which I have to touch—I regret that since 1881 there has been a lamentable falling off in the attendance at them. It is now increasing again, but I think some greater effort must be made to develop and promote these schools, which are so useful for carrying on the education of those driven by hard necessity to leave school at an early age, and for supplying those who need it with industrial and technical training.

(8.54.) MR. J. P. B. ROBERTSON: Hon. Members will not, I am sure, think it necessary for me to pass in view all the subjects which have been discussed. They are, of course, of very great interest; but my hon. Friends have been good enough to intimate that they have no desire to exact from me any statement in reply.

\*(8.55.) MR. C. S. PARKER: Is the scheme for a training college for Dundee to be entertained?

MR. J. P. B. ROBERTSON: That will depend largely on the Report of the University Commission.

MR. HUNTER: I think the right hon. Gentleman is rather mistaken in his impression that I desired no reply. (8.58.)

(9.28.) MR. J. P. B. ROBERTSON: The hon. Member for Aberdeen has suggested that the system for leaving certificates should be extended to schools other than those to which it is now applicable. It at present applies solely to schools that do not receive a Parliament grant, and which are higher or secondary schools in the ordinary acceptance of the term. It is difficult to draw a line in Scotland between those schools which give a higher training and those which do not. It is not well to lay down a hard and fast line on this point. At the same time, dealing with the

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present state of matters, I doubt if it would be safe or advantageous to extend the system, which, as the hon. Member has pointed out, is rather an advantage for those schools which do not receive the Parliamentary grant, and which also has the great merit of encouraging the recognition of secondary schools as part of the educational equipment of the country. If we were to extend the system, we should be incurring some risks of which the Committee ought to be made aware. In the first place, it must be borne in mind that the class of schools which receive Parliamentary grants do so on the footing that elementary education is their primary concern, and it is one of the features of Parliamentary grants—which have their merits, as well as their demerits—that they establish an obligation on the teachers loyally to encourage the cleverer boys and those who are likely to rise to higher grades of education. I am afraid that if the leaving certificates were extended wholesale to all schools earning grants there might be a tendency on the part of schoolmasters to give more attention to the cleverer boys, in order that they might obtain leaving certificates. That is not to accuse the teachers of any sordid motives at all, but rather to accredit them with aspirations for the success of their work, which, I suppose, are characteristic of most of our Scotch masters. On the whole, the attitude of the Scotch Department is one of reserve on the present question, and I think it would be most unwise on my part, on the present occasion, to commit myself to any extension of the existing system. At the same time, I hope the observations I have made will show hon. Members that I am not entirely ignorant of the subject.

(9.33.) **MR. CALDWELL:** If there is no adequate discussion of education, it is not owing to any want of interest in the subject or any want of will to criticise the Education Vote, but simply from a sense of the lapse of time. I would only point out that in former years we agreed not to discuss the Education Vote at length, in the hope that it would be brought on at an earlier period in the year following. Experience has shown, however, that all our hopes of getting the Estimate on in

*Mr. J. P. B. Robertson*

time for a proper discussion have been illusory. We are now passing the Vote in a perfunctory manner, but I give notice that, no matter at what period of next Session this Vote is brought forward, I shall insist on fully discussing it.

Vote agreed to.

8. £1,500, to complete the sum for the National Gallery, &c. (Scotland).

(9.35.) **MR. ANGUS SUTHERLAND:** This Vote appears as a grant to Scotland, but, really, it is nothing of the kind. The sum of money voted to Scotland is totally inadequate to meet the requirements of the case, and bears no proportion whatever to the amount voted for England and Ireland for the same purpose. Repeated complaint has been made in this House that no grant has been given to Scotland adequate to her requirements, and we had expected that by this time provision would have been made for the purpose. I am not in favour of voting money for a public purpose unless there is a proper method of supervision, and the facts in regard to the present Vote show how ridiculous the whole thing is. This is a grant to the Board of Manufactures in Scotland for the purpose of maintaining a National Gallery, and the incongruity of the purpose thus stated strikes one very forcibly. England receives £9,500 for the purpose of purchasing pictures, and Ireland receives £2,500, while Scotland receives no grant at all, for the history of the Vote now before us is shortly this: At the time of the Union, £398,000 was given to Scotland in consideration of the fact that she had no National Debt, and that taxes would have to be imposed on her to make her position equal to that of England. Part of that money was used to pay off the capital of the Scottish India Company that entered into competition with the English East India Company; secondly, a moiety was given to indemnify the Scottish nation for reducing its currency to the standard of the English currency; and part of the remainder—so it is said—was given for the purpose of bribing Scottish Members of Parliament to vote for the Union; and a further portion, some £40,000, remains a debt unpaid by England to Scotland, and this £2,000 is the interest of that, so that we have only our own money given to us in the shape of a grant for

maintaining a National Gallery. This Vote does not account to the public for the way in which the money is spent, as it is nominally for the purpose of encouraging manufactures. I hope the Government will see their way to handing the whole of this £40,000 over to Scotland.

(9.39.) **SIR HERBERT MAXWELL:** I had not the advantage of hearing the earlier part of the remarks of the hon. Gentleman, but I gathered from his concluding words that he was drawing attention to a matter which has engaged the attention of more than one Scotch Member, and that is the disparity between the sum granted for the National Gallery in Scotland and the grants made to the Galleries in London and Dublin. I think this is a point which will come under the consideration of the Committee which is to sit to inquire into the incidence of taxation, as between the three countries. I may be allowed to state that I sympathise, to a great extent, with the natural anxiety of Scotch Members, that an institution such as the Scotch National Gallery, of which we are all so justly proud, should be treated on equal terms with similar institutions in other parts of the United Kingdom, and I hope that when the inquiry is made a case will be made out for an increase of this Vote.

(9.41.) **DR. CLARK:** It is satisfactory to hear the Scotch Lord of the Treasury say what he has done. The Secretary to the Treasury, I see, has left the House—presumably because he did not wish to hear this matter discussed—but as the Chancellor of the Exchequer is in his place, I would express a hope that just as the Scotch Members worry the Scotch Officials, so they in turn will worry the Treasury, until justice is done to Scotland in this and in many other respects.

Vote agreed to.

#### CLASS VII.

9. Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £966, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1891, for Expenditure connected with the Colonisation of certain Crofters and Cottars of the Western Highlands and Islands of Scotland."

(9.42.) **DR. CLARK:** I do not know who is going to defend this Vote to-

night, but I must say, to use a vulgar word, it will require a good deal of "cheek" for any Minister to get up and support this Vote after the disastrous failure of the scheme for emigrating the crofters. I think that in all the meddling and muddling and indefensible action that has ever characterised any Government, there has never been anything worse than the action of the present Government in regard to crofter emigration. The Government suddenly sprung on us a proposal to give £9,000 for the purpose of relieving the condition of the highlands by sending away a number of the highland people. They had everything their own way. They were in the position to get the money, they got it, and a number of people were sent out, and we knew nothing about it until we heard that the people sent out were destitute and starving, and that subscriptions were being raised for them in Canada. We asked questions of the Lord Advocate and got the usual denial of the facts, but some light was thrown on the matter owing to the fact that there was a Committee sitting on colonisation—of which the right hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs was Chairman. That Committee had before them the Managing Director of the great Land Company on whose land these people were placed, and since then there has been a Report published and laid on the Table of the House, in which there is an attempt made to extenuate as far as possible this disagreeable and sad history. This Managing Director—Mr. Oliver—by way of explanation, said, "The crofters were sent out in a great hurry," and that "no preparations were made for their reception." But whose fault was that? Why were the crofters sent out in a hurry, and why were no preparations made for their reception? Why did you give £10,000 to people in Glasgow—land sharks as they are sometimes called—without seeing that the people were sent out under such conditions as would give them a fair chance? Mr. Oliver went on to say that the emigrants started too late in the year, and that the whole thing was bungled from beginning to end. There were Scotch Societies in Toronto, who appointed a committee to inquire into the matter, and the Report of that committee corroborated all that Mr. Oliver

and the other witnesses stated before the committee. It was admitted that no preparations were made for the reception of the emigrants, that they arrived a couple of months too late, so that they lost a year, and that the poor people were left for some days in the railway cars which brought them, and that there were no sheds to receive them. The Secretary of the Canadian Colonisation Company—to whom you are voting this £900—recommends that big sheds shall be built, so that, when the second lot of crofters go out, they can live in them, and subsequently use the building materials for the purpose of constructing permanent houses. People were “settled” in places where there was no water—where wells were sunk 18 feet without finding water; and they have sown their potatoes and other seeds without getting as much return as will serve them again to put into the ground. And this is the panacea of the Government for the relief of the Highlands. They obtain Imperial money, and throw it away in this manner. It was an experiment—the first of a series which, if the Committee sitting upstairs reports upon favourably, will probably be repeated on a larger scale. I hold that we can have no confidence in those who manage this emigration, and that it would be the height of folly for Parliament to vote another penny to this administration, or to enable other crofters to be sent out. You ask for £336 for administration, and I can understand that; but why do you want £620 for colonisation? Are you going to send out more people? [“No.”] Then what is the money for? After the way the money which was granted has been fooled away, those who had the spending of it should be ashamed to come and ask for more.

\*(9.52.) THE UNDERSECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Sir J. FERGUSSON, Manchester, N.E.): I must deprecate this discussion which has been introduced by the hon. Member for Caithness. I have been serving for the last two years on the Select Committee which is sitting to investigate this and cognate questions, and it is a matter of great regret to me that the Committee has not been able to bring its labours to a conclusion during the present Session, but that is only because they did not wish to exclude any evidence which may

Dr. Clark

throw light upon the subject. It is hardly fair of the hon. Member to bring forward one side of the evidence only. He knows perfectly well that the evidence from which he has quoted was not the only evidence and that there is evidence on the other side. I am not going to copy the example set by the hon. Member, for my mind is perfectly open, but if it should be the pleasure of the House to re-appoint the Committee next Session I shall, having utilised the holidays in mastering the evidence, be prepared to submit the conclusions of the Committee with a view to reporting to the House. Therefore, it would not be right for the Committee to draw any conclusion from the *ex parte* statement of the hon. Member. This money is asked for to meet expenses already incurred. The machinery to promote the experiment is here kept alive. I earnestly hope that the condition of these people is for the most part better than the hon. Member has described, but I am anxious to draw no conclusion on that point, for it is a matter upon which I hope the Committee will next Session be prepared to submit an absolute conclusion. As this money has most of it been expended, and as some of it is now needed, the Committee will see it would be impossible to refuse the Vote, and I would ask hon. Members not to come to a premature conclusion on an *ex parte* statement.

(9.56.) MR. A. SUTHERLAND: The right hon. Gentleman says this money is being expended in relieving the congestion of certain parts of the Highlands. I ask the right hon. Gentleman and the Lord Advocate if they can point to any part of Scotland the congestion of which has been relieved out of this expenditure? Can they point to any portion of Lewis where the holdings have been increased by the expenditure of this money? There have been 465 human beings deported. I challenge the Government to show that any relief has been afforded to the congested population; although possibly the poor rates paid by the Highland landlords may have been reduced. We should be unfaithful to our constituents if we did not raise our voices against this Vote. Every means has been used, underhand and otherwise, to put the people out, so that wild animals might flourish where the people

ought to be. I shall move a reduction in order that the Scotch Members may take a Division to mark their sense of the conduct of the Government in this matter. The scheme for the deportation of the people was signed by 24 of the largest landed proprietors in the North of Scotland. The £2,000 which is to be raised in addition to the £10,000 given by the Government would be only £83 from each of these territorial magnates, but instead of subscribing the money they have sent round the hat through the cities of Scotland, hoping that the wealthier Highlanders in the cities would raise it. I want to know whether the £2,000 has been made up? If not, it is a proof that the people of Scotland are opposed to this deportation. I move to reduce the Vote by £500.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £456, be granted for the said Service."—(*Mr. Angus Sutherland.*)

\*(10.1.) **MR. PROVAND** (Glasgow, Blackfriars): I was one of those who foolishly, as I now know, subscribed towards the £2,000. I am certain that the whole of that money has been worse than wasted. Every account we have received from Canada shows that the money ought never to have been applied to such a purpose, while no appreciable benefit can be pointed to in any part of the Highlands. The people who were sent to Canada have suffered very seriously. Had they gone out assisted by their own friends they would not have been so neglected as they have been by the people for whom you now ask £336. It is said we ought not to accept the *ex parte* statement of the hon. Member for Caithness (Dr. Clark), and that other evidence can be produced. Why is that other evidence not laid before us? The only evidence that has been made public is against the experiment; it proves that the experiment has been a complete failure; any scheme of Government emigration connected with the Highlands of Scotland will be as great a failure as this. I, therefore, hope that no money will be voted by this Committee supplementary to the original £10,000.

\*(10.5.) **THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER** (Mr. GOSCHEN, St. George's Hanover Square): I understand

that the whole of the £2,000 has been subscribed.

**DR. CLARK:** The £10,000 was conditional on the £2,000.

\***MR. GOSCHEN:** The hon. Member, perhaps, did not catch the point raised by his colleague (Mr. A. Sutherland). That hon. Gentleman asked whether the £2,000 has been subscribed.

**MR. A. SUTHERLAND:** I have no means of knowing.

\***MR. GOSCHEN:** It has been subscribed.

**MR. CALDWELL:** Who made it up; persons in official positions?

\***MR. GOSCHEN:** I hardly thought we had come to this, that a stop is to be put to the charitable actions of persons in official positions. I have no knowledge that any particular official subscribed, but whatever was done by anybody was prompted by a desire to make this experiment succeed, and I think a more ungenerous suggestion than that of the hon. Member was never made. Then we are asked whether any other persons are to be sent out. No more persons are to be sent out, and the additional money is not to be voted for that purpose. But the experiment has shown the desirableness of continuous inspection being kept up for a certain portion of time, and this fact accounts for a certain portion of the money. I have looked very carefully into the matter from the Treasury point of view, and it has been found that in the case of certain large families, containing two or three strong men, an additional small grant will enable them to take so much more land as will spread the energies of the family, and insure the success of the experiment at a small additional cost. The money wanted is lent, and there is a fair prospect of its return; and the £600 has been sanctioned, after careful inquiry, in order to insure further progress in the prosperity of this most important colony. I have had the opportunity of conversing with persons who have seen these families in their new positions, and, while some of them indulged in the traditional privilege of grumbling, many of them express themselves as being perfectly satisfied. Though they have passed through some suffering, they see that their future prospects in their new homes are far superior to their prospects

in the old country, and that a much brighter future lies before them than if they had remained in their old congested districts. The Government have been fully conscious of the great importance of this experiment. Mistakes have, of course, been made, but there is an anxious desire to make the experiment a thorough success. Not another shilling will be sent in extending the experiment until the Commissioners have reported, and until the House of Commons has discussed the whole question. I hope that hon. Members will not divide the Committee. It has been said this is not the only way of dealing with the Crofter Question. Have we not admitted that by appointing a Commission to inquire into the subject? The Report of the Commission will soon be in the hands of Members, and we hope to have an opportunity in a future Session of showing hon. Members that we have the interests of the crofters at heart. We shall look to the co-operation of hon. Members in several directions to extend the means of livelihood, and to improve the position of the people of that interesting portion of Her Majesty's dominions.

(10.14.) DR. CLARK: I shall not vote against the £620, if it is to relieve the suffering of the people who have been sent out to Canada, but I shall vote against the £336 for administration. If these pseudo philanthropists were at all decent they would pay the money out of their own pockets. There is no evidence in regard to this particular case contrary to the view I have expressed. The Secretary to the Commission went over to see the people, and, reading between the lines of his evidence, we find the failure of the experiment admitted when Mr. Rathbone asked him—

"Do you agree with Mr. Colmer, the Managing Director of the Land Company, in his statement that the whole thing was bungled from beginning to end?"

The Secretary replied—

"No; I do not agree to that. We did make mistakes. If there was any bungling, it was their own agent who bungled."

I do not care whether they bungled by the agent of the Land Company or by Mr. Colmer and his paid agents. The experiment was tried under bad circumstances. The people were sent too late. They were thrown into the hands of this

*Mr. Goschen*

Land Company, whose land they had to buy. Let the Land Company pay this £336 for administration. I quite agree with the Chancellor of the Exchequer that when the people have got over all the difficulties they will be better off in Canada than on their crofts in Lewis or Skye. But we hope to make the people better off here as well as in Canada. I have been in Canada, and I know the people have got a very fair future before them; but what I object to is that you should delude these poor people; that you should send them away at the wrong time of the year, and without preparation. When the facts were first related we had the usual official denials. We can no more believe our Scotch officials than the Irish can believe the Irish officials. These persons were not even provided with sufficient clothing, and they suffered in consequence. I maintain that this Board have bungled so much that they ought not to come to us and ask for £336 for administration. They ought to go to the people who have made money by the transaction, and get the money from them. A fair chance was not given to the experiment, but, in consequence of the hurry which characterised the proceedings, destitution, disease, and death have befallen the people who emigrated. Moreover, not a single acre of land has been added to a croft in the Highlands. If you are simply going to remove people from the Highlands in order to increase the deer forests and grazing lands, I do not think Parliament will vote any more money.

(10.20.) MR. J. M. MACLEAN (Oldham): As a Member of the Colonisation Committee I should like to say that sufficient evidence was given before that Committee to throw doubt on the wisdom of the policy of this scheme of emigration, and of the way in which the experiment has been carried out. If this were a grant for the extension of this system of emigration, I should not be prepared to support it. But the Chancellor of the Exchequer has fully explained that the whole policy of this system is now under consideration. The question is in a state of suspense, and the money to which objection is taken is simply to maintain certain machinery of administration, so that the poor people who have gone out may be looked after a

little better than otherwise they would be. If hon. Members vote against this proposal they will simply be anticipating the Report of the Committee shortly to be presented.

(10.23.) MR. CALDWELL: I would not have risen but for the remarks of the Chancellor of the Exchequer about the voluntary contribution of £2,000. The Government agreed to give the sum of £10,000 upon condition that Local Bodies subscribed £2,000. The object was to obtain some evidence of the desire of the people of Scotland to support a system of emigration. How was the money made up in Scotland? First the subscription fell flat, and the whole thing was likely to collapse. In order to get the scheme carried out, certain people, headed by Lord Lothian, subscribed the £2,000. The policy of emigration from the Highlands is disapproved of by the people of Scotland generally, and I venture to say you could not raise voluntarily from the Scottish people £2,000 in aid of a system of emigration.

(10.27.) MR. A. SUTHERLAND: I beg to substitute £336 for £500 in my Amendment. I am very glad to receive the assurance that no more public money will be spent in extending this scheme. No attempt has been made to meet the point that although these people have been emigrated no relief has been afforded the people who have remained at home. We have often heard of the splendid future before the people who go out to Canada, but such stories will not delude the people of the Highlands. They know that what will most benefit them will be to have the land in their own hands, and they are determined that sooner or later they will have.

Motion, by leave, withdrawn.

Original Question again proposed:—

Whereupon Motion made, and Question put, "That a sum not exceeding £620, be granted for the said Service."—  
(Mr. Angus Sutherland.)

(10.30.) The Committee divided:—  
Ayes 63; Noes 116.—(Div. List, No. 241.)

Original Question put, and agreed to.

Resolutions to be reported.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum not exceeding £46,326 be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1891, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Department of Her Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs."

\*(10.40.) MR. SCHWANN (Manchester, N.): I rise to move the reduction of the Vote by £100, and to call the attention of the Committee to the inaction of the Foreign Office in reference to the condition of affairs in Armenia. I have no hesitation in bringing this matter forward, for the state of mis-government by the Turkish officials in Armenia has notoriously reached a crisis. I do not wish to embarrass the Government, but there is a general feeling that, in the answers given to many questions on the subject, the Government have not shown that sympathy with the oppressed Armenians, and have not pressed these matters on the attention of the Porte, as we desire they should. I think we deserve the gratitude of the Government for bringing this subject forward. It will give them the opportunity for making an explicit public statement, and the expression of public opinion evoked in discussion may help to avert the dangers, the possible massacres, that may arise in Armenia, and the re-opening of the whole Eastern question. The hon. Baronet who represents the Foreign Office in this House does not look with favour upon any statements with regard to foreign affairs that appear in the *Daily News*, and therefore I will quote from the *Times*, although that journal is not always to be found on the side of the oppressed. But, on this question of Armenia, I am glad to claim the *Times* as an ally. In an article on August 5th, the *Times* says—

"The Armenians happen to have presented to the Czar a petition complaining that their Turkish kinsmen are oppressed and maltreated, and there are fresh rumours of cruelties in the province of Erzeroum. Why should there not be an appeal to the 61st Article of the Berlin Treaty, which entitles the Great Powers to watch over Armenian interests? It is significant that the Porte has addressed a note to its representatives abroad, giving the official account of the riot in the Armenian Church at Koom Kapo, and exonerating the authorities from all blame. Such apologies will do little to efface the impression that the Armenians have grievances which have been cruelly neglected."

Now, there is evidence to show that the *Times'* correspondents, although they are in the habit of giving the public the view that presents itself through the coloured spectacles furnished to them when they leave Printing House Square, and although they are apt to give the information required by their employers rather than actual facts, yet they have come to the conclusion that grievous cruelties and oppressions are inflicted on the Armenians. I quite agree that there should be an appeal to Article 61 of the Berlin Treaty, and that appeal should have been made long since. By that article of the Treaty the Porte undertook to institute administrative reforms in Armenia, and to guarantee the Armenians against cruelties and oppressions from the Circassians and Kurds. It does not require much knowledge to know that the declaration has never been acted upon. We know that the columns of the Press have been filled with telegraphic reports of outrages and cruelties practised upon the Armenians, the carrying off of Armenian women, and acts of robbery and violence, often accompanied by murder, perpetrated by bands of Kurds. Further, the Sublime Porte in that Treaty expressed its intention of maintaining in the province the principles of religious liberty, and declared that religion should be no bar to the discharge of civil functions, that Christians should have full liberty to give evidence before the tribunals, and that freedom to exercise all forms of religious worship should be extended to all the subjects of the Ottoman Empire. All the evidence we have shows that these engagements have never been fulfilled. It may be said that some of the accounts of outrages are of a fictitious character, but I will point out one or two accounts of which this cannot be said. There are facts well known in connection with the search for arms in the church at Erzeroum and the riot which ensued between the 18th and 20th of June. I have it on the authority of the correspondent of the *Vienna Presse*, an independent journal, that anonymous communications were made to several officers at Erzeroum, indicating that certain documents of a treasonable character were to be found in a special church mentioned. At first no notice

*Mr. Schwann*

was taken of these communications, but one was finally sent to Constantinople, and at the instance, it is said, of the Sultan, the church was searched, to the great irritation of the Armenians, and caused an amount of ill-feeling which, increasing day by day, broke out into an *émeute* on the 20th of June, when a barbarous scene was enacted, the Bashi-Bazouks and Gendarmerie shooting down and massacring a great number of persons in the town of Erzeroum. Then we have various accounts of outrages committed upon Armenians at Alashguerd, early in May, and, in consequence, a number of Armenians, following the advice and leading of their bishop, determined to migrate over the Persian frontier. On their march the Armenians were followed by the Gendarmerie, forced to return, many were beaten, and the bishop was subjected to the greatest indignities and thrown into prison. Eventually he was sent to Constantinople, where I believe he is now in prison. Again, on June 15 (this account is from a correspondent of the *Daily News*), there is an account of how a band of Kurds plundered an Armenian village, at Julash in the province of Sivas, and carried off some sheep. A number of Armenians followed the thieves, a conflict ensued, in which one of the Armenians was killed, and the sheep were recovered. Subsequently, these Armenian peasants were again attacked, and one of them, Madiros Kricor, expired from the horrible mutilations to which he was subjected. Again, on August 2nd, in the *Daily News*, here is an account of an attempt made by a band of Kurds to carry off a newly married woman, and in the affray two Armenians and six Kurds were killed. That looks as if the Armenians in that instance were pretty well able to take care of themselves. But then the telegram goes on to state that a force of 200 or 300 military was sent to the village, and many Armenians were made prisoners. What the result will be it is not difficult to imagine. *The Times* now says, that there are "fresh rumours of cruelties" coming from Erzeroum, though that is a mild way of stating the case. I may refer to the case of Moussa Bey. As we all know, he was put upon his trial and acquitted, and it was only the strong representations made by the German Ambassador, and possibly the

British Ambassador, prevented Moussa Bey's promotion to a higher office. Owing chiefly to the representations of the German Ambassador, Moussa Bey awaits a second trial, but it must not be imagined that, though a prisoner at Constantinople, he is in durance vile. A charming villa is at his disposal, on the Hellespont, and his solitude is cheered by the presence of the fair sex provided for that purpose. From all appearances Moussa Bey is treated more like an honoured guest at Constantinople than a man under a criminal charge. There can be no denial of these outrages, they are matters of history. The responsibility for much of what has occurred rests on the Great Powers, who have shown great supineness, and especially on Great Britain. We have a special Convention with the Turkish Government, the Cyprus Convention—and it is our special duty to protect and defend Armenia. Now the old practice was for the Turkish Government to encourage the Kurds to come down from the mountain regions, and settle or squat on the lands of the Armenian Christians. Then, after a time, the Kurds made a claim to the land, they suborned witnesses, their evidence was accepted by the Courts, and gradually the Armenians sank into the condition of serfs. The present policy of the Turks seems to be to exterminate the Armenians entirely, and a recent telegram states that the Turkish Government have furnished Martini-Henry rifles to the Kurds in the Armenian districts. The House of Commons ought to insist upon having a very clear explanation of what steps have been taken to put pressure on the Porte. The *Émeute* which recently occurred at the Armenian church of Koom Kapo in Constantinople shows that the Armenians are determined to protect their liberties to the last, and that they despair of obtaining redress by constitutional means. The present Armenian Patriarch seems to be somewhat of a pedant, and does not take that strong view his predecessor did as to his duty to protect not only the religious but the civil rights of his people. The Armenian race have a long history, and a strong feeling of nationality; but if they are treated in a reasonable manner by the Turks they will remain loyal subjects of

the Sultan. The only result of our refusing to protect them will be to drive the people into the arms of Russia. The Russian domestic administration does not, perhaps, present a very high model for the Turks to follow, but there is no doubt that their treatment of border races is, in some respects, better even than our own. It arises, perhaps, from the fact that not being a very civilised race it is easy for them to correct the first faults of rising but semi-civilised nationalities. The Armenians at the present time furnish many officers and officials to the Turkish Government, including the Finance Minister and the Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs. A large number are also in the service of Russia. What is the reform the Armenians will be satisfied with? Because that is a question which the British Government ought to be able to insist upon. The existing laws, as far as they go, which guide the tribunals before which Christians should be brought, are borrowed, to a large extent, from the Code Napoléon. That is all very well, but it is well known that the Turks refuse to try Christians by the Code set apart for them, and will not receive the evidence of Christians. If a change could be made in the Governor of Armenia, if they could have Armenian Governors, they would be perfectly satisfied to have Turkish sub-Governors. Another useful reform would be the establishment of a local gendarmerie, raised among the sedentary Armenian population, which could be officered by soldiers from some neutral nation, say from Belgium or Switzerland. At any rate, I believe the interest and duty of this country is clear—namely, that we should do all in our power to bring about reform in the government of these provinces; and I hope the Committee will have a satisfactory explanation from the hon. Baronet as to the measures taken by Lord Salisbury's Government for the protection of the Armenians.

Motion made, and Question proposed,  
 "That Item A, Salaries, be reduced by £100, part of the Salary of the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs."  
 —(Mr. Schwann.)

\*(11.3.) MR. LEVESON-GOWER  
 (Stoke-upon-Trent): I rise to second the Motion for the reduction of the



Vote. In the first place, I think some protest is necessary against the practice of putting off Estimates to so late a period of the Session. In the second place, I wish to emphasize the remarks of my hon. Friend with regard to the lamentable condition of the Christian population of these provinces which have the misfortune to be still under Turkish rule. I enter upon the discussion in no partisan spirit, for I know what delicacy is needed in carrying on diplomatic negotiations, and how much the plans of Ministers may be embarrassed by indiscreet pressure brought to bear upon them at critical times. I will go further, and say that I recognise on the part of the Government a desire for a better administration in the Asiatic provinces of Turkey. I am, however, doubtful whether that desire has been expressed strongly enough to convey to the mind of the Sublime Porte the feeling that Her Majesty's Government is in earnest in the matter, or whether their action has not been prompted by the consideration that it is better "to let sleeping dogs lie." It may be asked what measures I would advise to put a stop to the present state of things. In that connection I would point to the eminently satisfactory result of the Dulcigno demonstration during the second Administration of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian, whereby many of the provisions of the Treaty of Berlin were enforced. In this case it would not be so difficult to carry out such a demonstration, because, instead of having six Powers to combine, a cordial understanding with Russia would be sufficient to bring the Turks to their senses, and to remedy the disastrous state of things in Turkey. I know the right hon. Baronet the Under Secretary is very unwilling to take evidence from the public Press. He generally tells us that he has had no information, or that he is unable to get satisfactory information as to the reports of atrocities published in the Press. I am afraid the hon. Baronet does not show sufficient anxiety to get information. I will not, however, trouble him with many quotations from the Press, but I will refer him to only one or two passages in the Blue Book I of 1890, and will merely draw attention to the fact that one among the many grievances of the Christian population is a change which

*Mr. Leveson-Gower*

has been made in the abolition of the protection formerly given them. Some time ago they were living under the protection of the Beys of the country, in return for which protection certain dues and services were exacted from them. Since that feudal system was abolished they have been deprived of the protection of these Mussulmans, and exposed to the depredations of Kurds, Circassians, and other wild, nomadic tribes, but at the same time their old masters still exacted the contribution from them, so that they had to pay practically a double tax, and yet got no protection from either party. Another point mentioned in the Blue Book was the fear of the villagers to come forward and lay complaints before the local authorities, because they felt that they would not get justice and would lay themselves open to the speedy retribution of the Kurdish chieftains. As a remedy for that, and no doubt through the efforts of the representative of Her Majesty's Government, one of the chief offenders, Moussa Bey, a Kurdish chief, was nominally put on his trial at Constantinople. He was a Kurdish chief of great power and influence, and had previously been an official of the Turkish Government. There were 10 charges of the gravest character brought against him, including charges of violation, murder, arson, burglary, cattle lifting, robbery, and extorting money by violence. That would seem to be enough. There was a great parade made of the fairness with which the trial was to be conducted. They said they would pay the expenses of the Christian witnesses, and that in every respect the trial of Moussa Bey should be a fair and just trial. To obtain an idea of how this trial was conducted I will refer the Committee to a Despatch in the Blue Book of Sir William White to the Marquess of Salisbury in reference to it. At the conclusion of the trial Sir William pointed out to Lord Salisbury the irregularities that took place in the trial. He divided them into three heads. The first was, that during the proceedings Moussa Bey seemed to be most courteously treated, and to be received as a distinguished guest rather than a man accused of the gravest crimes, whilst the Armenian prosecutors and witnesses were treated with contumely. The second point was that, after Moussa Bey was committed,

he was allowed to remain at liberty, instead of being placed under arrest; and the third point was that the position taken up by the public prosecutor savoured rather of that of a lawyer for the defence than a prosecutor on behalf of the Government. After that it is scarcely necessary to say anything more of the unfair and disgraceful character of this trial, which has now practically resulted in Mousa Bey's acquittal. Another trial was promised, but it has not yet taken place, and at the present time the man is at liberty in Constantinople. I only desire to say, in conclusion, that great hopes have been based by the right hon. Baronet some time ago on the appointment of Raouf Pasha to the government of Bitlis, but the massacre that has recently taken place at Erzeroum shows that the present state of things in the province is far from satisfactory. I venture very earnestly to urge on the Government the necessity and the policy of making strong representations to the Porte to the effect that, unless reforms such as those which have been indicated by the hon. Member for Manchester are granted and vigorously carried out, it would certainly receive no farther countenance or support from them. We are bound, not only by the 11st Article of the Treaty of Berlin, but also by the Anglo-Turkish Convention, to watch over the safety and welfare of the Armenian subjects of the Porte. These people are losing faith in any prospect of redress at the hands of Europe, and if some action is not promptly taken they will either break out in a premature insurrection, to be quenched in torrents of blood, or they will invoke the assistance of the Russian troops which have been massed upon the frontier—a step that must cause much more extensive complications than any that could result from the interference of the English Foreign Office.

(11.25.) Mr. LABOUCHERE (Northampton): I think it is sufficiently plain that mis-government in Armenia is a necessary consequence of the Turkish rule, and that as long as the Turks are there there must be mis-government in that country. I would venture to point out to the House what the position in Armenia really is. The Kurds, who form the majority of the population in the province of

Armenia, dwell in the mountains, whence they raid the peaceful Armenian villages in the plains. Generally speaking, the Armenians submit to this sort of thing and pay a sort of ransom to mitigate it. In fact, it is very much like what used to happen in the Highlands and Lowlands of Scotland, when the Highland Clans made raids upon the Lowland cattle. When the oppression of the Kurds becomes too great to bear the Armenians rebel against it. The Kurds are Mahomedans, and the Armenians are Christians. Upon the Kurds the Turkish Government counts for the maintenance of its sway in the country, and as a consequence no Turkish Pasha could oppose the Kurds. They are a body of irregular cavalry, very useful to the Turks when the Turks themselves are attacked. Therefore, as long as the Turkish Government is paramount in Armenia the Armenians will be oppressed by the Kurds. Representations of this country are of little use. They have been made again and again, with no satisfactory result. It is very desirable that the representations which have been made should be laid before the House and before the Governments of Europe. We have never had them; but I think we ought to have them. Let me ask, who is responsible for what takes place in Armenia? I think that, to a certain extent, both sides of the House—the late Liberal Government as well as the present Conservative Government—are responsible for the results of the Turkish sway in Armenia. But of late the Liberals have not taken so strong a view as the Conservatives, and unquestionably when Lord Salisbury was in power during the Turko-Russian War he, who was one of the prime movers in the San Stefano Treaty and in the occupation of Cyprus as a guarantee for Turkish rule in Asia Minor, was really responsible for what took place. What we ought to do is to declare openly that we can no longer adhere to the Cyprus Convention, and that we do not recognise any obligation to defend Asia Minor if it should be attacked. If Russia chooses to attack the country we should look on and let Turkey and Russia fight it out between themselves. The fact is that whenever you have a Christian population under the foot of the Turk that population has been, and will continue to

be, oppressed. I think it would be useless to make any representation whatever to Turkey unless we clearly tell the Turks in plain and determined language that we will have nothing whatever to do with Asia Minor, but will leave the Russians and Turks to fight the matter out by themselves. I am no admirer of Russian rule; but I say that when we compare the Turkish rule in Armenia with Russian rule in Asia Minor the difference is as between civilisation and the absence of civilisation. Under the circumstances, I do hope that the only representation to the Turkish Government will be such as I have suggested.

(11.30.) MR. BUCHANAN (Edinburgh, W.): I am rather inclined to agree with the hon. Member for Northampton. I had hoped that the Under Secretary would have risen at once to reply, for I have to touch on other subjects than Armenia. As regards that subject I think, considering the result of our remonstrances year after year, we ought to make it perfectly clear, as I believe it has been more or less indicated by the right hon. Gentleman, that it is the intention of Her Majesty's Government not to consider themselves bound by the Anglo-Turkish Convention in regard to the defence of Armenia and Macedonia. This has been stated with some slight ambiguity, but I think it ought to be made quite clear. I should like to make a few other observations that arise out of other matters in connection with this Vote. The hon. Member for Stoke has alluded to the fact that we are imperfectly supplied with information, and that, I think, may be considered a general complaint in relation to foreign affairs.

THE CHAIRMAN: An Amendment having been moved in relation to a specific subject it would be more convenient for the Committee to dispose of that branch of the question first.

MR. BUCHANAN: Certainly, Sir. I only rose because nobody else did.

(11.32.) MR. A. O'CONNOR (Donegal, E.): I hope that we shall have some definite statement from the right hon. Baronet the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and that there will be no trace, as there has been in his earlier utterances on this matter, of the suggestion that he is the official apologist for the

*Mr. Labouchere*

Turkish administration. Certainly, many of his utterances in the past have been more like those of a Turkish official than of a British Minister. I trust we shall have an assurance that a definite proposal will be made to the Turkish Government with regard to the reforms suggested for Armenia. The hon. Member for Northampton has spoken of the relations of the Kurds and Armenians in the neighbourhood of Erzeroum, Van, and Tiflis, and seemed to suppose that wherever Christians come into contact with Moslems in these districts they must necessarily take the lower position and be the victims of Moslem oppression. But it has not always been so, and I think that if a settlement were instituted in Armenia, similar to that which has been so eminently successful in the Lebanon, there could be no question of a successful administration there also. It is true that the Armenians are oppressed by the Kurds, but the Armenians are among the best soldiery in the world, and there is no reason why they should submit to the atrocities of the Kurds. Many of the soldiers of Russia are Armenians, and I have been informed that, within 48 hours' march of the Turkish frontier, there are seven Russian divisions, largely composed of Armenians; and many officers of distinction and high rank in the Russian service are Armenians. The spiritual head of the Armenian Church is also a Russian subject, and he has recently sent an Archimandrite to St. Petersburg to invoke the protection of Russia. It is nonsense for the Government to shut their eyes to facts which are patent to everybody else. I do not agree that it is a matter of no importance to us whether the Russians go into Armenia or not. The presence of the Russian Forces on the upper waters of the Tigris and the Euphrates would have a considerable moral effect on India and other countries in the East. That is a subject which is worthy of the consideration of Her Majesty's Government. There is one proposal which might be made. Why should not the Government suggest to the Porte the appointment of a Vali, who would himself be an Armenian, for the Armenian districts? Such an officer should be left free to choose as his subordinate officers competent men determined to do their duty fairly and pro-

tect their countrymen against the predatory incursions of the Kurds from the mountains. If nothing is done, the difficulty will go on increasing until Russia, with the consent of the whole of Christendom, will cross the frontier and do that which this country might do much more effectually and speedily, and which ought to be done by a country which is a signatory to the Treaty of Berlin. I hope that a definite proposal will be made by Her Majesty's Government to the Turkish Government, and that they will back that proposal up by such language and demeanour as will show to the Porte that the time has come for some definite steps to be taken.

\*(11.38.) SIR R. FOWLER (London): I agree with very many of the observations which have been made, but we must consider what our position is at Constantinople. Formerly, in the days of Lord Palmerston and Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, we were prepared to fight for Turkey, but I apprehend that those days have gone by; in that I agree with hon. Gentlemen opposite. Therefore, the British Government stand in a different position at Constantinople from that in which they stood 30 years ago. The Turks know well enough that they are not likely to be backed up by England in a future war, and that being the case, I do not see how our Representative can put very much pressure on the Turks in a situation of this kind. I am sure that the Government and our distinguished Representative at Constantinople have done all that is in their power, but a country which is not prepared to go to war for another, is in a very different position with regard to that country from that which it held in a time when it was prepared to make the greatest sacrifices for it. The House ought to bear in mind we are not in the position we formerly occupied, and it is, therefore, the duty of the British Government and of its Representatives to act with great caution.

\*(11.40.) SIR J. FERGUSSON: I delayed rising to reply because my doing so would be of little use while several Members desired to address the Committee on the subjects embraced in my reply. The hon. Member for Stoke has referred to the late date at which the

Vote comes on, suggesting that, on that account, important questions do not receive the attention they deserve; but it must be remembered that the discussion of foreign affairs is not confined to this Vote. Many hon. Members availed themselves of the opportunities afforded by the Diplomatic and Consular Vote, and also by the Vote on Account; and this is, therefore, neither the first nor the second occasion on which these questions have been discussed. Attention has now been called to incidents which have occurred in the provinces of the Turkish Empire. It is a most lamentable thing that at this day incidents should occur which have called forth expressions of sympathy and indignation throughout the civilised world. I altogether repudiate the imputations of indifference that have been made upon myself. I feel as keenly as any Member of the House when I read accounts of cruelty and wrong; but whilst I feel keenly it is quite another thing to adopt statements hastily and jump at conclusions, without independent and official confirmation, and to base upon them extreme conclusions, when international interests are at stake. The hon. Member for Stoke spoke of my being sceptical of newspaper accounts, and appearing to be indifferent because I possess no official information of occurrences reported in the papers. It is far from the fact that I have been indifferent. But over and over again hon. Members have asked me whether I had any information of events which were only just reported by telegraph in the newspapers as having occurred a day or two before. It is, of course, impossible that I could have received official information, because it is absolutely necessary that the representatives of the British Government should make careful inquiries into these rumours so as to make only authentic reports for the information of the Government, and not simply repeat bazaar rumours. Again and again statements have appeared in newspapers which have turned out on inquiry to be absolutely unfounded or grossly exaggerated. Not long ago there was a statement of an alleged massacre at a certain place, and that turned out to be altogether a mistake. There was a report of a sanguinary affray in Decem-

ber last; it turned out to be a trifling disturbance arising out of the non-payment of taxes. Reference has just been made to a story that Kurds were being armed with martini rifles. The Vice-Consul on the spot was able to make inquiry, and has reported that the story is not only untrue but so absurd as to be received with ridicule. The hon. Member for Stoke takes an intelligent and hereditary interest in these subjects and said truly that they ought not to be discussed in a party spirit; and I am glad to bear my testimony to the disposition of hon. Members opposite to approach them in a non-party spirit. When it comes to the practical question of what measures ought to be adopted to bring about better government in the Turkish provinces, and when another Dulcigno demonstration is suggested, I must say I doubt very much the expediency of repeating such a demonstration. I think it would be very disturbing and impotent. Then the hon. Member said it would be well if the British Ambassador would join with the Ambassadors of other Powers in making representations to the Porte and endeavour to secure the institution of reforms. While the hon. Member was speaking my right hon. Friend near me (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) said he was special Ambassador at Constantinople at the time, and he remembered going in the same carriage with the Russian Ambassador to the Porte to make representations. The other day, after the occurrences at Erzeroum, the British Ambassador made representations at the Porte that certain measures ought to be adopted in order to save the inhabitants of Erzeroum; and his recommendations were immediately adopted. This action on his part is only an example of the course usually adopted whenever it is seen that representations are likely to be attended with good effect. As to Moussa Bey's trial, I make a present of it to the hon. Gentleman. Sir W. White has expressed his opinion in forcible terms of the plain injustice that took place in that trial, and the absence of vigour on the part of the Public Prosecutor, and the apparent passivity of still higher authorities; but what has been the result of the failure of justice in that case? One of

*Sir J. Ferguson*

the Ministers of the Porte was dismissed, the Minister of Justice, and another person appointed in his place. That, I think, will show that the action of our Ambassador has not been sluggish where representation or remonstrance seemed proper and might be made with effect. But, turning from those points, I must say some language has been used in the course of the speeches which, to say the least, is unfortunate. The hon. Member for North Manchester used language prompting subjects of the Porte to insurrection. That, I submit, is an incitement greatly to be deprecated. Hon. Members have expressed doubt and scepticism as to the efficiency of the action of certain officers of the Porte. I believe, on the contrary, there has been a general desire on the part of the Porte to appoint efficient officers. It has been the constant advice of Her Majesty's representatives that honest administrators should be sent to those districts, as being the best way in an Asiatic country of doing away with disorder. I am glad to be able to refer with commendation to the work done by one of those officers—namely, Raouf Pasha. The despatches testify to his honest administration, one gentleman interested in the Armenian provinces of Turkey, writing to our Ambassador bears strong testimony to the firmness and justice of Raouf Pasha's administration, and says that whenever men charged with murder are brought to the Court, Raouf Pasha goes to the Court to see that justice is done. In other places in the despatches similar testimony is given, and I believe that in several districts there has been improved administration. But there is not the slightest doubt that in that country there is a great deal which is very unsatisfactory. Notwithstanding that there have been many examples made of those who committed raids on the innocent population, there have been many acts of brutal cruelty, and continual descents of the turbulent population of the mountains on that of the plains, and so it would be until adequate and disciplined forces are properly directed to punish speedily the aggressors. Still, it would be an injustice to say that the Porte and the officers of the Porte have not done much better than in former times; they have

shown a desire to stand well before the world, and also a desire, which I honestly believe, is entertained by the Sultan and his Ministers, to prevent injustice and terminate disorder. The hon. Member for Donegal indicated a plan by which he thought better government could be established in that part of the world. There is this great difficulty in appointing an Armenian Governor to one of those provinces, and that is that the Christian population are generally in a minority, and certainly the Armenians are in a minority. It is hardly possible to conceive in a country where the Government is Mahomedan that they can put a Christian Governor in provinces in which the Mahomedans are really in a majority. That seems a suggestion which can hardly be made with a prospect of good result. But fair and honest men, such as are in my experience to be found among the Moslems, and who will punish injustice and outrage whenever it occurs, can do much to improve the conditions of the Armenians. As to the occurrences which have taken place at Erzeroum and Constantinople, I do not think the hon. Member for Manchester gave an accurate description of them. I do not quarrel with him on that score, because he is not in possession of official information, and the source he has quoted from was not correct.

\*MR. SCHWANN: It was the *Times*.

\*SIR J. FERGUSSON: The Government have most careful and detailed accounts from the Consul at Erzeroum, who was himself an eye-witness of what occurred, and they know that the Governor did exert himself with praiseworthy energy to stop the riots, and that the troops exercised great self-control under considerable provocation. It was owing to the steps taken by the Governor that these disturbances were not very much worse. Here I must excuse myself for having spoken with some warmth in consequence of the somewhat incendiary language used by the hon. Member for Manchester with reference to risings, bloodshed, revolution, and so forth. Unfortunately, there are revolutionary movements in connection with these events, to which these disturbances were largely due. A document has lately been published

in Constantinople, and many thousand copies have been circulated, urging Armenians to revolution and to rise and annihilate the persons opposed to the work of revolution. If that be the best advice the Armenian Committees can give to their fellow subjects, I am afraid we cannot approach the Porte with much hope of receiving concessions.

\*MR. SCHWANN: I said distinctly that the Armenians would be a perfectly loyal people if measures were taken for their protection.

\*SIR J. FERGUSSON: I am in the recollection of the Committee, and I am afraid I cannot withdraw the charge I have made against the hon. Gentleman of using language calculated to incite to disturbance. He certainly pointed to bloodshed and violence as the too probable result of what was going on.

\*MR. SCHWANN: That is quite misstating what I said. I said the Armenians were perfectly determined to revolt if their reasonable requirements were not met. I said they would revolt, a crisis which I wished to avert. Those were my first remarks.

\*SIR J. FERGUSSON: I should be sorry to misrepresent the hon. Member, but I venture to say that such expectations are not likely to be beneficial, and that the very worst service to the Armenians would be to induce the Turkish Government to think that revolutionary movements are likely to arise. It was such faults as that of the Armenian Committee of Constantinople which led to the search for arms in the church at Erzeroum, and was the beginning of all these disorders. Let us, by all means, do what we can as the friend and old ally of the Ottoman Government to urge on it the adoption of measures which will prevent these sad disorders, and induce greater confidence amongst its Christian subjects. I do not think we have gone to war from sentimental considerations. We have gone to war on behalf of British and European and world-wide interests—

An hon. MEMBER: The Crimean War.

\*SIR J. FERGUSSON: Yes; I say so of the Crimean War. I venture to think that neither by using unmeasured language of reproof, nor by ignor-

ing the great difficulties under which the Turkish Government lies, nor by refusing to recognise the efforts it has made towards reform of late years, shall we introduce that state of things which the Government are as desirous as any Members of the House shall be brought about.

(12.7.) MR. BRYCE (Aberdeen, S.): I think the tone adopted by the Under Secretary this evening is certainly more conciliatory, and in many respects more likely to bring about a general union of feeling on these subjects, than the tone he generally adopts, and I am, therefore, glad to see it. I think he cannot complain of what was said by the hon. Gentleman who preceded him, because it is in the recollection of the House that in the Debates we have had on this subject the right hon. Gentleman's attitude has almost always been apologetic, as if he always had in mind that his speech was going to be read in translation at Constantinople. He has talked in a better strain to-night. He admits that the condition of Constantinople is lamentable, though he lapses back. He talks of our "ancient ally," but we have had very little reason to be proud of the alliance of late years. Still, I think he has taken a line which we may look upon as an earnest of better things. As to the censure cast upon my hon. Friend the Member for Manchester, I would say he expressed no approval of insurrection. He said that nothing but insurrection could be expected from the way in which the Porte has governed its subjects, and I think the same conclusion must have been come to by every one who has studied the history of events in Armenia and Bulgaria. I think the Committee has some reason to complain of the scanty information given by the right hon. Baronet. The right hon. Gentleman seemed to think it his duty to keep the House in darkness. Very few Papers have been produced, and none covering the period from 1881 to 1888, and when we have endeavoured to elicit facts, the right hon. Gentleman has in many cases refused to make inquiry, and in others has confined himself to throwing doubt on the statements made. I should have thought that if the right hon. Gentleman and the Government were really anxious

*Sir J. Fergusson*

to make a proper impression on the mind of Turkey they would rather have dwelt on the strong language occasionally used in this House. They would have been able to say to Turkey, "You see the impression produced on the mind of Parliament and on Western Europe," and they would have been able to address to the Porte warnings far more emphatic than if the pressure of public opinion in England were not behind them. Everyone knows that the state of these provinces is one of continued oppression, and therefore I will not go over again what has been said by my two hon. Friends; but I must say a word about Erzeroum. The right hon. Baronet has quoted certain facts from a Report he has received, but he omitted to state the most material facts of the case. The riot at Erzeroum arose from a search by Turkish troops in an Armenian church. Such a thing has never been heard of in Armenia as the concealment of arms in a place of worship, because it is believed by the people that such an act would be a desecration of a sacred building. However, in consequence of some anonymous statements made in Constantinople an order for the search was made. The Turkish soldiers went into the church and took up the Communion vessels, and turned the chalice upside down, one of them, it is alleged, standing on the altar. That was an act which, in the minds not only of Eastern Christians but of all good Christians, amounted to a shocking profanation. These statements have been made to me on ample authority, and I think that these incidents ought to have been alluded to by the right hon. Gentleman and that he should have endeavoured to account for them. According to the accounts I have received, the reason why so much loss of life occurred was that the mob, chiefly composed of Turkish soldiers, fell upon the Christian quarter, robbed the shops, and murdered many Christians. That is a very different account to that the right hon. Gentleman has given. He says the Turks are showing signs of improvement. I am glad to hear that Raouf Pasha is a better Governor than most Turks would be, and it is some gain that he should be now in power at Tiflis, but there are many districts where no such improvement

has been introduced, and the right hon. Gentleman will hardly deny that there has seldom been a moment in recent years when the condition of Armenia has been more dangerous and alarming than it is at the present moment. According to the accounts I have received, the state of the country is such that the people dare not go out to cultivate their fields for fear of the excited Mussulman population. If it is true that so much can be done by the appointment of better Governors, why is that remedy not more often put into force? A better illustration, however, of the want of good faith on the part of the Turkish Government could not be found than that which is afforded in the trial of Moussa Bey. The right hon. Gentleman said he would make a present of that case to my hon. Friend the Member for Stoke. When he said that, did he reflect on the circumstances of that case? Here is a man who has been the scourge of the whole countryside for many years, every one of whose steps is marked by robbery, outrage, and murder, sometimes accompanied by hideous cruelty, by the carrying off of women, by cattle lifting, and by the burning of the peasants' houses. The Sultan summons him to Constantinople, and receives him with every honour. The right hon. Gentleman said the Public Prosecutor acted with plenty of vigour. He certainly did act with plenty of vigour, but all his vigour was employed on behalf of Moussa Bey, and it was owing to his exertions that Moussa Bey was acquitted. Sir William White, whose sympathies for the Christian population none will doubt, remonstrated against the failure of justice in the case, but nothing has been done from that time to this. Moussa Bey is allowed to go free about Constantinople, and the knowledge that he is free has, of course, permeated through to Armenia and has encouraged the participants in his crimes to perpetrate similar outrages. Therefore, an instance like this, where the sins of the offender are clear, and the offender is nevertheless allowed to go free, is not only evidence of what the sympathies of the Turkish Government are, but is also the strongest encouragement to other offenders of the same kind. I now desire to ask what is intended to be done?

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It is time we tried to give some practical character to these often repeated discussions. We first ought to ask the Government what they have done. It is not enough to give us vague assurances as to remonstrances having been addressed to the Turkish Government. We desire to know what is the language used in such remonstrances, so as to see whether it adequately represents the feelings of this country. I hope, therefore, Her Majesty's Government will produce not merely the Despatches of our Consul General and of Sir William White, but also the Despatches of Lord Salisbury to Sir William White, so that it may be seen whether the language used is of just and proper severity. There are two courses which may be suggested to the Government to take. One course would be to endeavour to get the Great Powers to join with this country in more effective remonstrances. Some attempt of this kind was, I believe, made by the present Chancellor of the Exchequer when at Constantinople some years ago. Since then ten years have elapsed. The condition of Armenia has grown worse, the danger to the Turkish Government has become more imminent. Ample opportunity for reform has been afforded, and it is a question whether the time has not now come when this country should make a solemn appeal to the Great Powers of Europe to join us in addressing an earnest remonstrance to Turkey. If the Great Powers refuse, our hands will at least be clean. It ought to be borne in mind that we are under solemn engagements in this matter. We have taken these Eastern Christians from the protection of Russia by the Treaty of San Stefano, and under these circumstances we ought to make a solemn appeal to the signatory Powers to put pressure on the Turkish Government in order to bring about a permanent improvement. The second course that may be adopted is to proceed under the Turkish Convention. The right hon. Gentleman in a Debate some time ago referred to it as a "lapsed Convention." I should like to ask Her Majesty's Government whether they have warned Turkey that they consider this Convention to be "lapsed," and that they consider the obligations of this country under that Convention are

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over, owing to the failure of Turkey to fulfil her part of the bargain. That is a method of putting pressure on the Turkish Government which ought to be tried. Her Majesty's Government may also point out to the Turkish Government the fatal policy it is pursuing. The Porte may fairly be reminded of the case of Bulgaria, which has since become independent, and be told that the insurrection and other events in that country are likely to repeat themselves in Armenia. The hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) said he wished Russia would take Armenia. Well, the Government of Russia is, in this matter at any rate, infinitely better than that of Turkey. Nothing that has occurred in the Caucasian provinces of Russia is comparable with the outrages of Moussa Bey and his confederates. Whether it would be dangerous to bring Russia into such close proximity with Palestine, what would be the effect on India, and other considerations of that kind, I will not now discuss. At any rate, Her Majesty's Government and their supporters would consider it a misfortune if Russia took Armenia, and, therefore, it is their duty to take steps by which such an event may be averted. These outrages are making the people of Armenia turn to Russia. They will, sooner or later, lead to an insurrection, and then to a Russian occupation. It is practically certain that within a few years Russia will occupy Armenia if efficient measures of reform are not adopted in the meanwhile. An hon. Member has referred to Macedonia. For the state of things there the Turkish Government are not so directly responsible, but it is scarcely less shocking. The condition of the prisons is a disgrace to humanity, and all life and property are insecure. We must all remember with what difficulty at more than one moment during the last five years peace has been preserved in Eastern Europe. Events in Armenia or Macedonia may lead to a general conflagration. Therefore, in the interests of peace and of humanity, and in the interest of the maintenance of the present equilibrium, I appeal to the Government to take some more decided step than they have yet taken, either by appealing to Europe, or by acting upon the Turkish Convention, with the object of remedying the evils which at present exist.

*Mr. Bryces*

(12.31.) MR. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne): The hon. Member for Aberdeen has appealed to the Government to take some action to secure a practical outcome of what would otherwise be a mere academic discussion. It is, however, open to question whether any amount of earnest appeal on the part of the Powers of Europe would have the least effect in changing the Turk. I do not myself believe there is any more probability of improving the morality of the Turk, as far as his treatment of Christian populations is concerned, than there is of changing the leopard's spots or washing the blackamoor white. I have the greatest contempt for all these diplomatic approaches to individuals of the type of the Sultan or his governors or advisers. As the hon. Member for Aberdeen has pointed out, in the notorious case of Moussa Bey the representations addressed to the Porte have been treated with the most sublime indifference, if not with contempt. Let us have done with all this humbug. After all the advice that has been given him the Turk is as bad now as he was a generation ago, and he will remain as bad till the end of time. In the Indian Empire the Moslem and Hindoo live together in perfect concord and amity, and, as far as I can see, the only reason why we cannot say the same of the people in Armenia is that in that country the population is controlled and governed by barbarians who have no idea of proper administration and no thought but to maintain the grossest injustice and tyranny at the expense of the unarmed Christian peasantry. In order to get rid of the source of all the friction and difficulty you must get rid of the barbarian Turk. The right hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary has applied the usual amount of Ministerial whitewash to his old friends and allies the Turks. That is the usual course of right hon. Gentlemen on the Ministerial Bench. It is what they are paid for.

Mr. KERANS rose in his place, and claimed to move "That the Question be now put;" but the CHAIRMAN withheld his assent, and declined then to put that Question.

Debate resumed.

**Mr. CONYBEARE:** We who are not in such a responsible position as that of the right hon. Gentleman may be permitted to have a freer range in dealing with these questions. The right hon. Gentleman was greatly concerned at our jeering about the Turks, and said he did not think we believed any good of anybody. That is quite true as far as Turks and Tories are concerned. We are not surprised that the Tories should do all they can to back up the enormities of the Turks. We are charged with inciting the Armenians to rebellion. That has always been the taunt levelled against those who venture to express sympathy with a down-trodden race. I am rebel enough by nature to be anxious to see every down-trodden population rebel against the tyrants who oppress them. But we say there is no occasion for us to incite the Armenians to rebellion any more than there was any necessity a short time ago to incite the Cretans to rebellion against the enormities of the Turks. The right hon. Gentleman cannot deny that constant cruelty and atrocity of every kind are being committed in Armenia by the representatives of the Porte, and if that is not sufficient to incite to rebellion I cannot understand what amount of encouragement from outside could induce the people to get up an insurrection. Then we have heard of the best means of curing these abuses. I look with interest to that Bench, who are responsible for the honest and firm administration in the shape of the Caddells and Clifford Lloyd and Plunketta, to know what kind of honest and firm administration they will propose for acceptance by the unspeakable Turk. I suggest to right hon. Gentlemen that they should look to their own house at home and clear out some of their own administrators, and then they may be in a position to press on the Turks some administrator who may do better than Moussa Bey. One would suppose, judging by the language of the Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs, that the Pasha set over Armenia was a paragon of virtue; that Armenia was a perfect paradise, and

that the people had nothing to complain of but their own evil passions. It is the old story. We are led to believe that all the reports in the Press are exaggerations, and that nothing but what finds its way into the Blue Books can be true. But I am inclined to believe the statements of impartial observers who describe in plain terms, without the official gloss which invariably finds its way into the Blue Books, the events which are taking place in that part of the world. I am not one of those who are in the least in favour of this country entering into rash participation in an interference with the difficulties which the Porte has got into with its subjects. I do not consider that this country is in the least degree under any obligation to intervene for the protection of the Armenians against their oppressors the Turks. We have got quite enough to do in Ireland, and in other parts of our own Empire. It is very possible certain obligations were entered into by a former Minister, who effected what he called Peace with Honour, under a certain Instrument called the Berlin Treaty, but I pay very little regard to those obligations. The best thing is to permit Russia to undertake the duty which she is quite capable of undertaking, namely, of freeing these Eastern populations from the outrages of the Turks. I observed that hon. gentlemen opposite resented the suggestion that Russian administration was in any degree better than the administration of the Turks. I do not pretend to have any personal experience, but I am informed by a gentleman who has travelled in those parts that while it is perfectly safe and comfortable to travel in Russian Armenia, it is absolutely unsafe to travel in that part of Armenia which is still under the heel of the Turk. The hon. Member for Aberdeen has pointed out that we took away from Russia the power of interference on behalf of the Armenians, and it is for that reason the hon. Member has appealed to the Government to make a solemn appeal to the great Powers to interfere on behalf of the Armenians. I should prefer to look upon it in this light. As we took away from the Armenians the only protector which was capable of standing up for them—Russia

—it is our bounden duty now to remedy matters, and to get, or, at any rate, to do our best to get, the Great Powers to sanction such interference as Russia, if she still desires to do so, may be disposed to offer on behalf of the Christians of Armenia.

(12.48.) MR. CHANNING (Northampton, E.): I wish to ask, before the discussion terminates, a question on a special matter which has not been touched upon in this Debate. The right hon. Gentleman will perhaps remember that when this subject was discussed earlier in the Session I drew attention to a Memorial which has been laid before the Porte on the part of the Patriarch of the Armenians and the Ecclesiastics of the Armenian Church. In that Memorial complaints were made as to the withdrawal of the privileges of the Ecclesiastical Courts in determining questions of inheritance, marriage, &c., and also as to the interference of the Porte through its officials with the publication and reprinting of various books for religious services, as well as historical and other books connected with the maintenance of their nationality and history. The question has recently been again brought before the Porte by the Patriarch of the Armenians, but the Grand Vizier, or other official concerned, has refused to remove the cause of complaint. The question I then put to the right hon. Gentleman was, whether the Government could, through their Representative at Constantinople, support the representations of the Armenian Church, but the right hon. Gentleman gave me no reply. I think it only right on this occasion, the last occasion of the Session, to press for some answer as to whether Her Majesty's Representative has supported the claim of the Armenians to a recognition of that part of their nationality which is the most endeared to them, and to which they cling most keenly, namely, the maintenance of their religious life, and historical traditions, and for the preservation of the books relating to

*Mr. Conybeare*

them. I hope that strong representations have been made by Sir William White in support of the demand of the Armenians. I do not agree with an hon. Member who has said that the Armenians wish to be absorbed by Russia. What they want is to have an autonomous existence side by side with Turkey, but not to be separated from Turkey.

(12.54.) MR. S. SMITH (Flintshire): I should like to know whether, on the Amendment before the Committee, I can call attention to the case of Madagascar?

THE CHAIRMAN: The specific Amendment under discussion must be disposed of first.

DR. CLARK: The Government might tell us what they propose to do. There are two important subjects to be discussed to-night, and it must be borne in mind that we have done considerable business to-day. I think it would be well to report Progress now.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. H. SMITH, Strand, Westminster): It would be well to dispose of the Amendment before reporting Progress.

MR. SCHWANN: I am ready to withdraw my Amendment, but I really do not know that I ought to do so. The right hon. Gentleman made a severe attack upon me and threw doubt upon the motives by which I am actuated.

\*SIR J. FERGUSSON: I will make inquiries into the question raised by the hon. Member for Northamptonshire with regard to the historical books of the Armenians. I have never before heard that the Armenians have reason to complain that they are interfered with in the exercise of their religion.

MR. BRYCE: The American missionaries complain that their devotional books are sometimes confiscated by the Turkish censors.

\*SIR J. FERGUSSON: That is a matter affecting the Americans rather than ourselves. Our Ambassador will, of course, be ready to give any assistance he can in the matter.

\*MR. CHANNING: I am surprised the right hon. Gentleman is not personally acquainted with the facts relating to the

Memorial to which I called attention. I really cannot pass from the question without some assurance that instructions will be given to Sir W. White to take action in regard to the subject.

(12.58.) DR. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid): I must confess I have never listened to anything more absurd than the humiliating apology of the right hon. Gentleman for the outrages and crimes perpetrated by Moussa Bey. The Ministry is a Ministry of bravado and bunkum. The right hon. Gentleman has shown up the value of the "Peace with Honour Treaty," a Treaty which shows that Conservatism really is bunkum and nothing else.

Motion, by leave, withdrawn.

Original Question again proposed.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(Mr. S. Smith.)

\*MR. W. H. SMITH: I am under an engagement not to go beyond 1 o'clock with this Vote if there is any objection to doing so, and I am, therefore, prepared to withdraw this Vote. I hope, however, that the House will make progress with other Votes which are not of the same contentious character. My only desire is to consult the convenience of the House, and I have no intention of pressing the matter if hon. Members object.

(1.3.) MR. LABOUCHERE: I understand that when the 12 o'clock Rule was suspended, the idea was that the Vote under discussion should not be interrupted at that hour. But now we are at 1 o'clock, and the right hon. Gentleman proposes to withdraw this Vote and bring forward others.

\*MR. W. H. SMITH: If the House desires it.

MR. LABOUCHERE: Well, I do not know in what sense that is meant. I can tell the right hon. Gentleman that if he thinks he is going to get Votes through by this means he is mistaken.

Unquestionably, we have a right to discuss any Votes, though for convenience of the Government and yielding to their desire for a holiday, we do not insist on that right upon all the Votes. I can assure the First Lord of the Treasury there is not the slightest desire on the Opposition side, as far as I know, to prolong the Session unduly; but I would urge him not to push these Votes at this unearthly hour of night, 1 o'clock a.m., and not to hop from one Vote to another. Before we agree to the Motion to report Progress, I should like to gather what is the intention as to Votes to-morrow. I understood that Friday was to be given up to the Foreign Office Vote, and then it was suggested that it should be taken to-night, and we are anxious to meet the right hon. Gentleman in every sort of way. But it was understood, I think, that this discussion commenced to-night should go on to-morrow. But I do not quite understand now what the intention is. Does the right hon. Gentleman mean to go on with the Vote on Saturday? I understand the right hon. Gentleman has intimated an intention to move the suspension of Rules. Does he mean to ask us to suspend the Rule that prevents our taking Report on the same day as the Vote is taken in Committee?

\*MR. W. H. SMITH: There is no intention to ask the House to suspend that Rule.

MR. LABOUCHERE: I am glad to hear that; and that, of course, makes a difference. But I would ask the right hon. Gentleman whether it is not desirable to take this Vote to-morrow and finish it, as probably we should, about 8 or 9 o'clock? Then the right hon. Gentleman is under an engagement, I think, to bring on the Navy Votes to-morrow. As far as I can gather, the only gentleman who is anxious to have these Votes thoroughly discussed is my right hon. Friend the Member for Bradford (Mr. Shaw Lefevre), and I should presume that three hours might exhaust the interest of my right hon. Friend.

The right hon. Gentleman will be making a mistake if he tries to take 50 or 60 Votes on Saturday.

\*(1.6.) MR. W. H. SMITH: The endeavour to meet the wishes of hon. and right hon. Gentlemen makes my position somewhat difficult. I had fixed Friday for this Vote, and then I was applied to by an hon. Gentleman opposite not to take from him the opportunity of making a speech he desired to make, and so I gave way in the hope that we might finish the Vote to day. In that hope I fixed the Navy Votes for Friday. Now, I desire to meet the convenience of Members. If it is desirable I will give an assurance that the Report of the Foreign Office Vote shall be taken on the day following the Vote itself, when hon. Members may make any further observations which they may desire to make. In that case I will consent to report Progress now, and this Vote will be taken at a reasonable hour to-morrow, and further discussion may take place on the Report. ["No!"] Then the Vote must stand behind the others.

(1.7.) MR. BRYCE: I do not think the right hon. Gentleman made any engagement that the Navy Votes should be first Order to-morrow. It is undesirable, I think, to break up the discussion on this Vote. We have had a useful discussion to-night, but there are one or two other points to be raised, and I think the discussion of the Vote might be concluded in good time to-morrow—say 7 or 8 o'clock—when the Navy Votes might be proceeded with.

\*(1.8.) MR. ASHER (Elgin, &c.): I have given notice of a Motion for to-night, and, as the House is aware, the time within which I can do so is limited by Statute. I hope the right hon. Gentleman will not carry on Committee and postpone my Motion to a still more unreasonable hour.

(1.9.) MR. S. SMITH: May I throw out the suggestion that we might dispose of the Madagascar question to-night? ["No, no!"]

Question put, and agreed to.

Committee report Progress.

*Mr. Labouchere*

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Committee sit again to-morrow."

(1.15.) MR. MUNRO FERGUSON: On this question may I ask the right hon. Gentleman to take the Vote first to-morrow, in order to dispose of points in relation to policy in Africa and matters which may not occupy more than a couple of hours or so?

\*(1.16.) MR. W. H. SMITH: There is an understanding that the Navy Votes shall come first, and I do not feel at liberty to alter the arrangement.

Question put, and agreed to.

Committee to sit again this day.

SAVINGS BANKS (RE-COMMITTED) BILL.  
(No. 396.)

COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Order be discharged, and Bill withdrawn."—(*Mr. Jackson.*)

(1.17.) MR. BARTLEY (Islington, N.): This Bill was brought in in consequence of some very serious disasters in which poor people suffered considerable loss in being deprived of their savings in banks. The Bill is based on the recommendations of a Select Committee which carried on an inquiry over two years, and it was hoped that this Bill would afford protection to the savings of the thrifty among the poorer classes. It is not creditable to the House that this Bill should have been obstructed and talked out, seeing it is urgently required by 1,500,000 of the inhabitants of this country. We find time for Irish Debates over and over again, but apparently no time to put the savings of the working classes on a safe and permanent basis.

(1.18.) COLONEL NOLAN (Galway, N.): I do not think the responsibility rests with the House; the fate of the Bill for this Session is due to the unfortunate arrangement of business by the Government.

**MR. BUCHANAN** (Edinburgh, W.): The Bill is sacrificed now in order to add a single day to the holidays.

\***MR. W. H. SMITH**: That is scarcely a proper observation to make; but, however, it is not worth while to take notice of it.

(1.19.) **DR. CLARK** (Caithness): It is fair to remark that the Bill has been completely changed since its introduction, although it was drafted on the Report of the Committee. The Chancellor of the Exchequer has endeavoured to please both Parties. The Bill must needs provoke very considerable discussion, and I do not see that the Government have any other course now.

\*(1.20.) **THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER** (Mr. GOSCHEN, St. George's, Hanover Square): No one regrets more than I do the necessity for withdrawing the Bill. It has not been dropped owing to any controversy as to the clause involving the banks, but through the fact that the hon. Member for Sunderland (Mr. Storey) determined that the Government should not pass it unless they made the concession of dropping the Police Bill. I have seen a letter from the Savings Banks representatives themselves, saying that they had endeavoured to put pressure on the hon. Member for Sunderland; but that the hon. Member stated that he was a Parliamentarian, and if the Government withdrew the Police Bill he would consent to the Bill. These representations have been made by the Savings Banks, who have been most anxious that the Bill should pass.

(1.21.) **MR. SINCLAIR** (Falkirk, &c.): I presume the Bill will be re-introduced next Session?

**MR. GOSCHEN**: Yes. I have so informed the Savings Banks Representatives.

**MR. SEXTON**: On behalf of my colleagues, I have to say that those of us who displayed an interest in the Bill withdrew our notices of Amendment as soon as we learned that they would endanger the principle of the Bill.

Further, I may say the Government might easily have passed this and other useful measures if they had not thrown away a fortnight on a foolish and vindictive attack upon Irish Members of this House.

(1.22.) **MR. CONYBEARE** (Cornwall, Camborne): As one of those who put down notices of Amendments, I may be permitted to say that I should in all probability have withdrawn them, but I happened to have been absent for a day or two. As to the reference to the hon. Member for Sunderland and the contents of a letter not produced, I happen to know it was because my hon. Friend the Member for Sunderland considered the policy of the Bill in some respects objectionable, and not because of his opposition to the Police Bill, that he took up the position he did. The hon. Member for Sunderland is not here, and I do not know if it is his intention to return, but I would suggest to the right hon. Gentleman in a friendly way that he should leave the Bill on the Paper for a day or two in order that the hon. Member may make a reply to the right hon. Gentleman should he think proper to do so.

Question put, and agreed to.

Bill withdrawn.

#### SUPPLY—REPORT.

Resolutions [6th August] reported.

#### CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES, 1890-91.

##### CLASS II.

1. "That a sum not exceeding £7,533 be granted to Her Majesty to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1891, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Office of Her Majesty's Secretary for Scotland and Subordinate Offices."

2. "That a sum not exceeding £3,796 be granted to Her Majesty to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1891, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Board of Lunacy in Scotland."

3. "That a sum not exceeding £4,025 be granted to Her Majesty to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year

ending on the 31st day of March 1891, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Department of the Registrar General of Births, &c., in Scotland."

Resolutions agreed to.

EDUCATIONAL ENDOWMENT (SCOTLAND) (ANDERSON'S INSTITUTION, ELGIN).

\*(1.30.) MR. ASHER (Elgin, &c.): I have to apologise to the House for intruding upon it at this very inconvenient hour with regard to a matter which, however important to my own constituency, is, I must admit, of purely local interest. The Motion which I ask the House to adopt has for its object the effecting of a very slight alteration in a scheme prepared by the Educational Commissioners for Scotland with reference to an institution known as the Elgin Institution for the support of old age and the education of youth. I desire at the outset to say that my Motion is not framed in a spirit of hostility to the scheme as a whole, or towards the Educational Endowments Commissioners, whose valuable services I cordially recognise as well as the fair and courteous manner in which they endeavoured to hold the balance between the founder's intentions, on the one hand, and those changes on the other which were necessary for adapting endowments to the altered circumstances of the time. The endowment in question was founded in 1833, and it had three objects in view; in the first place, the maintenance of a hospital for the support of indigent men and women upwards of 55 years of age; in the second place, a school of industry for children of members of the labouring class who were unable to educate and maintain their children; and, in the third place, the establishment of a free school for the education of children of the same class, but whose parents were able to maintain and clothe them. Now, Sir, the Commissioners have dealt with the endowment in this way. As regards that portion which refers to the support of old and indigent persons, they

have not interfered with the endowment at all. It was, indeed, almost entirely beyond the scope of their Commission. With regard to the free school, that, under the scheme, is handed over to the School Board at Elgin on the condition that it is to be maintained in the future as a school. The school of industry is a somewhat misleading term, because it merely consisted of an institution into which children were received, and there maintained, educated, and clothed. With regard to that school, it has been substantially abolished, and there has been substituted for it a number of foundations for both male and female children at tenable public schools throughout the county to be approved of by the Commissioners. An endowment of £250 is set apart for the purpose of school fees, books, and stationery, and also food and clothing for certain children whose parents are unable to provide these for them. With the scheme, as a whole, I am not finding fault. Power is given by the scheme to the Governors, under certain circumstances, to bring female foundationers to the institution for residence and for the purpose of being educated there. The circumstances under which the Governors have that power is where female children have lost one or both parents and the domestic circumstances of their homes are such as to make it inexpedient that they should be left there. Now, the only alteration which by my Motion I propose to make in the scheme is that the Governors should have the same power with reference to male children. It seems to my constituents desirable that the Governors should have that power in the case of boys who are foundationers, but who are in the same unfortunate circumstances as the girls may be in having a home in which it is inexpedient they should remain. I do not propose to make it obligatory on the Governors, but merely that they should have the same powers with reference to the boys as to the girls. This matter excites a good deal of interest in the locality from circumstances connected with the life of the founder, General Anderson, who was an officer in the East Indian Army, and who left to his native town a fortune sufficient for the erection

of a large handsome institution, with a revenue attached to it of nearly £2,000. The circumstances of his (General Anderson's) infancy and boyhood were by contrast of a very striking character. His mother had neither house nor home, and his early days were spent within the precincts of the ruins of Elgin Cathedral amidst circumstances of destitution and poverty of an extreme character; and there is a widespread feeling throughout the community that this munificent gift took the form which it did largely from the desire that poor boys similarly situated should find in the institution a home where they could be nurtured and educated in the way he wished. That circumstance largely accounts for the feeling prevalent in Elgin, that it is doing unnecessary violence to the will of the founder that boys should be excluded from this particular benefit of the foundation, and I hope the House will see its way, under these circumstances, to accept the very small alteration which I propose. It will not, I acknowledge, do all that many who live in the locality would wish to see effected, but, at any rate, it will be a step in the direction desired, I think, by the whole community of that neighbourhood. I should not be justified at this hour in detaining the House longer. I hope the Government will assent to this proposal, which will undoubtedly be in the line of the founder's intentions.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty to withhold Her consent from that part of the scheme of the Educational Endowment (Scotland) Commissioners for the administration of the Endowment in the burgh and county of Elgin, known as the Elgin Institution for the Support of Old Age and the Education of Youth, which consists of the following words, viz., 'for girls' and 'female,' in the third line of section 29; the word 'girl' in the second and fifth lines of section 32; and the words 'girl,' in the first line, and 'female,' in the third line, of section 33 of the said scheme.—(Mr. Asher.)

(1.40.) MR. SEYMOUR KEAY (Elgin and Nairn): As I represent the County of Elgin, I hold that I have a mandate from my constituents in this

matter, and I only wish to say that I most cordially concur in what has fallen from my hon. and learned Friend. I am prepared to add my personal testimony to the statement which he has made. I think there is no doubt that the scheme put forward by the Commissioners has, whether rightly or wrongly, raised a certain amount of suspicion in the mind of a considerable class of the population, and I believe that the Amendment which has been proposed will certainly tend in the direction of allaying any fears which have been raised. Consequently, without entering into details further, I beg cordially to second the Motion.

\*(1.43.) THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR SCOTLAND (Mr. M. T. STORMONTH DARLING, Edinburgh and Aberdeen Universities): After the admonitions addressed to the Government last night not to depart from any scheme for the administration of an educational endowment which has received the sanction of the Education Department, I think the House will not be surprised to hear that we have considered anxiously whether we ought to assent to the Motion of my hon. and learned Friend. Undoubtedly he is quite right in saying that the proposal which he makes involves no invasion of principle. I believe that the Commissioners, whose work in all these matters has been so valuable, were actuated in the decision to which they came by considerations which were very prevalent in Scotland at the time the scheme was framed against what was termed the Hospital system, and apparently they thought it better to reduce that system within limits by confining the benefits of the Institution, so far as the Hospital is concerned, to girls. There is, however, a great deal in what has been said by my hon. and learned Friend, both as to the antecedents of the founder, and also as to the moderate and permissive character of a proposal which does no more than confer the power on the Governors of the Institution to admit boys to its benefits as well as girls. These considerations, coupled with the fact that there seems to be a general consensus of local opinion in favour of the Motion, have induced the

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Government to assent to it and to invite the House to accept it.

(1.45.) Question put, and agreed to.

Address to be presented by Privy Councillors.

#### FINANCIAL RELATIONS (ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, AND IRELAND).

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a Select Committee be appointed to consider the present financial relations between England, Scotland, and Ireland, and to report—

- (1.) The amount and proportion of revenue contributed to the Exchequer by the people of England, Scotland, and Ireland respectively ;
- (2.) The amount and proportion of revenue which under recent legislation is paid to Local Authorities in England, Scotland, and Ireland respectively ;
- (3.) The amount and proportion of moneys expended out of the Exchequer ; (a) upon Civil and Local Government services for the special use of ; and (b) upon collection of revenue in England, Scotland, and Ireland respectively ;
- (4.) The amount and proportion of State Loans outstanding, and of State Liabilities incurred for local purposes in England, Scotland, and Ireland respectively ;
- (5.) How far the financial relations established by the sums so contributed, paid, advanced, or promised, or by any other existing conditions, are equitable, having regard to the resources and population of England, Scotland, and Ireland respectively ;

That the Select Committee do consist of Twenty-one Members ;

That Mr. John Morley, Mr. Arthur Balfour, Mr. Childers, Lord Randolph Churchill, Mr. Henry H. Fowler, Mr. Baring, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman, Mr. Solicitor General for Scotland, Mr. Sexton, Sir Richard Temple, Mr. Sinclair, Dr. Cameron, Sir Matthew Ridley, Mr. T. W. Russell, Mr. Dillon, Mr. Bristowe, Mr. James William Lowther, Mr. Stuart Rendel, Mr. Arthur O'Connor, Mr. Jackson, and Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer be Members of the Committee ;

That the Committee have power to send for persons, papers, and records ;

That Five be the quorum."—(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.*)

\*Mr. GOSCHEN : I do not know whether hon. Members who have on the Paper Amendments to this Motion will withdraw them, looking at the fact that next year the re-appointment of the  
*Mr. M. T. Stormonth Darling*

Committee will have to be moved, and they will have precisely the same opportunity of raising the questions as they now possess. It is desirable that the Committee should be at once appointed in order that it may hold one meeting, and make arrangements for securing Reports and Returns during the Recess, in order to facilitate the inquiry which they will have to conduct.

(1.47.) DR. CLARK (Caithness) : I trust the right hon. Gentleman will force this matter on. The Orders of the Day are suspended ; Government business can be taken up to any hour. It is important that the Committee should be appointed, and I hope the Government will persevere with it. I do not think the discussion need take very long.

Several MEMBERS objected.

\*Mr. GOSCHEN : After the pledge of the First Lord of the Treasury that no really contentious business should be taken after 1 o'clock, I do not think it advisable to press the Motion in the face of the opposition which is threatened, and the matter, therefore, must go over until Monday.

Order deferred until Monday next.

#### ASSAULTS ON FEMALES.

Address for—

"Return showing for the following places :—England and Wales—towns of over 150,000 inhabitants by the Census of 1881 ; Scotland—Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Dundee ; Ireland—Dublin, Belfast, and Cork ; the number of males convicted in 1889 for murder and manslaughter of, and for all assaults upon, females ; the cases being classified in tabular form according to the nature of the assaults ; and showing the sentences passed for such assaults ; classified in the case of sentences of imprisonment or penal servitude according to their duration, and specifying cases where corporal punishment was inflicted."—(*Mr. Walter M'Laren.*)

It being after One of the clock, Mr. Speaker adjourned the House without Question put.

House adjourned at ten minutes before Two o'clock.

## HOUSE OF LORDS,

*Friday, 8th August, 1890.*

## PRIVATE BUSINESS.

## DUBLIN CORPORATION BILL.

## THIRD READING.

Order of the Day for the Third Reading, read.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 3<sup>d</sup>."

THE EARL OF HOWTH: Before asking your Lordships' permission to withdraw my opposition to this Bill, for the rejection of which I have a Motion on the Paper, I desire to make one or two observations. In the first place, I would state that it is owing to statistics which only reached me this morning with reference to the City of Dublin that I am enabled to do so. As far as the Bill itself is concerned, its main proposals secure my perfect sympathy, inasmuch as they refer to the dwellings of the poor, and also because they relate to taking sanitary precautions in the City of Dublin. I am connected with Dublin by residence, and in regard to property there, both in one of the townships and around the City. My objection to the Bill was that it is not, in scope, large enough to meet the difficulties with which the City has to contend in these matters. To keep Dublin free from enteric fever is, indeed, a very difficult and important task, and in proof of that we have only to look at the steps which the Corporation of Dublin have found it necessary to take in order to carry out the sanitation of the City. In the first instance, we perceive that the sum of 3s. 6d. in the £1 represents what are termed City improvements. That, in itself, is quite one-third of the taxation—at least, such was the case on the 1st January, 1890. And, again, we learn from Sir Henry Martin, the Sanitary Inspector, in the year 1888, that larger sums had been expended in Dublin for sanitary purposes than in all the rest of Ireland put together.

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Even if we look to the Act of Parliament itself, there are very extensive measures provided for which are not required, I think, in any other City in the United Kingdom, and prominently one in reference to searching houses to see if there are any gas escapes in them. In all the active measures and precautions taken by the Authorities I am sure they meet with my humble and hearty sympathy. There is one subject which I bring forward with some diffidence, and it is one which is certainly of considerable importance to Dublin and its neighbourhood. I, myself, am interested in a certain amount of house property in and about Dublin; and although I am fully and decidedly opposed to any proposal in reference to the powers of the Corporation of Dublin to extend their authority further than their present City limits, yet at the same time I cannot help feeling that with the approval of Parliament, upon inquiry by a Parliamentary Committee, and looking at the impoverished condition of Dublin, and at the thriving state of the surrounding neighbourhood, it would not only be just, but would be in their own interests, to contribute to the taxation of Dublin whenever an occasion may occur, but that that taxation should strictly be confined to what may be termed the sanitary condition and improvement of the City. If a Parliamentary Committee at any future period should deem it necessary to extend that taxation, I can only say for myself, and on behalf of those with whom I am interested, I should not desire to bring forward any opposition against it, because I think it would be a just proposal. I will not now go further into the details of the Bill, but simply ask your Lordships' permission to withdraw my opposition to it.

On Question, agreed to.

## LAND JUDGES' COURT, IRELAND.

LORD ARDILAUN: My Lords, as the Government have consented that I should move this as an unopposed Return. I will not trouble your Lordships with any particulars about it, but simply move for the Return which stands in my name.

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Moved for the following Return:—

Number and Salaries of those in Receiver's Depart- ment.	Number of Officials attached to Court, and their Salaries.	Gross Amount Collected each Year.	Gross Annual Rental under Receivers for each Year.	Number of Yearly Settle- ments.	Number of Six Months Settle- ments of Account each Year.	Number of Accounts not Lodged within the Limit of Time or where Time has not been Extended, divided, in each Year.	Total Number of Receivers now, and Number of Appointed since last Return.	Number of Estates in which Receivers were Appointed, divided into each Year since last Return.	Number of Estates in which the Rentals were Settled each Year since last Return.	Number of Estates offered for Sale each Year since last Return.	Number of Petitions Filed since last Return, divided into Number in each Year.

(In continuation of House of Lords Parlia-  
mentary Paper No. 249, of Session 1888).—  
(The Lord Ardilaun.)

THE LORD PRIVY SEAL (Earl CADOGAN): I would ask my noble Friend whether he would consent to the omission of Nos. 6 and 9. The Return was granted in that form on the noble Lord's Motion last year, and the Irish Executive prefer to give it in the form in which it was given last year. Subject to that omission, the Government are willing to grant the Return.

On Question, agreed to.

#### THE PARIS INTERNATIONAL CON- GRESS ON THE SEVENTH DAY OF REST.

\*THE EARL OF HARROWBY: My Lords, I have been informed by the Prime Minister that he will willingly grant the Return for which I ask, but perhaps your Lordships will allow me to say a few words to explain why I think it is desirable that this very remarkable document should be laid on your Lordships' Table. I do not know whether your Lordships observed, during the International Exhibition in France, that the Ministry of Commerce of the French Government assembled in its buildings what I believe to have been an unprecedented International Congress in connection with the question of the Seventh Day of Rest for the whole population. The point of view from which they looked at the matter was entirely the social and sanitary one. It was not a question of religious observance or anything of that kind, though, of course, persons interested in the question from that point of view took part in the Congress. It is a matter of special interest that the Government of the French Republic should have assembled a Congress of this kind last year in Paris, as it is impossible not to remember that, only 100 years before, the Republican Government of that day had banished Sunday, with all its Christian associations, from the calendar, and had established a tenth, instead of a seventh, day of rest. This very remarkable Congress, which was brought together by the French Government, was composed of all kinds of persons and of all classes of society from all parts of Europe. Those who composed it were principally men of business in the different ranks of life—men well-versed in all the transactions of ordinary life. They represented an

extraordinary movement which has been spreading rapidly over the whole Continent of Europe during the last four or five years, and one which I think we should take note of in England. I am specially moving for this Return, because I think it will afford information of great value to the working people of this country; and I wish to call the attention of the Trades Unions, and of the Societies connected with the various trades, and of the great Friendly Societies, such as the Odd Fellows, Foresters, and the like, who are watching the progress and are desirous of improving the condition of the working classes. Now, let us see what was the actual composition of this Congress. It was composed of many business and distinguished and leading men in the world—civil engineers, architects, directors of journals, physicians, surgeons, railway directors, railway managers, manufacturers, iron masters, managers of mines, painters, and working men, and people of all kinds who were desirous of furthering this important movement. They came from many countries—France, Belgium, Brazil, Germany, Holland, Norway, Sweden, Austria, Hungary, Italy, Portugal, and Spain, on the Continent of Europe, were all represented, as well as Great Britain and the United States of America. The President of this remarkable Congress was a man who is well-known over Europe, M. Léon Say. The honorary President was President Harrison, of the United States, who wrote a letter strongly recommending that further steps should be taken in the matter, and expressing a warm interest in the movement, as well as an intense appreciation of the Sunday as a day of rest. What was the object of the Congress? Its aim was to examine from all social and sanitary points of view the question of the seventh day of rest, and to consider how far this enormous advantage could be secured for the working populations, especially on the Continent of Europe. It was brought together largely in consequence of the representations of the working populations in the various countries of Europe. The Congress certainly represented a deeply-felt impression among the working classes all over Europe, that they were suffering under the intense pres-

sure of constant work without rest. England was represented by men of mark; amongst others were the leading civil engineers, Sir Joseph Bazalgette, Sir J. Coode, President of the Institution of Civil Engineers, and Sir Douglas Fox; America sent ex-President Cleveland; the President of the Swiss Republic was also a member; and many men of similar calibre took part in it. That was the character of the Congress, and now I will shortly notice the points which were brought under its consideration. The Congress sat for four days and had eight meetings, and was, as I have said, presided over by M. Léon Say. The first question considered was the utility of the seventh day of rest for the welfare of the people, both from the sanitary point of view and also from the social point of view. The arguments presented were full of interest, and are detailed in the Report for which I call. There was a full description of the various Societies all over Europe which, either independently or in connection with the working classes, are trying to secure a day of rest for all workers. Then the Congress resolved itself into sections, and considered how the question affected different trades, such as the building trade; the railway, steamer, tram, and omnibus traffic; the Post Office and telegraphists, public offices, Army administration, law courts, factories, workshops, retail shops, and so on. In the four days, at the eight meetings held, 48 resolutions, supporting in various ways the importance of the seventh day of rest, and of the Sunday, with important suggestions as to the details of various occupations, were passed at this very largely attended Congress. The very difficult question was considered whether the law should interfere to secure this day of rest to all persons, and was well argued on both sides, together with the necessary exceptions which should be made to any legislation of that kind. Those questions were all fully gone into; and I think the impression which this Report must leave upon any impartial mind was that those who discussed the matters dealt with in it were thoroughly up in all the great questions of the day with which it was connected, and were men of strong sense and judgment. Two points struck me in reading this Report: first,

that this claim of the working men from all parts of the world to recover the seventh day of rest was based upon their feeling of the need for more rest and for more opportunities for the enjoyments of family life; and, secondly, the grave importance attached (most wisely) by this remarkable Congress to changing the day for payment of wages, so that the working people of Europe should not receive their pay on Saturday or Sunday but on any other day, preferably on the Friday. That, as your Lordships are probably aware, is the practice in many parts of England, and it is one of the most useful arrangements for the benefit and welfare of working people; and I am glad to see that the Congress gave its imprimatur to the non-payment of wages on Saturday and Sunday as a matter of great import to the social and family life of the working classes. This Congress, before it separated, decided to have a permanent Committee to watch this matter of the securing of the Sunday's rest from a centre in Paris; and since that Congress was held, I think it is interesting to note that this movement is spreading still further in Europe. I see that in Berlin there is a Government Bill on the Table of the Legislature, which follows very much the lines of the judgment expressed by the German working classes by means of a *plébiscite* taken on this question by the German Government. It was somewhat surprising, then, to find that, some 75 per cent. of the working people in Berlin, and, I am informed, in the German Empire generally, were in favour of the prohibition by legislation of Sunday labour; And thus it comes to pass that the German Government following up the movement and in compliance with the general demand, have brought in a Bill forbidding work on Sundays in mines, factories, and workshops, preventing clerks from being worked for more than four hours on Sundays, shortening the hours of work in breweries and in other places, and hence largely reducing the amount of Sunday labour. Whether that Bill is likely to be passed or not I cannot say; and I express no opinion as to its wisdom; I only quote it as showing how strong the feeling has become in Germany on the subject. I find that in Austria also the Sunday labour question

*The Earl of Harrouchy*

is occupying the attention of the Government there, following upon the Act of 1885, which largely forbade Sunday work, and that throughout the German Empire the number of deliveries of letters has been recently largely diminished on Sundays, so as to set free the Postmen to a great extent. In Denmark and Holland there has been a large diminution of Sunday work on railways, and proposals are made for still further relief. Again, in Russia workmen from all parts of the Empire have urgently petitioned the Holy Synod on the subject, urging that the day of rest should be secured to the workers; and in Switzerland, where much has already been done in favour of Sunday rest for the workers, the movement is still further spreading. This is surely a matter of no slight interest to ourselves and to the working classes of this country. It is a movement which ought not to be overlooked, because it means a great uprising of the working classes all over Europe to demand the Sunday's rest after a long experience of the results of the grinding system of Sunday labour which has prevailed. The Berlin Labour Conference recognised the movement. It went in the same direction, and had a remarkable result in regard to the Sunday labour of women and children. Your Lordships are well aware, of course, that the Churches of Europe would now largely support a movement of this kind. It is remarkable to observe how the Roman Catholic Church has lately adopted a much more decided position in this matter, believing that the practice of ignoring the Sunday day of rest has been the cause of much bitterness between class and class; and through some of her most eloquent preachers she has endeavoured to persuade employers to concede this Sunday rest to their work-people, and to remedy the evils arising from the incessant labour to which the working-classes are subject. Your Lordships will not have forgotten the remarkable expression of opinion which came from the great Pan-Anglican Conference of the Bishops of the English Church at Lambeth two years ago. With complete unanimity the 145 Bishops of the English, Colonial, and American Churches made an appeal to employers to do all they could to check the growing inclination for Sunday



amusements, which would lead to an increase in the practice of Sunday labour for the working people, and to preserve the priceless advantage of the Sacred Day of Rest to the whole of the population. The present aspect of things in Europe as regards the seventh day of rest, which I have described as bearing upon what is passing in this country, is surely very remarkable and worthy of all study. Your Lordships will surely not have forgotten how, in response to that appeal of the Pan-Anglican Conference, the English Press published a most earnest appeal imploring the upper classes and employers of labour to assist the Bishops in their efforts to prevent Sunday being turned into a day of labour, and denouncing in the strongest terms the selfishness of some of the wealthy and leisured classes in this matter. So far, the example of England's regard for the Seventh Day's rest has been largely quoted in their controversy, and I doubt not that the securing of the enormous boon of a Sunday of rest which has been more and more increasing among Continental workmen is largely owing to the noble example of England. I ask for this Return, specially hoping that, as the Report of the Paris Congress will be there translated into English, it will fall into the hands of the great working class Trade Associations of Great Britain, in order that they may secure the blessing for those who do not enjoy it in this country, and help their brethren on the Continent in obtaining it. I want English workmen to become aware how great the sufferings of the Continental workmen have been from the sacrifice or the want of the blessing of Sunday rest. I want to remind the English workman, who now has his Sunday rest, that it is necessary to struggle to keep it, and I want also to remind the English workman who has not got his Sunday rest that the whole opinion of his class and of the educated classes in Europe is coming round in that direction; and that if he struggles bravely like those of his class on the Continent who are obtaining it, he will secure the right which others have so long enjoyed. This is no trifling matter, if your Lordships look upon it merely from the sanitary or the social point of view. Most of your Lordships, probably,

who support the Institution of a Seventh Day of Rest, would urge its observance, as I also should do, owing to your firm belief in its Divine character and obligation as a gift from God; others support it because they hold that the Sunday day of rest is essential to the welfare of the human race, rather from a social and sanitary than from a religious point of view. But, whatever our reasons may be for supporting it, we are practically one in earnestly desiring the day of rest for all. Let us, therefore, do our best to aid those who are engaged in the struggle to recover this great blessing, this ineffable boon, which will do more than anything else will to encourage the family life and to promote the comfort and happiness of the working classes, and also to create a good feeling between rich and poor, employer and employed, in every civilised country throughout the world.

Moved—

"For a Return of the Official Report published by the Ministry of Commerce of France of the Proceedings (*Procès Verbaux Résumés*) of the International Congress held at Paris in September, 1889, in connection with the International Exhibition, under the Presidency of M. Léon Say, on the subject of the social and sanitary effects of the seventh day of rest; giving the names and countries of the delegates; The Return to be in French and in English."—*(The Earl of Harrowby.)*

Agreed to.

#### HOUSING OF THE WORKING CLASSES BILL.—(No. 253.)

Read 3<sup>a</sup> (according to order), with the amendments; further amendments made; Bill passed, and sent to the Commons.

#### METROPOLIS MANAGEMENT AND BUILDING ACTS AMENDMENT BILL,

*now*

#### METROPOLIS MANAGEMENT ACT'S AMENDMENT BILL.—(No. 252.)

Amendments reported (according to order); a further amendment made; and Bill to be read 3<sup>a</sup> on Tuesday next.

#### DIRECTORS' LIABILITY BILL.—(No. 267.)

THIRD READING.

Order of the Day for the Third Reading, read.

LORD HERSCHELL: In moving the Third Reading of this Bill, I desire to say a few words to your Lordships in order to remove, if possible, some mis-

apprehensions which, I think, prevail in regard to some of the alterations which have been made in the Bill while it was before the Standing Committee. It seems to be thought in certain quarters that the Amendments there made have seriously weakened the Bill, have diminished the probability that it will be effective for the purposes for which it was intended, and have been made in the interests rather of the directors and promoters than of the public. I therefore propose to call your attention to the leading alterations which were there made, in order to establish, as I think I can without difficulty establish, that this idea and those statements arise from a misapprehension of both the effect and intention of the Amendments. Exception has been taken to two alterations which were the leading alterations made by the Standing Committee—the first, to the omission from the Bill of the word “misleading.” I believe there are very few cases to which this Bill would have applied if the word “misleading” had remained which would not be covered by the word “untrue,” in the sense in which that word has always been interpreted by law. But even admitting that there may be such cases, I am satisfied that had the former word been allowed to remain it would have included many cases which no reasonable man would have intended to include, and I cannot too strongly insist that in any legislation of this description we are bound to look carefully at the words we use. While unquestionably there is a temptation to use a broad, general word, which will sweep into its net every case it is meant to cover, it is the bounden duty of Parliament to consider whether that general word, wide enough to cover all that is intended, may not, on the other hand, cover a great deal more than is intended to be brought within the scope of the Bill; and, if you are satisfied that it will, you are not justified in using a general word in order to secure that those upon whom you intend to cast liability shall be made liable, regardless of whether it will act justly in making those liable who ought not to be made so. It was with that view that the word “misleading” was omitted, and I believe that the Bill without that word will, so far as this part of it

*Lord Herschell*

is concerned, be thoroughly effective. A more serious objection has been taken to the omission of certain other words. The Bill provided that as regards both statements made by Directors on their own authority and statements made by them on the authority of experts, it is not only necessary that they should have been made with a reasonable belief in their truth, but that it should be proved, in addition, that they were made after reasonable inquiry and examination into their truth, and into the competence of the experts. It has been said that the omission of those words so weakens the measure, which was intended to secure greater care and diligence on the part of the Directors, as to render it of but little value. It seems to me that this belief proceeds from a grave misapprehension of the manner in which the language used would be interpreted by the Courts of Law, and of the way in which the provision would be worked in practice. There are, no doubt, many cases in which it is the bounden duty of either Directors or promoters to make full investigation and inquiry, and if in such cases they failed to do so, no Court or jury, from my experience of them, would hold that they had reasonable grounds for their belief, because they would say that no man acted reasonably who “believed” without making investigation and inquiry. Where, therefore, it was a case in which investigation and inquiry ought to be made, I am satisfied that the provision, as it stands, will be just as effective as interpreted by the Courts, as if the words omitted had remained. My objection to the words is not the effect that would thus be produced by them, but that the insertion of them rests upon the assumption that in every case some examination and investigation is necessary, and that it is not enough to have reasonable belief, or, rather, that belief cannot be reasonable or proper unless there has been examination and investigation. Let me illustrate what I mean. Let us suppose that the statement made is that banking facilities are required, we will say in Egypt, and I am informed by two of the most eminent financiers in the City of London, who propose to take part in the formation of the new banking concern, that there is a need for a new bank

in that part of the world. What further examination or investigation ought I to make or could I make? It seems to me, in such a case as that, I should have reasonable ground for believing the statement that banking facilities were required in that country was true; and to say or require that, in addition to that, I must make reasonable examination and inquiry, leads me to ask, how could I better satisfy myself than I should be satisfied already? Or take again this case, for it would apply equally: a statement is made in a Report by the President of the College of Physicians upon a medical question. Well, surely I may reasonably believe him to be a competent man from his position. What investigation am I to make into his competency as the Bill requires? Whom am I to ask? In such a case as that of course it would be ridiculous to say that a man ought reasonably to be bound to make any further examination or inquiry. Or, again, a statement is made upon an engineering question by the President of the Institute of Civil Engineers. Of whom am I to make further inquiry, or what possible inquiry that I could make would lead me further on the road for the purpose of determining whether the President of the Institute of Civil Engineers was a competent person to make a Report upon a question of civil engineering? The truth is that, while in many cases examination and investigation are absolutely necessary, and without it no Court ought to hold that a man had reasonable ground for his belief, there are, on the other hand, cases in which it would be unreasonable and ridiculous to expect or require of a man, in addition to having reasonable belief, that he should make examination, investigation, and inquiry into the belief he entertained in certain matters. The Courts would hold that it must mean that examination and inquiry shall be made where such examination and inquiry are necessary, and that no inquiry or examination is necessary beyond the mere knowledge of the man in such cases as I have supposed. Therefore, I do not believe that whether those words are in or out they would produce any substantial difference, except in this respect: that in certain cases the Courts would have to hold them meaningless in order

to avoid the supposition that Parliament had enacted an absurdity, and I hold that it is the duty of the Legislature to put into intelligible language what it means, and not leave the Courts to say that it cannot have meant that which it has literally said. Therefore, I do not myself believe that the omission of the words to which I have alluded would produce the slightest practical difference in the operation of this Bill from what it would have been if they had been left there; although, no doubt, if they had been left there, they would have given rise to a good deal of litigation and expense in order to determine what Parliament really meant, to the advantage of the profession to which I belong, but certainly not to the advantage of the public. I may be mistaken, and those who have written on the subject may know better than I do how the language in an enactment is likely to be interpreted and how it is likely to work. All I can say is that certainly the omission of the words was not moved by me for the purpose of assisting reckless or negligent Directors and promoters, but because I believed that their removal would make the Bill more workable, and a more satisfactory measure in every way. So far I have stated the omissions which have been made; and now, as it had been said that these changes introduced in the Standing Committee have rendered the measure weaker and less effective, I would call attention to the alterations made in the other direction. As the Bill came up to your Lordships' House it was undoubtedly intended, as it ought to have been intended, that not only should the Directors be within its scope, but that it should affect and include also the promoter, who is behind the Directors. In many cases false statement comes from the promoter, and is more or less foisted on the Directors, whom he misleads, and he is, if I may use the expression, "the more guilty party of the two." Now, as the measure came up to your Lordships' House, I have the greatest doubt whether the promoter was touched at all. If the promoter were included at all, it would only, as far as I can see, have been within or by the words "those who are responsible for the issue of the prospectus;" I do not know exactly what that means, and I do not know how



the Courts would interpret those words, but it seems to me this dilemma exists: Either that they must receive so narrow an interpretation that they would not cover the promoter, or so broad an interpretation that they would cover a number of people whom nobody intended to include. Therefore, if the promoter was to be dealt with, he must be dealt with in terms. Accordingly, by the Committee of your Lordships' House the promoter was distinctly named in the Bill, and was defined as "a promoter who was a party to the preparation of the prospectus, or of that part of it which was untrue." You have qualified the naming of him to an unreasonable extent by the definition you have given. Why define "promoter" at all? But even a promoter is a man who has his rights, and if you had named the promoter without defining him or without qualification, what would have been the result? Why, that a promoter who had given a perfectly honest account of an undertaking to the Directors, who had not made a single statement which was untrue, but whose undertaking had been put before the public by the Directors with a flaming account of it which had emanated simply from themselves, or with statements, portions of which were untrue, would have been made liable, although he had been perfectly honest and truthful in the matter, because somebody had afterwards foisted an untruth upon the public. Surely it is obvious that unless the promoter, who is made liable, has been a party to the putting forward, or invention, or use of a false statement, it would be in the highest degree wrong to make him liable. And yet that would be the inevitable result if you merely put him in as the promoter. No doubt the promoter very often slips out of the concern before the prospectus or notice is issued to the public, and not unfrequently statements are made in prospectuses with reference also to the number of shares taken by people or by the Directors themselves with which the promoters have nothing to do, and for which it would be simply outrageous to make him responsible. Therefore, I have defined a promoter to be made liable as being a promoter who was a party to the preparation of the prospectus or to that part of it which is untrue. I think myself

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the Courts would give a much broader interpretation to those words if a portion of the prospectus was untrue than some people imagine. I should not advise any promoter to comfort himself with the reflection, if he has put forward a body of Directors whom he has selected, and through them has issued a prospectus and an untruth is found in the prospectus, that he is to get off because it may be said he was not a party to the prospectus or to the part of the prospectus containing the untrue statement. Still, if this clause can be amended so as to make it more clearly applicable to all cases in which an untruth emanates from a promoter, or in which he is a party to an untruth, I shall be perfectly content, and will gladly accept any improvement of my proposed definition. But, at all events, those people who imagine that the promoter is not sufficiently dealt with, will see that so far as we have dealt with him, even if we have not dealt with him to the complete satisfaction of those who desire that he should be made liable, we have dealt with him a great deal more effectively than he was dealt with as the Bill came into your Lordships' House. Then, again, as the Bill came into your Lordships' House the Directors were made responsible for untrue statements appearing in the shape of Reports or extracts from Reports which are incorporated or referred to in the prospectus. I think it will be seen at once that it left open a very easy means of evading the provision altogether. A man would only have to avoid in the prospectus any actual reference to the Report, or any incorporation of it in the prospectus, and instead of that to issue the Report with the prospectus, and he would not be within the terms of the Act at all. I dare say your Lordships' experience will have shown you that would have been a device frequently resorted to, because it is the case at present that Reports constantly come with a prospectus, though they do not form any part of it. It would be easy enough to avoid any such reference, and if such reference were avoided the parties would be altogether outside the scope of the Bill. It seemed to me that was a blot which ought to be remedied; and, consequently, we have extended the provision relating to these Reports and prospectuses to

"the documents issued therewith," so that it will extend to every document which may be issued to the public with a prospectus or notice inviting them to take shares. I am not going to trouble your Lordships with further details, but I maintain that as the measure came from the Standing Committee, when you regard the variations made and the introduction of these new matters to which I have alluded, the result has been a measure which does not depart in the slightest degree from the main principle, object, and intention of the Bill, and which makes it a more effective measure for its purpose than it was when it came from the other House. Now, I have mentioned these things, and dwelt upon them, because a suggestion has been made in some quarters that there are Members of your Lordships' House who are Directors of companies. I do not know how many times I have received copies of a circular pointing to the fact that there are 20 Members in your Lordships' House who are Directors of four or more companies. I have received that circular almost every day, which would induce an impression that it is the influence of those 20 Members of your Lordships' House that has induced me, as it is said, to weaken my measure. At all events, that is the only interpretation I can put upon my constantly receiving that circular. I need hardly assure your Lordships and the public generally, for whose benefit the measure is intended, that I have not been in the slightest degree influenced by consideration for any noble Lord who is a member either of one company or of a thousand companies. I have not been in the slightest degree influenced in what I have done by any desire to shield any person or to make lax conduct in the issuing of these prospectuses more easy or less dangerous. My whole thought and care have been directed entirely in the opposite direction, and I have sought to make the Bill, however mistaken I may be, more effective than it originally was. But I cannot help saying this: that when critics complaining of the omissions made by the Standing Committee say that the measure ought to be termed, instead of a Directors' Liability Bill, a "Directors' Immunity Bill," they seem to me to be really showing that they are talking about what they really

do not understand, because how a Bill which, whatever else it may do, adds considerably to the liability of Directors and does not diminish in the slightest degree any liability that at present exists, can be called a Directors' Immunity Bill I am absolutely at a loss to understand. The increment of added liability may be greater or less, but added liability certainly there is, and, therefore, no other title can be appropriate or correct than Directors' Liability Bill. While making these observations, I must admit that I very greatly regret the alteration made in Committee of the whole House at the instance of my noble and learned Friend on the Woolsack with reference to statements made by experts. I do not for a moment suppose his intention was to weaken the Bill. He thought that the provision, the excision of which he procured, was dangerous; but the more I reflect upon the effect of that alteration the more I own I am dissatisfied with it and fear it. The provision was that a Director who issued a false statement contained in the Report of an expert, on the faith of which people had subscribed their money, should have imposed upon him the duty of showing that he had reasonable ground for believing that expert to be a competent man—

THE LORD CHANCELLOR: And that he made it *bonâ fide*.

LORD HERSCHELL: I confess I do not see the importance of that. If my noble and learned Friend had only moved to leave out "That he had made it *bonâ fide*," I should not have said much about it, because it is not in that way that the evil arises; but the result is this: that a Director could have made such a statement and have allowed the public to rely upon it, and then it would be enough for him to say that it was made by an expert; he might simply say—"It is true I had no reasonable ground to believe that he was a competent man, but then he was an expert; he was an engineer, or a doctor; how long he had been practising in his profession I do not know, and it does not matter; how he was regarded in his profession I do not know, and it does not matter; it is enough that he was a professional man, and I am free from all responsibility." I cannot think that is right; and I

"he more fear it on account of the position on which my noble and learned Friend founded his objection to the clause as it stood. He said—

"If you put into the hand of the public the report of an expert, and give his name, it is the duty of the man who is going to subscribe for shares upon the statements contained in it to inquire into his competency."

From that I absolutely dissent. I say it is the duty of the man who puts forward the prospectus inviting subscriptions from the public to inquire into his competency. The man who puts before the public an expert's report without knowing the expert to be a competent person or without having taken reasonable means to find out that he is a competent person is, to my mind, doing a dishonourable and discreditable act. That is my notion about it. To say that the public may make their own inquiries about the expert is absurd. They may have no means of inquiring who he is, and the truth is that anyone who reads a prospectus assumes that the Director or promoter who puts forward the statements made in it is putting them forward as statements which may be safely relied upon. What can a subscriber for shares in a company find out? There is, we will say, some enterprise in Peru, and there is a report made by Don Guzman Blanco, we will suppose, of Iquique, and the subscriber is to go and find out who he is and all about him before subscribing! I venture to say that the public will assume that the Directors who put forward the statement or report have made inquiry themselves about Don Guzman Blanco, and that they put it forward as a statement on which the public may rely. They never understand a Director to be saying, "Mind, I know nothing about this myself in the least degree, and if you want to know who this man is you must inquire and find out about him yourselves." I will test it in this way: supposing the clause were amended thus, would my noble and learned Friend consent to it? To make this liability, which would otherwise attach, not apply in cases where the prospectus or notice stated in relation to the copy or extract or report—

"That its insertion in the prospectus must not be understood as the expression of any opinion on the part of the Directors as to the competency of the expert by whom it purports to be made."

*Lord Herschell*

If that would satisfy my noble and learned Friend I should have no objection to that limitation upon the clause as it previously stood. I do not believe that Directors would put a statement of that sort into a prospectus; at all events they never do, and why? Because if they simply put forward the statement of the expert, that leave the public to rely upon that statement and to believe that he is a person whose position, standing, and competency has been inquired into by them before they put his statement before the public. These are observations which I have felt bound to make, because I see great danger in the Bill as it stands; it seems to me to be sanctioning erroneous principles; it seems to me to be telling Directors to be careful about the statements which they make themselves, but that with regard to statements of experts which they may wish to put forward, so long as they are the statements of experts they are safe. If it is said that if Directors choose thus to put forward false statements without any inquiry at all fraud might be brought home to them, I must reply that I do not feel so sure about that. I do not say that in certain cases it might not, but I think it would be a very difficult thing to do; and I think it would be much better to let Directors know that they will have to show that they had reasonable ground for believing in the Report of the expert which they put forward, than to lead them to suppose they may safely put such Report into their prospectus without satisfying themselves about him at all, and find themselves ultimately landed in an action of fraud. In the interests of the public, as well as of commercial morality, I think it would be right to take that course, and I must confess that the more I have thought of the matter the greater have been the apprehensions excited in my mind about it. I will not detain your Lordships further now, because I shall have the opportunity, after the Bill has been read a third time, of answering what my noble and learned Friend may have to say.

Moved "that the Bill be now read 3<sup>a</sup>."  
—(*The Lord Herschell*.)

THE LORD CHANCELLOR: I am not certain, even after the invitation I have received, that I ought to trouble

your Lordships again upon this Bill. The question raised by my noble and learned Friend has been argued out in Committee, and I do not propose to go over the ground again. Either the Director is innocent or he is guilty. If the Director is guilty of anything in the nature of conspiracy with the hypothetical expert, he is reached by the existing law, for they are both guilty of fraud. On the other hand, if he be not guilty, it is unreasonable to ask him to prove himself innocent of a charge of which there is no evidence that he is guilty. I think that is all I need say upon the question of the Amendment, but I think after what my noble and learned Friend has said with regard to those of your Lordships who may be Directors it is right that I should allude to that matter. I do not know whether I am one of the 20 Peers included in the paper which has been sent to him, but if I am I will say at once it is true that I am a Director of one small Railway Company.

**LORD HERSCHELL:** If my noble and learned Friend will pardon me. I said that the 20 noble Lords referred to in the circular sent me are Directors of four Companies and upwards.

**THE LORD CHANCELLOR:** I can only say upon that subject what the noble and learned Lord has said of himself, that I am so far disinterested that my services have never been requited by a single farthing; but I am bound to add this: that they receive every reward they deserve. I certainly have no interest in preserving Directors from the liability which should justly fall upon them. I will not really condescend to argue with people who think it gentlemanly and fair to attribute evil motives to whoever moves an Amendment to a Bill which they wished to see passed. I, together with my noble and learned Friend, have endeavoured to make a good Bill of the measure under consideration; and I must say that a more ridiculous, unworkable, and absurd piece of legislation as it came up to your Lordships' House probably was never seen before, and that was not my own opinion merely, but it was the opinion of every noble Lord who had read the Bill and tried to understand it. That we may not, in the opinion of some, have entirely succeeded is not an impossible contingency, and, as a noble Lord very

truly pointed out the other night, lawyers do not always agree; but that my noble and learned Friend and myself have endeavoured to make it both reasonable and workable I do not think your Lordships will doubt. For anything beyond that, I have already expressed my views in this House, and, therefore, I do not think it worth while to trouble your Lordships with them again.

**\*LORD BRAMWELL:** I will only trouble your Lordships a very short time, because I agree entirely with almost everything that has been said by my noble and learned Friend Lord Herschell, and I shall not repeat it. As to calling this a Directors' Immunity Bill, it is absurd. Whatever liability Directors were under before they are under still, with these additional liabilities which are contained in the Bill. As it stands, I firmly believe the Bill carries into effect the intentions of those who prepared it. Your Lordships know that in that case of "*Peek v. Derry*," which has been so often mentioned, your Lordships' House held that a man was not responsible for an erroneous statement unless it was a fraudulent one as well as erroneous. It was thought, not unreasonably—and, as I understand, this Bill shows it—because your Lordships have now sanctioned it—that that was not a sufficient amount of responsibility for Directors, and that they ought to be made liable for untrue statements, unless they had reasonable ground for believing they were true. There has not been any alteration made in the Bill which affects that principle with the exception, perhaps, of that of my noble and learned Friend the Lord Chancellor. The Bill leaves the Director and promoter liable for any untrue statement which he had not reasonable ground for believing to be true. What more could be desired? If it could be said that the alterations in the Committee and in your Lordships' House had affected that principle, and that still a Director might make an untrue statement without having any reasonable ground for making it, why, then, indeed, there would be an imputation upon the Amendment. But it is not so; that is not true; the principle, as I have said, is unaffected by any Amendment which has taken place. Well, I am not going to argue again to-day that question which my noble and

learned Friend Lord Herschell has mooted. We had it once in Committee, and there we, that is those who objected to the Lord Chancellor's Amendment, succeeded, but he beat us in the House. And I confess I maintain that opinion briefly on this ground, that it cannot be possible, and that it is not consistent with that principle of the Bill to which I have adverted, that a Director may quote the opinion of an expert who he has no reasonable ground to believe is a capable and honest man. Therefore, I did not agree with my noble and learned Friend's Amendment; but I do not apprehend the danger which my noble and learned Friend Lord Herschell apprehends from that Amendment, because see how it stands. There will be the Report of an expert in a prospectus; it turns out to be untrue, and we will suppose that a Director who has been a party to that prospectus has an action brought against him, and is called as a witness. He must be called as a witness, for since the parties to an action can be called it follows that they must be called. If he gets into the witness-box and says not that he had any conspiracy with the other man, because there need have been no conspiracy with him at all, but—"You complain that that Report is untrue: well, I did not know it was untrue;" and then upon cross-examination if he has to admit—"I cannot say that I knew anything of the man, or his capacity or his character, I never made any inquiry at all, I do not know his position, and I did not concern myself in the least to ascertain whether he was a qualified or an honest person," I can pretty well tell what the decision of the tribunal—I will not say a Jury—which had to try the case would be. The tribunal would say, "You have uttered an untruth to the public; because, when you talked about that Report in your prospectus, and put it forward as a reason why people should take shares in the Company, by implication, you professed your belief that that was the Report of a capable, qualified, and honest person; well, now you say that was not your belief, therefore you told an untruth." I do not know whether that sounds at all sophistical, but I am pretty sure of the way in which a tribunal would deal with an argument of that sort. The

*Lord Bramwell*

tribunal would say at once that the man had inserted in his prospectus a statement which he had no reasonable ground to believe to be true. However, I would much rather that the Bill had remained as it was without the Amendment, because there would then have been no foundation for the sort of roundabout argument which, I have no doubt, will be used. It would have been more in accordance with what I have called the general principle of the Bill that the man should warrant his belief in the *bond fide* character and truth of the statement in the prospectus.

On Question, agreed to.

Bill read 3<sup>d</sup> accordingly, with the Amendments.

Verbal Amendments made.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR: With reference to the Amendment of the noble Lord Earl Mayo, I must point out that it is quite beyond the purport and scope of the Bill. The object and intention of the Bill is to amend the law relating to Directors and their liability with regard to untrue statements in any prospectus inviting subscriptions from the public for shares and debentures, but the noble Lord's Amendment relates to a totally different matter. It is to insert after Clause 3 the following Clause:—

"Where after the passing of this Act a prospectus or notice invites persons to subscribe for shares in, or debentures or debenture stock of, a company, no allotment of any such shares, debentures, or debenture stock shall be made until seventy-five per centum of the working capital proposed to be so raised shall have been subscribed."

That is quite beyond the purport of the Bill, and is, therefore, not in order.

THE EARL OF MAYO: I am sorry the noble and learned Lord on the Woolsack takes that view, but may I be permitted to say a few words with regard to the remarks which have fallen from the noble and learned Lord opposite, Lord Herschell? If I am not absolutely precluded from moving the Amendment, I should desire to submit it. There is not the slightest misapprehension in the City about the nature of the Bill. No doubt it is a Directors' Liability Bill, and it is designed to make Directors liable for the statements they make in prospectuses. Directors often allow statements to be

made in prospectuses because promoters gain power over them, and I desire to protect directors from being made liable in those circumstances. I am sorry my Amendment should be thought not to come within the scope of the Bill; but the whole Bill is an infringement of the Limited Liability Act. It has been brought forward from the other House, and no doubt the Members of the other House are very much in love with it. There are many reasons which lead one to suppose that is the case. There are many honest people in the City who will be affected by it. Indeed, if this Bill passes, the immediate effect of it will be that you would not get any honest men to go on Company Boards at all, and it will result in a lot of bogus Companies being brought forward, and Directors who have been induced to go on the Boards of those bogus Companies will have actions brought against them, cases will be carried into the Law Courts where they will be threshed out by lawyers. Means of evasion will be found out, and the Act will be evaded, as legislation of this kind must be. That is all I have to say on the subject, and I move the Amendment of which I have given notice.

**THE LORD CHANCELLOR:** I must say I think the noble Lord's Amendment is distinctly out of order, but I do not desire to prevent his moving it.

**THE EARL OF MAYO:** Then I beg to move the Amendment which stands in my name.

Amendment moved, after Clause 3, to insert the following Clause—

"Where, after the passing of the Act, a prospectus or notice invites persons to subscribe for shares in, or debentures or debenture stock of a company, no allotment of any such shares or debentures or debenture stock shall be made until 75 per cent. of the working capital proposed to be so raised shall have been subscribed."—(*The Earl of Mayo.*)

**A Noble LORD:** As the Lord Chancellor will not himself decide the matter upon the Question of Order, I must express my concurrence in the view he has taken that the Motion is not in order, because the Amendment does not deal with the subject of the Bill.

**LORD HERSCHELL:** The title of the measure is—

"An Act to amend the law relating to the liability of Directors and others for state-

ments in prospectuses and other documents soliciting applications for shares or debentures."

It would not therefore come within the title of the Bill to impose new conditions with regard to the allotment of shares. What the noble Lord proposes, is really an Amendment of the Companies' Act, and is altogether outside the question, how far Directors should be liable for statements in a prospectus, and for what statements.

**\*THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Viscount CROSS):** I would press my noble Friend not to carry this Motion to a Division. I agree entirely with what has fallen from the Lord Chancellor and Lord Herschell.

**THE EARL OF MAYO:** I will withdraw the Amendment.

Amendment, by leave of the House, withdrawn.

**LORD HERSCHELL:** I do not suppose that in any case, after what my noble and learned Friend has said, it would be of any avail to move the next Amendment. As he would oppose it, I know what the result would be.

**\*LORD THURLOW:** I should be loth to move my Amendment if the noble and learned Lord who has charge of the Bill is distinctly of opinion that it would be useless, or that it would be prejudicial rather than otherwise to the interests of the Bill which I have very much at heart. At the same time I have received intimations from more than one noble Lord in the House that something of this kind is required, and the object of this Amendment is to supply what I think is an important omission in the Bill. It is a very common practice at the present moment for a person who has accepted the office of Director in a public company to withdraw from that position previous to allotment, and in that case it is the duty of the remaining Directors, to notify such withdrawal to the subscribers, and any subscriber so notified has it in his power to repudiate his application and to decline to take the shares or stock for which he has applied. What I am afraid of is, that if the Bill in its present form passes into law, the last chance which a Director now has of retiring from the company will no longer exist.

It is the more important also for this reason, that owing to the publicity which is derived from the publication of a prospectus in newspapers, which is the usual practice, it often happens that some important information is elicited either with regard to the *bona fides* of the concern or its chances of success which the Director was not previously acquainted with. I have myself known cases in which that has occurred. What is an honest man under this Bill to do? Is he bound to go on and make himself liable in very heavy penalties, without a chance of extricating himself from that position at the last moment as he would under the present practice, by withdrawing from his position of Director previous to allotment? That is the single object which I have in proposing this Amendment. I understand the noble and learned Lord who has charge of this Bill says there would be difficulty in the insertion of words at the last moment which would quite meet the case, and I believe he thinks the Amendment of which I have given notice is not quite sufficient in itself, but that some words should be added to it making it obligatory on the remaining Directors to notify the retirement of such Directors as may retire. If the noble and learned Lord can see his way to frame any paragraph which can be put in as a sub-section at the end of Clause 3, I should be very grateful if that could be done; but if no such provision can be inserted, I think cases of great hardship and injustice are bound to occur. I hope, therefore, your Lordships will take this Amendment into your favourable consideration.

Amendment moved, in Clause 3, page 2, line 27, after ("notice") insert ("or before the first general allotment of shares"), and after ("issued") insert ("or the allotment made.")—(*The Lord Thurlow*.)

**LORD HERSCHELL:** With regard to the proposal the noble Lord has made to me, I do not think it would be possible to accept the Amendment he has put on the Paper; but, at the same time, it does, I confess, suggest an Amendment of this Bill which would be entirely in keeping with its main purpose, and would be of some public

*Lord Thurlow*

advantage. I cannot consent to it as it now stands, simply because it has reference to a person who has allowed himself to be made a cat's-paw, so to speak, in order to enable him to free himself by saying he will not be a party to the allotment. People have already applied for shares, and his withdrawing simply from the allotment does not necessarily improve their position. But I quite agree with my noble and learned Friend so far, that there would be an advantage in this, if a Director, on certain facts coming to his knowledge, could withdraw before allotment, and you could provide that when a Director had so withdrawn, there should be no allotment until notice had been given to the applicants for shares that the Director had withdrawn so as to leave it open to them or not to proceed with their application. Of course, if after that they proceeded with their applications, they would do so knowing that that Director was in no way vouching for what is alleged in the prospectus, they would go on with their eyes open; and in such a case it would be reasonable to say that the Director who had so withdrawn should not be under responsibility, because no one would have taken shares on the faith that he was a party to the statement. But that would involve a new sub-section to this clause, and when we are at this stage of the Bill, I am rather nervous of agreeing to accept it, though I do see some public advantage in it, because, as my noble Friend says, facts do sometimes come out after the issue of the prospectus and before allotment, and if a Director did so withdraw, and notice had to be given to the applicants for shares, it might prevent many unsound Companies going on. Therefore, I regret that it was not proposed at an earlier stage. The only suggestion I would make is that we might put in another clause and leave it to be considered in the other House. I do feel that making a provision of that sort might blow up some of these unsound Companies before any allotment of shares was made at all. In the interests of the public, therefore, I am rather inclined to accept it.

**VISCOUNT BURY:** I think the noble and learned Lord Herschell will remember that this point which has been urged by Lord Thurlow was brought forward

by myself in the General Committee, and was strongly urged by me.

**LORD HERSCHELL:** Not this point

I never heard of this point being raised.

**VISCOUNT BURY:** Yes, I am in the recollection of noble Lords that I did point out that very often when an intending Director has made statements, and has consented to be a Director during all the earlier stages of the proceedings, facts have come to his knowledge which have modified his previous opinions and made him unwilling to sanction the issue of the prospectus, and not only to sanction the issue of the prospectus, but even after the publication of the prospectus, that would make him unwilling to sanction the allotment of the share. Now, the Amendment proposed by Lord Thurlow, as I understand it, is that a Director may, if such facts do come to his knowledge, prevent the allotment of the shares. In that I entirely agree with him, and I think Lord Herschell will remember that was a point which I urged at an earlier stage. I only mention that, because the noble and learned Lord said he was sorry this matter had not been brought forward at an earlier period, and I do hope the Lord Chancellor and the noble and learned Lord will, in some way, be able to give effect to the Amendment suggested by Lord Thurlow.

**LORD HERSCHELL:** No doubt it was my fault; but I certainly did not understand this to be the point to which my noble Friend opposite called attention in the Committee. It never was brought home to my mind in that form. What I understood my noble Friend to allude to was—and that I have met—where a prospectus had been agreed to in a certain form, but was issued to the public in a form differing from that which he had agreed to.

**VISCOUNT BURY:** The original form of the Bill was, that when a Director had once accepted he could not withdraw. I know my noble and learned Friend considered that if certain facts came to his knowledge he might withdraw before the issue of the prospectus; but now my noble Friend Lord Thurlow wants to make it possible for the Director withdrawing to prevent the issuing of shares, and in that object I fully sympathise with him.

**LORD HERSCHELL:** In order to carry out that object, I should propose the insertion of a clause in some such terms as these, and it can be considered in the other House—

“Where a person who is a Director, or who has been named, with his authority, as having agreed to become a Director, has retired from such office before allotment, no allotment shall be made by the other Directors until after notice to the persons who have subscribed for shares of the retirement of such Director, and such subscribers may, on the receipt of such notice, withdraw their applications, and any allotment made without such notice shall be void.”

The only thing that occurs to me is, that that might give a Director who desired to cause mischief or possibly even to blackmail his brother Directors an opportunity of saying, “If you do not agree to do so-and-so, I shall withdraw from the allotment, then you will have to send round notices to the people who have subscribed, and they will probably withdraw from the Company.” I am a little nervous about putting it in, I confess.

**VISCOUNT BURY:** I believe that is exactly what will happen unless the clause is put in the Bill. I think it is a blackmailing Bill altogether.

**LORD HERSCHELL:** I think it would be safer on the whole not to put it in.

\***VISCOUNT CROSS:** I agree that it would be much safer not to put it in at the last moment, when we shall not have time to consider it again.

\***LORD THURLOW:** At all events, this much good will have been done: it may call the attention of some Member of the other House to the matter, and of course such a clause, if considered necessary, may be inserted there.

**THE LORD CHANCELLOR:** The noble Lord seems to be under a misapprehension with regard to any part of this having been touched.

**LORD HERSCHELL:** We have altered the clause considerably, and with the consequential alterations about withdrawing I think that would do.

**VISCOUNT BURY:** Does my noble and learned Friend withdraw the clause which he has read out?

**LORD HERSCHELL:** I understand the noble Lord does not press the Amendment he proposes.



\***LORD THURLOW**: Yes; I withdraw my Amendment.

Amendment (by leave of the House) withdrawn.

Bill passed, and returned to the Commons.

**PARTNERSHIP BILL.**—(No. 163.)

Commons Amendments considered (according to order), and agreed to.

**RESERVE FORCES BILL.**—(No. 260.)

Read 2<sup>a</sup> (according to order), and committed to a Committee of the Whole House on Monday next.

**EXPIRING LAWS CONTINUANCE BILL.**

Brought from the Commons; Read 1<sup>a</sup>; —(*The Lord Chancellor*); to be printed, and to be read 2<sup>a</sup> on Tuesday next. (No. 264.)

**PUBLIC WORKS LOANS BILL.**

Brought from the Commons; Read 1<sup>a</sup>; —(*The Marquess of Salisbury*); to be printed; and to be read 2<sup>a</sup> on Tuesday next. (No. 265.)

House adjourned at ten minutes before Six o'clock, to Monday next, a quarter past Four o'clock.

## HOUSE OF COMMONS,

*Friday, 8th August, 1890.*

### QUESTIONS.

**ECCLESIASTICAL COURTS IN MALTA.**

**MR. SUMMERS** (Huddersfield): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies whether the Ecclesiastical Courts in Malta have been suppressed; and, if so, at what date and under what circumstances?

**THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES** (Baron H. de Worms, Liverpool, East Toxteth): These Courts were suppressed by Law No. 5 of 1828, except as regards jurisdiction in spiritual causes over members of the Roman Catholic Church.

**SOLDIERS ON SERVICE IN INDIA.**

**MR. CONYBEARE** (Cornwall, Camborne): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War if he can explain why soldiers on service in India, who engage to serve in that country for eight years, and whose service expires on any date after the 1st January, are detained till the following trooping season, that is to say, that they have to spend an additional hot season in India beyond what they engaged to do; and why, seeing that the last troopship leaves India for home about the 15th April, all men whose eight years' service has expired previous to that date should not be permitted to return home at that date?

**\*THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR** (Mr. E. STANHOPE, Lincolnshire, Horncastle): A soldier enlists for seven years with the colours, subject to an extension of one year if serving abroad when his seven years come to an end. Except in time of war no men are kept abroad after completing eight years' service, unless by their own consent. The rule for the present year as regards Indian service is that all men who complete seven years' service—that is, seven years in all—by December 31, shall be brought home during the trooping season which ends on April 17, 1891.

**MR. CONYBEARE**: I think that the question, which has been altered since I handed it in, scarcely conveys the information I was desirous of obtaining. What I want to call attention to is the hardship imposed upon the men whose term of seven years' service expires shortly after the 31st of December, in being compelled to remain in India during the whole of the hot season. Cannot the right hon. Gentleman arrange that those men whose term expires between the 31st of December and the 25th of March shall be brought home at once, without being compelled to remain in India during the hot season?

**\*MR. E. STANHOPE**: As the hon. Gentleman does not convey that point in the question upon the Paper, it would perhaps be better that he should put it down again.

**MR. CONYBEARE**: I am obliged for the reply which the right hon. Gentleman has given to me, but I must point out to you, Sir, that the Question has been materially altered at the Table. The

alteration was not brought to my notice, but owing to the alteration, it is quite clear that a wrong impression has been conveyed to the right hon. Gentleman.

\*MR. SPEAKER: The Question has been altered, but in the particular form in which it appears upon the Paper, it was thought that the substance of the Question had been preserved.

MR. CONYBEARE: I should be glad to communicate with the right hon. Gentleman on the matter, so as to make it quite clear what it is that I want to know.

#### COMPENSATION MONEY IN THE INDIAN ARMY.

MR. CONYBEARE: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether it is the practice in the Indian Army for compensation money to be paid to the soldiers in lieu of an issue of cloth clothing, when it is found that owing to the wearing of white and "khakee" their cloth clothing does not need replacing; whether in some regiments such compensation money amounts to many thousands of rupees, which for the most part goes to the benefit of the canteen; and whether he will consider whether it would conduce to the moral and material interests of the men if such compensation money, less what is required by them for the providing of their Indian clothing, were paid to their credit in the savings banks and, like deferred pay, given to them on their discharge?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Sir J. GORST, Chatham): Perhaps the hon. Member will allow me to answer the question which he has addressed to my right hon. Friend. The answer to the first paragraph of the question is in the affirmative. The answer to the second paragraph is that the amount varies in different regiments; the amounts due may be expended at the discretion of the commanding officer for the purchase of such articles of clothing or necessaries as the soldier may require. In reply to the third paragraph of the question, I have to say that the Secretary of State does not consider that any change in the existing regulation is necessary.

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#### OVERCROWDING OF INVALIDS IN THE MALABAR.

DR. FARQUHARSON (Aberdeenshire, W.): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India whether he can report to the House the result of the promised inquiry into the alleged overcrowding of invalids in the troopship *Malabar*?

SIR J. GORST: The Secretary of State has not yet received from the Government of India the result of the inquiry into the alleged overcrowding of invalids in the *Malabar*.

#### INDIAN UNCOVENANTED CIVIL SER- VANTS.

SIR ROPER LETHBRIDGE (Kensington, N.): I beg to put a question to my right hon. Friend the Under Secretary of State for India of which I have given him private notice, namely, whether any steps have been taken by the Secretary of State to give practical effect to the recommendations of the Select Committee in regard to the grievances of the Indian uncovenanted civil servants?

SIR J. GORST: In reply to my hon. Friend, I have to say that the Secretary of State in Council has adopted the recommendation that the pensions of all the uncovenanted Indian civil servants, payable in the United Kingdom, shall be paid at a minimum rate of 1s. 9d. per rupee. The Minute will have a prospective effect, and will apply to all pensions which fall due in the present financial year. With regard to the other recommendations of the Select Committee, the Government of India must be consulted before effect can be given to them.

SIR G. CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.): Are we to understand that this Resolution has been passed not only by the Secretary of State in Council, but by a majority of the Council of India?

SIR J. GORST: The Resolution has been passed in accordance with the law which regulates the Government of India.

SIR G. CAMPBELL: Has it been passed in compliance with the law which requires that all provisions for the disposal of the Revenue of India shall be passed by a majority of the Council of India?

SIR J. GORST: I can only repeat the answer I have already given; it has been passed in accordance with the law by which the Secretary of State and the Council of India are instructed to govern.

MR. A. O'CONNOR (Donegal, E.): Will the native servants obtain the same advantage as European servants?

SIR J. GORST: Yes, Sir; the Resolution applies to all uncovenanted Indian civil servants whose pensions are payable in the United Kingdom.

#### SHOEBURYNNESS.

MAJOR RASCH (Essex, S.E.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether he is aware that the terms agreed upon for purchase of land at Shoeburyness under the Defence Act, although approved by Messrs. Clutton, Surveyors to the War Office, in January, have been repudiated by the Solicitors to the Treasury; and whether he can state when the arrangements for purchase will be carried out?

\*MR. E. STANHOPE: Various purchases of land have taken place at Shoeburyness since January last, and valuations have been made in other cases. Any arrangements made by Messrs. Clutton, or other surveyors, are provisional, and subject to approval by me; and it would not be for the public interest to notify the exact state of the negotiations.

#### PROFIT SHARING.

MR. BARTLEY (Islington, N.): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade when the Blue Book on Profit Sharing, promised early in the Session to be prepared, will be ready?

\*THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE (Sir M. HICKS BEACH, Bristol, W.): I find that this Report cannot be completed before the end of the present Session, but I expect it will be ready for publication in November.

#### GIBRALTAR.—SHOOTING OF A BRITISH SENTRY.

MR. SUMMERS: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies whether his attention has been called to the finding of a coroner's inquest in the City, Garrison, and Territory of Gibraltar, on the death of Private Dunford, King's Royal Rifles, to the following effect:—

"That the cause of his death was that, at 20 minutes past 9 of the clock of the said 12th day of July, he, the said Charles Dunford, being on neutral territory, and about 30 yards distant from the British line of sentries at the north front of the said City, Garrison, and Territory, and being then on duty as one of the patrol of the said north front, was killed by a bullet fired out of a carbine by a certain Spanish mounted carabinero, whose name is unknown to the said jury, and that the said carabinero at the time he fired the said bullet out of the said carbine was on the neutral territory, at a distance of about 40 yards from the said British line of sentries; and do further say that he, the said Charles Dunford, was so shot, as aforesaid, out of the jurisdiction of the said coroner; and do further say that the said Charles Dunford, at the time of his death, was a male person of 24 years of age, a private in the King's Royal Rifles, and a native of London;"

and what action the Government have taken, or intend to take, in the matter?

BARON H. DE WORMS: The extract quoted by the hon. Member is correct. The matter is under the consideration of Her Majesty's Government.

#### LIGHTHOUSE ILLUMINANTS.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL: I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether the Committee of the Royal Society, appointed to inquire into the Report on Lighthouse Illuminants, have sent in their Report; and, if not, when it may be expected?

\*SIR MICHAEL HICKS BEACH: I understand from the President of the Royal Society that the Committee on this subject do not propose to have any further interviews, and that their Report is partly drawn up, but it seems doubtful whether it will be finished before the prorogation.

MR. SEXTON: Before any action is taken upon the Report, will an opportunity be afforded to this House of considering it?

\*SIR M. HICKS BEACH: I cannot say more at present than that I do not know when the Report will be received.

#### MILITIA SUBALTERNs.

MR. D. SULLIVAN (Westmeath, S.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War, in view of the approaching examination of Militia subalterns for admission to the Regular Army to be held next month, and considering the likelihood that there will be a considerable number of candidates, whether he will give instructions to have the Papers examined,

and the result promulgated with all possible despatch; the result of examinations for Sandhurst, held by the Civil Service Commissioners, though the number of candidates is very large, and the subjects for examination very numerous, being usually known in a month; and, as in the Militia examination there are only four Papers set, and the delay announcing the result causes great inconvenience to the candidates, whether he can have the present system altered?

\*MR. E. STANHOPE: Every exertion will be made to promulgate the result with all possible despatch, consistent with a very careful examination of the papers by the examiners.

#### INSUBORDINATION AT TOPSHAM.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE (Exeter): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War if he has received any Report as to the recent alleged case of insubordination at the Topsham Barracks Exeter?

\*MR. E. STANHOPE: It appears that on Tuesday night the harness-room of the 52nd Field Battery, at Exeter, was entered, and some harness seriously damaged. The circumstances are under investigation by a court of inquiry.

#### THE ELECTRIC LIGHT IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL: I beg to ask the First Commissioner of Works if he will arrange, before next Session, to put shaded electric lights in the roof of this House, so as to save Members from the heat and glare of the gas in the long winter nights, and make the nearest possible approach to daylight?

A LORD OF THE TREASURY (Sir H. MAXWELL, Wigtonshire): Perhaps the hon. Gentleman will allow me to answer the question in the absence of my right hon. Friend. The electric light was tried in the roof of the House some time ago, but the results were not satisfactory. The present gas lights are connected with the ventilation, and it would be inconvenient to dispense with them.

SIR G. CAMPBELL: Is not the hon. Gentleman aware that the science of electric lighting has made much progress since the date to which he refers?

[The question was not answered.]

#### TRAMWAYS IN LONDON.

MR. THOMAS HENRY BOLTON (St. Pancras, N.): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether, during the Recess, he will consider the necessity of further legislation with reference to tramways in London, having regard to the right of purchase accruing next year to the London County Council in connection with an important line of tramway in North London; and whether he will consider the policy of giving power to the London County Council to lay down such additional tramway lines as may be desirable for the efficient working of any line or lines of tramway that may be purchased, and also the policy of conferring upon the London County Council running powers over any lines of tramway in continuation of the line or lines of tramway that may be purchased?

\*SIR MICHAEL HICKS BEACH: The present law provides for the purchase of tramways, and till it has been shown insufficient I am not prepared to recommend any alteration. With regard to the second part of the question the hon. Member must be aware that, should the London County Council desire to obtain the powers suggested, they are in a position to bring the matter before Parliament.

#### THE LONDON NIGHT MAIL TO WALES.

MR. COBB (Warwick, S.E., Rugby): I beg to ask the Postmaster General whether he yesterday received a letter from the Town Clerk of Cardigan, written by the direction of the Mayor and Corporation, complaining of the irregularity in the arrival of the night mail from London and other places; whether he is aware that, on five days between 18th July and 6th August inclusive, the mail arrived at Cardigan at 11.30 a.m. instead of 7.30 a.m., and the delivery of letters was not completed until between 1 and 2 p.m.; whether he is aware that, in consequence of the early departure of the afternoon mail to London and other places, professional and business men in Cardigan find it impossible to reply to their letters unless the morning mail arrives punctually; and whether instructions can at once be given so as to ensure regularity in the future?

SIR HERBERT MAXWELL: The letter to which the hon. Member refers was duly received. The Post Office had already become aware of the inconvenience complained of as regards the Mail Service to Cardigan, owing to the late working of the Down Mail Train on the South Wales Line. The matter is undergoing careful inquiry, and no pains will be spared to restore regularity.

#### THE MOSSFIELD COLLIERY EXPLOSION.

MR. FENWICK (Northumberland, Wansbeck): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether his attention has been called to Conclusion No. 6, of Mr. Thomas' Report on the Mossfield Colliery explosion, namely, "that Special Rule 15 of the Mossfield Colliery requires amendment to make it comply in terms with General Rule 4 of 'The Mines Acts, 1887;'" and whether any steps have been taken to make the Amendment referred to?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (MR. MATTHEWS, Birmingham, E.): The constant maintenance of proper ventilation is one of the most important duties which the law casts upon managers of mines. To multiply inspectors with a view to rely on their supervision would be an attempt to convert inspectors into managers, and would in the long run, be injurious to the safety of the mines and of those employed in them. Inspectors can properly undertake to see that the special rules are appropriately framed and duly observed, and to offer advice and suggestions; and the present staff is not insufficient for that purpose.

MR. FENWICK: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether his attention has been called to the following statements in Mr. Atkinson's Report on the Explosion at Mossfield Colliery in October, 1889—

"The supervision exercised in the colliery was defective." Again, "The system of ventilating the Cockshead Seam was not a good one. It would have been better if the air had been more divided and not taken continuously from one district to another. . . . Some parts of the airways were in a bad state of repair, and had been so for several weeks before the explosion";

and whether, having regard to the great importance of "supervision" and "venti-

lation" in mines, he will recommend the appointment of additional inspectors?

MR. MATTHEWS: Yes, Sir; this matter has been receiving my careful attention, and an amended special rule complying in terms with the general rule of the Act has been settled, and will be promulgated immediately.

\*MR. FENWICK: In consequence of the unsatisfactory answer of the right hon. Gentleman, I beg to give notice that when the Home Office Vote comes on I will raise the question again.

#### SILVER AND GOLD COINS.

MR. COGHILL (Newcastle-under-Lyme): I beg to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether he has received a Memorial from the hon. Member for Falkirk (Mr. Sinclair), numerously signed by Members of this House, praying that all silver and gold coins may, for the future, have, as the copper coins have, their exact value clearly marked upon them on one side in either words or in figures?

\*THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (MR. GOSCHEN, St. George's, Hanover Square): Yes, Sir; I have carefully considered the Memorial and I have written to the hon. Member for Falkirk, informing him that while I propose to consult certain authorities on coins and design before finally deciding on the form of the coins, I hope to be able to meet the wishes of the signatories to the Memorial to a large extent as regards silver coins. But as regards gold coins, I do not think the case for expressing the value is so strong. The public are familiar with the difference between a sovereign and a half-sovereign, and the risk of mistake is infinitesimal, and I should not like to break with tradition in the matter.

#### METALLIFEROUS MINES.

MR. BURT (Morpeth): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether his attention has been drawn to the following cases of prosecution under the Metalliferous Mines Regulation Act, reported by Mr. Willis, Inspector of Mines for the Newcastle district:—

"In the first case a complaint was received by me relative to the very inadequate ventilation of the Fletcher Pit of Postlethwaite's Moor Row Iron Ore Mines. I had an inspec-

tion made of the mine, and it was reported to me as being in a deplorable condition as to ventilation. In No. 12 company's working place candles burnt very dim; men had to fix candles in a slanting position to enable them to see. In Nos. 2 and 6 company's place first candle lighted went out when fixed vertically: second candle died out in five minutes when fixed vertically. In No. 3 company's place candles burnt very dimly. In No. 9 company's place candle died out in one and a quarter minute when fixed vertically. The cases were heard before a full Bench, who dismissed them without giving any reason for so doing. The second case was very similar in all respects, only, if possible, the mine was in a worse condition. The case was heard at Whitehaven, and resulted in a penalty of £1."

and whether, in consequence of the state of the Law relating to metalliferous mines, the Government will undertake, next Session, to introduce a Bill to remedy the evils complained of?

MR. MATTHEWS: Yes, Sir; my attention has been called to these cases. The failure to obtain a conviction in the first case is not, in my opinion, due to any imperfection of the existing law, and it is difficult to understand how the magistrates, on the facts before them, arrived at their decision. In the second case I am also of opinion that the fine imposed was manifestly insufficient. Should the opportunity arise for me to introduce a Bill, which is already in draft, amending the Metalliferous Mines Act, it will be matter for consideration whether it should not contain an enactment similar to that in the Coal Mines Regulation Act, whereby Justices interested in mines are precluded from adjudicating on mining cases.

\*MR. FENWICK: Were not some of the Magistrates who tried the case directly interested in the matter?

MR. MATTHEWS: I have no official information to that effect.

#### THE GRENADIER GUARDS.

MR. CONYBEARE: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether the findings of the Court-Martial on the men of the 2nd Battalion Grenadier Guards have been reviewed by the Judge Advocate General, and with what result?

\*MR. E. STANHOPE: Yes, Sir; the findings of the Court-Martial have been reviewed by the Judge Advocate General, and have been found to be in accordance with the evidence.

#### MR. GEORGE LOWE.

MR. PICKERSGILL (Bethnal Green, S.W.): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury with reference to the case of Mr. George Lowe, who was in February, 1888, retired from the Accountant General's Office of the Customs when he was within three days of completing his 25 years of service, why his request to be allowed to complete the year was not complied with; and whether the year will be allowed to him in reckoning pension?

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (MR. JACKSON, Leeds, N.): Mr. Lowe applied to be allowed to retire on abolition terms. After some hesitation assent was given. He had not at that date completed 25 years' service, and his pension was therefore calculated on 24 years' service. Some delay took place owing to the request for abolition terms.

#### SILK CULTURE IN CYPRUS.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies whether Her Majesty's Government will assist, by a small pecuniary grant, experiments for the improvement of silk culture in the Island of Cyprus, on the lines recommended by the Commissioner of Paphos in his recent Memorandum; and whether the Secretary of State will suggest to the High Commissioner the desirability of revising the silk tithe regulations and collecting the tax on exportation or abolishing it altogether?

BARON H. DE WORMS: The Secretary of State is of opinion that, until he is in possession of the views of the authorities in Cyprus on the measures suggested in his despatch of the 25th of April (which is printed at page 55 of the Blue Book, C. 6003), it would be premature to suggest spending public money on a renewal of the experiments undertaken by Mr. Thompson at his own expense. But at a later stage, he is of opinion that such an expenditure as the hon. Member suggests would probably be justifiable. The tithe on silk cocoons exported is taken on exportation, and the tithe on silk wound in the island is taken at the winders, which appears to meet the hon. Member's first suggestion; but the impost on silk cannot be entirely remitted, as such a

course would be unfair to other Crown tenants, who have to pay a tithe of their produce to the public Treasury.

#### NORTHERN QUEENSLAND.

MR. HENNIKER HEATON: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he has received from the Governor of Queensland Reports, dated 18th April, 13th May, and 19th May, on the question of the separation of Northern Queensland; whether he has any objection to lay these and other documents bearing on the question upon the Table of the House; and whether the Secretary of State has decided to take any step to meet the wishes of the people of Northern Queensland?

BARON H. DE WORMS: The Secretary of State has received despatches on this subject from the Governor, and papers will in due course be presented to Parliament; but the matter is not yet ripe for decision.

#### CLERKS OF THE CENTRAL TELEGRAPH OFFICE.

DR. FARQUHARSON: I beg to ask the Postmaster General whether any steps are being taken to redress the grievances complained of by the clerks of the Central Telegraph Office as to the extra hours without equitable remuneration for what are known as long and short duties?

SIR HERBERT MAXWELL: In reply to the hon. Member I have to state that much attention has been given to the duties referred to with every desire to lighten their incidence, but no one, either on the part of the Post Office or on the part of the officers themselves, has been able to suggest any practicable scheme for getting rid of these duties. This matter formed an element of consideration in improving the pay under the scheme recently issued.

#### DOG LICENCES, &c.

MR. HALLEY STEWART (Lincoln, Spalding): I beg to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether it is the duty of the police or the officers of Inland Revenue to prosecute offenders who have failed to take out licences for dogs, guns, &c.; whether it is in accordance with law, when prosecutions have been instituted by the police, for the offence to be

*Baron H. de Worms*

compromised by the payment of a small sum to an Excise Officer previous to the case being heard by the Justices; whether the money paid by way of compromise to an Excise Officer should be paid over to the Local Revenue in the same way as the fines inflicted for such an offence would be; and, whether he will take steps to prevent any loss accruing to the Local Authorities by the settlement out of Court by Excise Officers of prosecutions instituted by the police?

\*MR. GOSCHEN: Proceedings for the recovery of the Excise penalty in respect of dogs kept without licence can be instituted by the police as well as by officers of Inland Revenue, but proceedings with regard to guns, &c., used without licence can only be instituted by officers of Inland Revenue. The Commissioners of Inland Revenue have power to accept payment of a sum of money by way of compromise of a prosecution, and this sum is usually paid, in the first instance, to an officer, and is accounted for in the same manner as a fine inflicted for an offence. The acceptance of a sum of money by way of settlement out of Court does not cause any loss to Local Authorities, such sums being transferred to the Local Taxation account by the Inland Revenue.

#### MAJOR T. D. SEWELL.

MR. PICKERSGILL: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War upon whose recommendation has Mr. T. D. Sewell been appointed to the command of the 4th Volunteer Battalion of the Essex Regiment; and whether Mr. T. D. Sewell is the "T. D. Sewell" mentioned in the evidence taken by the Select Committee of this House on "London Corporation (Charges of Malversation)," by whose direction in 1881 (he being then senior Captain of the Royal London Militia) a number of sergeants of that regiment attended in an organised body a public meeting in favour of municipal reform at Exeter Hall and disturbed the proceedings, and who was further charged with distributing forged tickets of admission to another public meeting in 1883; and, if so, whether Mr. Sewell will be continued in the command to which he has appointed him?

\*MR. E. STANHOPE: Major T. D. Sewell was recommended for the com-

mand of the 4th Volunteer Battalion of the Essex Regiment, on account of his military qualifications, by the district Military Authorities in the usual manner. This officer is the person by whose direction, according to the evidence given before a Select Committee, a number of sergeants of the Royal London Militia attended and disturbed a meeting held at Exeter Hall in favour of municipal reform. The offence, committed in 1882, brought on him a severe reprimand, but he expressed great regret, and has since done good service as a Major in the 1st Tower Hamlets Volunteer Engineers. So far as past transactions are concerned, he will certainly be continued in the

command to which he has been appointed.

#### TUBERCULOSIS.

MR. DONALD CRAWFORD (Lanark, N.W.): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Agriculture whether his attention has been drawn to the complaints of farmers and butchers who are prohibited from selling the carcasses or milk of cattle affected with tuberculosis, but receive no compensation as in the case of pleuro-pneumonia; and whether he will consider the expediency of extending the provisions of the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Acts to tuberculosis?

THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF AGRICULTURE (MR. CHAPLIN, Lincolnshire, Sleaford): Yes, Sir; my attention has been drawn to the matter in question; and I may remind the hon. Member that so long ago as March 2 this year there was a Debate on the subject in this House, and on April 24 I received a large and important deputation on the subject. I stated the views of the Board of Agriculture very fully at that time, and I added that there would be no objection on the part of the Board to make tuberculosis a contagious disease under the Act if it was generally desired. No such representation, however, has been made to me since then, and I am afraid there is nothing which I can add to what was stated at that time. The hon. Member is probably aware that a Commission has been recently appointed to inquire into this question, and it would probably be well to await their Report before further action is taken.

#### THE ADULTERATION ACT.

MR. WOOTTON ISAACSON (Tower Hamlets, Stepney): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade if his attention has been drawn to a letter from a wine merchant at Brighton, which appeared in the *Times* of Tuesday last, enclosing a circular from Messrs. Delvendahl and Kuentzel, Berlin and Malmo, essences, essential oils, colours, &c., manufacturers and distillers, 21, Ritterstrasse, Berlin, S., July, 1890, in which they offer for sale cognac essence (about 4lbs. of essence for 100 gallons of spirit 10 under proof), price 7s. per lb., duty paid; rum essence (about 4lbs. of essence for 100 gallons of spirit 12 over proof), price 6s. 6d. per lb., duty paid; gin essence, price 6s. 6d. per lb., duty paid; port wine essence, at 3s. 9d. per lb., duty paid; sherry essence, at 3s. 6d. per lb., duty paid, &c. Vegetable colours, in powder, guaranteed harmless for every purpose: port wine colour, at 3s. per lb.; red wine colour, at 2s. 9d. per lb.; cognaccine colour, at 20s. per lb., a beautiful and rich colour for colouring brandies and spirits generally; rum colour, price 20s. per lb. Every description of sugar colourings in casks of about 6 cwt. or 7 cwt., as:—rum colouring (in 40 o.p.), spirit colouring (in 58 o.p.), and wine colouring, 4s. 6d. to 7s. per gallon; and whether he will state in what way the public can be protected from such an infringement of the Adulteration Act?

\*SIR M. HICKS BEACH: My attention has been called to this letter by the question of the hon. Member. The Customs inform me that nothing is known there of the articles mentioned in it. If anything sold as wine is shown to be adulterated in a manner to which the Adulteration Acts would apply, it would be open for proceedings to be taken by the Local Authorities under those Acts. But probably the best protection to the public would be that people should learn to understand that wines professing to be of first quality are not likely to be genuine if offered at very low prices.

#### REGISTRATION OFFICERS.

MR. T. H. BOLTON: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether the Government will, during the Recess,



consider the desirability of bringing in next Session a Bill to provide for the appointment of registration officers throughout the country, on whom shall be cast the duty of placing on the registers of voters at Parliamentary, Municipal, and Parochial elections all persons duly qualified under the existing laws?

\***THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY** (Mr. W. H. SMITH, Strand, Westminster): The hon. Member will, I am sure, understand that it is impossible for me to answer his question at such a short notice, but if he likes to repeat it early next Session I will endeavour then to answer it.

\***MR. T. H. BOLTON**: May I ask the right hon. Gentleman if he cannot see his way to dealing with the matter on the larger lines suggested in my question, to consider the desirability of casting on the overseers and parish officers the duty of ascertaining the lodgers entitled to vote as well as the tenement or "compound" householders.

#### QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE.

**MR. CRILLY**: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether, in view of the difficulty that is experienced by Members sometimes in following the answers to questions that are given from the Treasury Bench, and the necessity that sometimes exist for conveying the same evening to interested parties the substance of the reply given by the Government, he will make arrangements to have placed on the Table of the Library, or in some other convenient part of the House, Copies of Departmental replies, similar to those Copies now supplied to members of the Press?

\***MR. W. H. SMITH**: I regret that hon. Members should find any difficulty in following answers given from this Bench, but, inasmuch as many of those answers are not written out, it would be impossible for me to undertake that written copies of them should be furnished for the use of hon. Members.

In answer to a further question by **MR. CRILLY**,

\***MR. W. H. SMITH** said: It is not a fact that copies of all the answers are supplied to the Press. Some of the answers are not written at all. Certainly one-half of the questions which are

*Mr. T. H. Bolton*

asked do not appear on the Paper, and the answers to them are neither written nor supplied to the Press.

#### THE DISMISSED POSTMEN.

**MR. PICKERSGILL**: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury what progress has been made in the promised investigation of the cases of the dismissed postmen, and how many have been reinstated?

\***MR. W. H. SMITH**: The Postmaster General is now engaged in the difficult task of examining each individual case, and forming a judgment with respect to it. It is a matter of great importance, and ought not to be the subject of a hasty decision; but I have reason to believe that the decision of the Postmaster General will shortly be arrived at.

In answer to a further question by **MR. CONYBEARE**,

\***MR. W. H. SMITH** said he had no further information to give beyond that which he had communicated to the House. It was not the case that the men were interfered with by the police, or were prevented from obtaining any employment.

#### OVERLAND LETTERS TO AUSTRALIA

**MR. HENNIKER HEATON** (Canterbury): I beg to ask the Postmaster General if he can state the total amount charged by the French and Italian Governments for the conveyance of 59,000lbs. weight of letters and 952,000lbs. weight of newspapers and other articles sent overland from this country to Australia *via* Brindisi, and for 52,000lbs. of letters and 517,000lbs. weight of newspapers and other articles received from Australia *via* Brindisi per special trains across Italy and France; and the total charge which would be made by France and Italy for each of these respective mails if they were forwarded by ordinary express trains to and from Naples?

**SIR HERBERT MAXWELL**: The cost of transit at the special train rates would be as follows:—59,000lb. letters, 952,000lb. other articles, £22,400; 52,000lb. letters, 517,000lb. other articles, £15,972; and at ordinary union transit rates *via* Naples, £59,000 lb. letters, 952,000lb. other articles, £12,806; 52,000lb. letters, 517,000lb. other articles, £8,388.

#### THE ATTACK UPON CATHOLIC EXCURSIONISTS.

**MR. SEXTON:** May I ask whether the Attorney General for Ireland is in a position to make any further statement with regard to the recent attack upon Roman Catholic excursionists?

**THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND** (Mr. MADDEN, Dublin University): I must ask the hon. Gentleman to put a question upon the Paper, and I will make inquiry.

#### ROYAL IRISH FUSILIERS.

**MR. BLANE:** I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether during the training of the 3rd battalion of the Royal Irish Fusiliers at Holywood two Catholic bandsmen were required every Sunday to play in the regimental band to and from the Protestant Episcopal Church at the very time that the Catholic service for the soldiers was taking place, and were thus prevented from being present at their own place of worship; and whether, in view of the fact that the Catholics in the battalion out-number any of the other religious denominations, and largely contribute to the profits of the canteen, which bears most of the expenses of the regimental band, it can be arranged that the Catholics of the regiment may have the band to their church on alternate Sundays?

**\*MR. E. STANHOPE:** In the battalion referred to the majority of the men are Protestant Episcopalians and Roman Catholics, who are almost equal in number, though the latter slightly preponderate. During last training two Catholic drummers played, at their own request, in the band when the Protestant Episcopalians marched to church. They had ample time to attend their own place of worship. There were difficulties in the band playing the Roman Catholics to church on alternate Sundays, one of which lies in the fact that their service begins a quarter of an hour after the Protestant service, so that the bandsmen (of whom only three are Catholics) would miss their own service. The band is maintained by the officers, not by the canteen.

#### POSSESSION OF ARMS.

**MR. PATRICK O'BRIEN** (Monaghan, N.): I beg to ask the Attorney General

for Ireland whether he has received a communication from a man named John H. Pollock, residing at 25, Polmadie Street, Glasgow, asking permission to remove from a house the property of Mr. Pollock, in Glenlough, County Monaghan, to his residence in Glasgow, some old arms, consisting of a couple of flint-lock pattern guns, one of which has no lock, and three old rust-eaten swords, which 20 years ago formed part of the armoury of an Orange Lodge of which Mr. Pollock was a member, and which he now, in his 75th year, values only as curiosities; whether the reply conveyed to Mr. Pollock's son, through a police officer in Smithborough, was that if he attempted to remove them he would get three months in gaol; whether it is illegal to have arms in that portion of the County Monaghan; and, if so, why is not Mr. Pollock prosecuted; and if it is legal for Mr. Pollock to have those arms in his possession, why is he not at liberty to remove them to Glasgow, or wherever he pleases; and whether he will give Mr. Pollock permission to remove the arms?

**MR. MADDEN:** The communication was duly received, and the Constabulary Authorities were quite prepared to grant the necessary licence. But as the arms are in the possession of a Mr. Robert Brown who claims the ownership and positively refuses to surrender them, the Inspector General does not feel that he would be justified in issuing the licence until the question of ownership is settled. The reply conveyed to Mr. Pollock's son is not, I am informed, accurately represented in the question. The difficulty in the way of issuing the licence was communicated to him in courteous terms, and it was merely in reply to an express inquiry of his own that he was informed of the penalty in the case of a contravention of the statute. It is not illegal in that portion of the County Monaghan to keep arms, but it is illegal to carry them without a licence. Upon Mr. Pollock establishing his claim to the arms the necessary authority to enable them to be removed will be forthwith issued.

#### MERCHANDISE MARKS ACT—IRISH LARD.

**MR. M'CARTAN** (Down, S.): I beg to ask the Attorney General for Ire-

land, with reference to "The Merchandise Marks Act, 1887," whether his attention has been called to the reports of the proceedings at a meeting of the Provisions Curers' Association of Ulster, held at Belfast on 25th July, when it was resolved that—

"Special legislation is needed to protect the Irish lard trade, which has been practically undermined by the system of shipping 'American lard refined in Belfast,' branded as 'Pure Bladder Lard, Belfast,'"

and also that, for the efficient working of the above Act as a protection to the public,

"It is essential to appoint a Public Prosecutor and Inspector to carry out its provisions:"

and whether, considering the very influential and representative character of the meeting referred to, and the importance to the public in being supplied with lard in its pure state when they ask for it under that name, he will consider what steps can be taken in the direction pointed out by the resolutions adopted at said meeting?

MR. MADDEN: I shall be very glad to consider the matter, and will make inquiries.

MR. SEXTON (Belfast, W.): Something more than that seems to be necessary. Those engaged in this industry say in their resolution that "it is essential to appoint a Public Prosecutor and Inspector to carry out the provisions of the Act." Do the Government support them in that view?

MR. MADDEN: I have already said that the matter will receive full consideration.

#### BOYCOTTING—MICHAEL RYAN.

MR. BARTLEY: I beg to ask the Attorney General for Ireland whether his attention has been called to the case of the boycotting of Michael Ryan, of Limerick; and, if the circumstances are correctly reported in the *Times* of the 5th instant, what steps will be taken to enable this man to carry on his legal business?

MR. MADDEN: The Constabulary Authorities report that the account of the boycotting of Michael Ryan, given in the letter referred to in the question, is correct. It is a case of violent boycotting, and at the present time is, if possible, more intense than ever. The

*Mr. McCartan*

man's sole offence is that he continues to occupy an evicted farm, notwithstanding the most strenuous efforts which have been made to compel him to surrender it. Every protection against personal injury is afforded him, and several prosecutions have been instituted, resulting in the conviction and imprisonment of the offenders.

MR. T. M. HEALY: The right hon. Gentleman says that boycotting is intense. Is that fact due to the prosecution of several Members of this House who have been sent to gaol?

No answer was returned.

#### THE PETTIGO LOAN FUND.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.): I beg to ask the Attorney General for Ireland whether he is aware that Mr. Joseph O'Brien was twice elected, first on the 28th April, and again on the 7th July, as second clerk of the Pettigo Loan Fund by a clear majority of the debenture holders thereof, but that the Loan Fund Board ordered a third election; and if he can state why Mr. O'Brien was not appointed?

MR. MADDEN: I am informed that on the dates mentioned Mr. Joseph O'Brien was, with others, a candidate for the situation referred to, but was not on either occasions elected, as, although he had polled more votes than did any of the other candidates, he had not obtained the necessary support from the Treasurer and Trustees of the society to render him legally qualified to be elected.

#### GOVERNMENT ADVERTISEMENTS.

MR. MACNEILL (Donegal, S.): I beg to ask the Attorney General for Ireland whether his attention has been directed to the fact that the Local Government Board have inserted in the *Leinster Express* a statutory notice, under the provisions of the Labourers' (Ireland) Act, with reference to an improvement scheme made by the Board of Guardians of the Celbridge Union; whether he is aware that the *Leinster Express* is published in Maryborough, in the Queen's County, and has no circulation whatever outside that county; and can he explain why such notices have not been inserted in the Kildare local journals?

MR. MADDEN: I believe that the fact mentioned is correct, but the matter is one which is in the hands of the Local Government Board.

MR. MAC NEILL: Is not the right hon. Gentleman aware that the *Leinster Express* is published at Maryborough, 60 miles from Celbridge, and that it is a fourpenny paper with a very limited circulation. Under the circumstances, is it not a waste of public money to insert the Local Government advertisements in that paper? Why should they not be inserted in preference in the Dublin or Kildare papers?

MR. MADDEN: I can only give the information I have been supplied with. I presume that the Local Government Board Exercise a discretion in the matter, and consider that this is the best means of advertising.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.): Why is their discretion always exercised in favour of a Tory paper?

MR. MADDEN: I do not think they are open to any such imputation.

#### IRISH LIGHT RAILWAYS.

MR. CRILLY: I beg to ask the Financial Secretary to the Treasury, what further progress has been made towards proceeding with the Mayo lines since he made his statement on Irish Light Railways in Committee of Supply; and whether he will provide at least for the line to Belmullet, connecting Blackrod and Broadhaven Bays with the railway system, and without which no scheme of railways in Mayo would be complete?

MR. JACKSON: The negotiations with reference to the Mayo lines not being concluded I am not able to make any statement at present.

MR. CRILLY: I beg to ask the Financial Secretary to the Treasury why the Reports of the Deputy Commissioners, who held inquiries under "The Light Railways (Ireland) Act, 1889," were not printed with the Minutes of Evidence; whether he will lay these Reports upon the Table or have copies placed in the Library before the House rises; and whether, in any cases, there was a difference of opinion amongst the Deputy Commissioners; and, if so, will he also have the Minority Report published?

MR. JACKSON: The Reports of the Deputy Commissioners were confidential to the Board of Works, and it is not intended to print them.

#### THE DUBLIN POST OFFICE.

MR. CRILLY: I beg to ask the Postmaster General whether, in May last, he received a Memorial from the 2nd Division Clerks in the Secretary's Office, General Post Office, Dublin, asking that the office should be made a seven hours' one under the recent Treasury Minute; and whether any reply has been sent to that Memorial; and, if not, whether he can say what decision has been come to in the matter?

SIR HERBERT MAXWELL: In reply to the hon. Member, I have to state that such Memorial has been received, but that as yet no decision has been come to upon it.

#### LAND COMMISSION—ARMAGH.

MR. BLANE (Armagh, S.): I beg to ask the Attorney General for Ireland when the Chief Land Commission will sit in County Armagh; when will the Sub-Commissioners hear land cases in Ballybot; and if the Government will consider the small reductions given in the county by the Land Commission?

MR. MADDEN: I have not had sufficient notice of the question, but I will make inquiry.

#### THE CROSSMAGLEN CONSPIRACY, 1881.

MR. BLANE: I beg to ask the Attorney General for Ireland if he can state the number of prisoners held for the alleged conspiracy at Crossmaglen, County Armagh, in 1881?

MR. MADDEN: In the conspiracy to murder case referred to, 12 men were convicted on March 27, 1883. Six of these men are still in prison under the sentences then passed.

MR. BLANE: Considering that these persons have now been in prison for eight years, will not the Government consider the propriety of exercising the prerogative of mercy?

MR. MADDEN: That is not a matter for the Executive Government, but for the Lord Lieutenant.

MR. BLANE: My only object in putting down the question was to induce the Government to do something in the matter.

#### THE IRISH MONTHLY.

MR. CRILLY: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether his attention has been called to a statement made by Captain Harris, Governor of Chatham Convict Prison, in his evidence before the Committee of Inquiry into the case of John Daly and others, to the effect that the magazine, the *Irish Monthly*, is "of a very advanced Fenian type;" whether he is aware that the *Irish Monthly* is essentially a non-political magazine, which has never published a political article during the 18 years of its existence; and whether, under the circumstances, some public correction can be made of this mistake contained in Captain Harris's statement?

\*MR. MATTHEWS: I have made inquiry, and am informed by the Governor that his evidence is not correctly reported. The words "of a very advanced Fenian type" were not meant to apply to the *Irish Monthly*, but to another magazine. The question and reply of this evening will, I think, be a sufficiently public correction of the mistake.

#### IRISH CONSTABULARY FORCE FUND.

MR. SEXTON (Belfast, W.): I beg to ask the Attorney General for Ireland what is the present condition of the Constabulary Force Fund, particularly as to the gross assets, the annual receipts, and the annual expenditure; by whom the account is kept, by whom it is audited, and whether any periodical statements are published or furnished to the contributors; what is the intention of the Irish Government in regard to the fund; and whether they are disposed to wind it up at the desire of the contributors?

MR. MADDEN: I am sorry that I must again ask the hon. Gentleman to postpone this question.

MR. PERCY MAGAN, J.P.

MR. HAYDEN (Leitrim, S.): I beg to ask the Attorney General whether he can state what decision has been come to by the Irish Law Officers regarding the communication received

by the Land Commissioners from Mr. Percy Magan, J.P., on the 22nd July, purporting to be an explanation of the charges of fraud brought against him; and whether the Government is still determined to take no steps to have Mr. Magan suspended from the Commission of the Peace pending proceedings for the recovery of the money alleged to have been obtained by false representations under the Arrears Act?

MR. MADDEN: After the full considerations of this case, I have directed proceedings to be taken against Mr. Magan for the recovery of the money.

MR. SEXTON: Thanking the right hon. Gentleman for the instructions he has given, may I ask further whether, pending the decision of the case, Mr. Magan will be restrained from acting on the Commission of the Peace?

MR. MADDEN: Of course, the Lord Chancellor will be communicated with, and I have no doubt that such action will be taken as may seem best pending the decision of the case.

MR. T. M. HEALY: Will the right hon. Gentleman take care that the venue is changed to some place where a Grand Jury of landlords will not try the case?

MR. MADDEN: Mr. Magan will be proceeded against by a civil action.

MR. SEXTON: Am I to understand that a Magistrate accused of fraud is only to be tried by a civil action?

MR. MADDEN: As the case is *sub judice*, I must decline to enter into further particulars. The action will be for the recovery of the money, and in my opinion it is entirely a case for the Civil Courts.

#### THE AUTUMN SESSION—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

MR. BRYCE (Aberdeen, S.): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether he can make any statement with regard to the meeting of the House in the Autumn beyond what has been already indicated, as it may be a great convenience to many hon. Members? I also wish, in the second place, to know whether, as it is the very general wish on this side of the House that the Foreign Office Vote should be proceeded with as soon as possible, and as it would probably not take more than two hours, the right



hon. Gentleman will agree to take that Vote now before the Navy Vote? My right hon. Friend (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) is quite of opinion that it would be a pity to divide the Foreign Office Vote.

MR. SEXTON: Is it proposed that the Sitting to-morrow shall be of an indefinite length, as it is not to be governed by the Wednesday Rules? It would also be convenient to learn what Government business is to be disposed of to-morrow.

MR. MACNEILL: Can the right hon. Gentleman now definitely fix a day for the Indian Budget?

MR. T. M. HEALY: As far as the Maltese question is concerned, I altogether demur to the statement that the Foreign Office Vote will only take two hours.

SIR G. CAMPBELL: I also demur to it. There are a good many other subjects to be considered in connection with the Foreign Office Vote.

MR. BURT: When will the Home Office Vote be taken?

\*MR. W. H. SMITH: The hon. Member for Aberdeen asked me first to make a statement with respect to the Autumn Session. I am afraid I cannot make any statement other than I have already made—that it will be in November. With regard to the Sitting to-morrow, the proposal, so far as the Government is concerned, is that the Sitting should be confined to the consideration of the Estimates and of Ways and Means. We do not propose to consider any Bills with the exception of the Census (Ireland) Bill if it should be postponed this evening, and amended Bills which may come down from the House of Lords, and may remain for consideration. The hon. Member for Belfast (Mr. Sexton) spoke of the indefinite duration of the Sitting to-morrow. The duration of the Sitting will be determined by the general desire of the House. If it be the desire of the House to make great progress with the Estimates, the Government will not object; but if it be the general wish of the House to rise shortly after 7 o'clock, the Government would be willing to meet that view. With regard to the Indian Budget, in the event of the Votes in Supply being concluded, either to-morrow—[“No”]—or at least on Monday, the Indian Budget will be taken on

Tuesday, but it cannot be taken until after Supply has been concluded. With regard to the Foreign Office Vote, I should be very glad to meet the wish of the House as far as I possibly could; but I made an engagement with the House to take the Navy Estimates to-day. If, however, there is a general understanding that the Foreign Office Vote should be disposed of in a couple of hours, or before 7 o'clock this evening, and if it would not be disagreeable to hon. Gentlemen who take an interest in the Navy and the Army that the interval should be allotted to the Foreign Office Vote, I should be willing. If there be this general understanding, I would appeal to hon. Gentlemen to permit me to depart so far from my engagement on the Navy and Army Votes as to allow the Foreign Office Vote to be taken before 7 o'clock this evening. But if I do not receive an assurance that the consideration of the Vote will be concluded by that time, I should not be justified in asking hon. Gentlemen interested in the Army and Navy to give way.

MR. DUFF (Banffshire): I would beg the First Lord of the Treasury to take the Navy Vote first. If the Navy Vote is to give way, I hope it will be on the understanding that the discussion on the Foreign Office Vote shall not go beyond two hours.

MR. H. KNATCHBULL-HUGESSEN: I think it would be a great injustice to postpone the Navy Votes.

MR. BARTLEY (Islington, N.): As a point of order, as the Orders of the Day say that the Navy, Army, and Civil Service Votes are to be taken, is it competent to take the Foreign Office Vote first?

\*MR. SPEAKER: An alteration may be made by the consent of the House.

MR. MUNRO FERGUSON (Leith, &c.): I believe that the discussion on the Foreign Office Vote may be fairly concluded by 7 o'clock.

MR. T. M. HEALY: I read in the papers that the Foreign Office Vote was fixed as the first Vote for Friday. Taking a great interest in the Maltese question, I came over specially, as it is a matter of concern to the Irish people as well as to the Maltese, involving as it does the question of the veto. The discussion cannot possibly be closed in two hours.

MR. LABOUCHERE (Northampton): I would suggest that the difficulty may be met by having a two hours' discussion on the Navy Vote. After that the right hon. Gentleman may move the Closure. The Foreign Office Vote, under the circumstances, is much the more important.

\*COLONEL HUGHES (Woolwich): This is the third time I have endeavoured to approach a subject depending on the Navy Vote, and I shall be exceedingly sorry if I find myself postponed for anything. I shall be very glad if we keep to the order on the Paper.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE (Bradford, Central): If the Navy Votes are taken first I do not think they will last longer than 7 o'clock. Any further discussion that may be necessary can take place on the Report.

\*MR. W. H. SMITH: I think that I shall be best consulting the convenience of the House if I adhere to the arrangement already fixed.

In answer to Mr. SUMMERS and Mr. BURT,

\*MR. W. H. SMITH said: I am not able to say at this moment whether the Foreign Office Vote will be taken before the Army Vote. After the Army and Navy Votes have been taken Class II. of the Estimates will be proceeded with in the order in which they stand.

#### NAVY AND ARMY EXPENDITURE, 1888-9.

Committee to consider the Savings and Deficiencies upon Navy and Army Grants for 1888-9, and the temporary sanction obtained from the Treasury by the Navy and Army Departments to the Expenditure not provided for in the Grants for that year, To-morrow.

Ordered, That the Appropriation Accounts for the Navy and Army Departments, which were presented upon the 13th day of February last, be referred to the Committee.—(Mr. Secretary Stanhope.)

#### POOR RATES (SCOTLAND) PERSONS ASSESSED.

Return ordered, "showing, for each Parish in Scotland, the number of Persons Assessed for Poor Rates in the following form:—

Number of Persons paying Gross Rental—				In respect of					
				(1) Dwelling houses.		(2) Farms.		(3) All other assessable subjects.	
				Number of Persons Assessed.	Gross Rental.	Number of Persons Assessed.	Gross Rental.	Number of Persons Assessed.	Gross Rental.
Exceeding £4	Not exceeding £4	Exceeding £4 and not exceeding £8							
" £8	" £10	" £15							
" £10	" £15	" £20							
" £15	" £20	" £30							
" £20	" £30	" £40							
" £30	" £40	" £50							
" £40	" £50	" £100							
" £50	" £100	" £200							
" £100	" £200	" £300							
" £200	" £300	" £400							
" £300	" £400	" £500							
" £400	" £500	" ..							
" £500	" ..	" ..							
Total .. ..									

—(Mr. Hunter.)

## ORDERS OF THE DAY.

## SUPPLY—NAVY ESTIMATES.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

1. Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £220,500 be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Expenses of the Admiralty Office, which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1891."

\*(4.49.) CAPTAIN VERNEY (Buckinghamshire, N.): There are 150 military men in the House, but not a dozen naval men, and I hope the Committee, therefore, will not be impatient when I ask it to consider one or two matters of interest to Naval Members. I do not desire unnecessarily to take up the time of the Committee, but the particular point I wish to draw attention to is the Report of the Royal Commission—

\*COLONEL HUGHES (Woolwich): Are we now on Vote 8?

THE CHAIRMAN: On Vote 12 for the Admiralty Office.

\*COLONEL HUGHES: Vote 8 is just on the Paper.

\*THE FIRST LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY (Lord G. HAMILTON, Middlesex, Ealing): Yes; but there has been an understanding that Vote 12 should be taken first. There are only three Votes, and this is to be taken first.

\*(4.50.) CAPTAIN VERNEY: I think there can be only one opinion in the Committee as to the extreme importance of this Report. Its value is partly due to the high standing in the country of the men appointed on the Royal Commission, whose words could not fail to have great weight with all hon. Members, whether they are conversant with naval affairs or not. I do not think it is too much to assume that every word of the Report was carefully weighed and considered. The Royal Commission was appointed on the 12th of June, 1888, more than two years ago, and it has furnished two Reports. The first dealt with the Navy and the second with the Army. The first was dated June 10th, 1889. I do not think it is unreasonable the Navy should expect that the Government should have taken some action on a Report which has now been before

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them more than 12 months. It deals with the defence of the United Kingdom, and I do not know that anybody could bring before this House a subject of more importance than that. The Commissioners state that little or no attempt has been made to secure that combined action between the Navy and the Army which would be necessary in time of war. I think that is a startling fact to bring before the Committee. We are told that no combined plan of operations for the defence of the country has ever been worked out. In the 13th paragraph we read of the "unsatisfactory and dangerous condition of affairs." In the 98th paragraph we come to the suggestions made to deal with this dangerous condition of affairs. Departmental changes are suggested, and in the 20th paragraph there is a suggestion of a Naval and Military Council. In the 40th paragraph the Commissioners recommend four things in regard to naval administration.

\*LORD G. HAMILTON: Might I interrupt the hon. Gentleman by saying I informed the House months ago that all the recommendations of the Committee had been acted upon and were actually in working order.

\*CAPTAIN VERNEY: I confess I take to myself some blame for not having been aware of that. It certainly will be gratifying to the country to know that that is the case. I now turn to page 21, paragraph 63, of the Report, where the Commissioners say—

"We assume that, as in the case of the Admiralty, the Parliamentary head of the Department must continue to be a civilian."

It is remarkable that throughout their Report the Commissioners express themselves in favour of having an exactly parallel organisation in the Army as in the Navy. They urge that, unless we have a parallel organisation in the two Services, we gain nothing by having reorganised the Navy. On page 29 we have a Special Report signed, "H. Campbell-Bannerman." He is a gentleman who has had some experience in the Admiralty; and he says on page 29 that this proposal is, in fact, the kernel of the Report—

"That in future the Secretary of State should be advised by the heads of the several Military Departments, and who may be equally, separately, and directly responsible to him, as

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this Bill has received from the present Government ever since it came into power. I have no doubt what the fate of the Bill will be on a Division. I have no doubt that the appeal of the hon. Member for Tipperary will be of greater avail than that of my hon. Friend, but that does not divest us of responsibility in the matter. This Bill was passed first by a Conservative Government in 1878. It contained a time limit which expired in 1882, and the measure has been continued every year since in the Expiring Laws Continuance Bill. It has been hanging, practically, between earth and heaven, no one knowing whether or not it is to be made permanent. All sorts of appeals have been made to the Government, and they have been fairly met, but, in the end, nothing has been done. Two years ago they appointed a Select Committee to inquire into this subject. The Attorney General for Ireland presided over that Committee, and, as the right hon. and learned Gentleman knows, the evidence taken from all parts of Ireland was overwhelmingly in favour of the Bill. When this measure came on for Second Reading during the present Session it was carried by a majority of over 150, the majority being composed of Members from all parts of the House. What I feel is this—and I am driven to say it—that, looking at the results of the Session and the treatment the Bill has received at the hands of men who profess to be its friends, namely, the present Government, I shall be reluctantly compelled, when I go back to Ireland, to tell the people that I despair of getting this Parliament to do anything for that country.

(4.34.) MR. A. O'CONNOR (Donegal, E.): [If the hon. Member who has just sat down were a man that one would feel one would like to go tiger-hunting with, I should be with him in this matter, as I think this Bill is one of great value to Ireland. But I notice that though the hon. Member talks a great deal about the duty of the Irish Members to their constituents, his bark is a great deal worse than his bite. He says he shall go back to Ireland and tell his constituents how he despairs of ever getting any good for Ireland from this Government.]

*Mr. T. W. Russell*

\*MR. T. W. RUSSELL: I did not say this Government, but this House. The last Government was worse than this.

MR. A. O'CONNOR: The hon. Member knows that the House at the present moment is at the mercy of determined men. There are 80 Votes still to be taken in Supply. If the hon. Member will use all the Forms of the House in order to compel the Government and the House to pass this measure, I will go any lengths with him.

\*MR. T. W. RUSSELL: If the hon. Member wishes me to join in deliberate and wilful obstruction of the regular

business of the House, I shall not do so.

MR. A. O'CONNOR: I do not ask the hon. Member to indulge in deliberate obstruction, but I know the Government and the House are squeezable on this matter. The main function of this House is to discuss the Estimates, and it will be perfectly legitimate to debate these 80 Votes which have been relegated to a couple of days at the end of the Session.

\*(4.38.) MR. W. H. SMITH: If it rested with myself alone, I should give hon. Members opposite all the facilities in my power to enable them to pass this measure. But I have to consider the House of Commons as well as my own personal feelings; and as I have asked Saturday Sittings to be taken for Government business, I feel I should not be acting in good faith with the House if I consent that other business, however necessary in the views of hon. Gentlemen, should be added to the list which the House has been asked to consider. I sincerely hope this very important measure, the Intoxicating Liquors (Ireland) Bill, may be dealt with at an early day, but I cannot ask the House to support the Amendment.

(4.40.) The House divided:—Ayes 46; Noes 120.—(Div. List, No. 242.)

Main Question put, and agreed to.

Ordered, That To-morrow, as soon as Government Business is disposed of, Mr. Speaker do adjourn the House without Question put.

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well as for the advice they offer to him as for the conduct of the business of their Departments."

This, exactly corresponding to the organisation of the Navy, would enable the shore defences to meet and balance the Naval defences of the country. I have another remark to make. I had occasion a day or two ago to ask the First Lord of the Admiralty who was responsible for the failure of some guns in target practice recently off the West Coast of England. That question was not answered because a Report had not reached the Admiralty. Under the present system the responsibility appears to rest with the Commander-in-Chief (page 23),

"Who alone would be accountable to the Secretary of State even for such a matter as the defective design of a heavy gun."

On the face of it, that is an absurdity. I do not think that our naval officers can be generally satisfied that responsibility for naval guns should rest upon the Commander-in-Chief of the Army. While I would not for one moment say anything which would hurt the feelings of an officer who has served his country so well for years, I do hope some way may be suggested by which this anomaly shall be removed. I hope that the result of the Debate may be to strengthen the hands of the Military Authorities in completing the organisation of the Army on lines parallel with the organisation of the Navy, and so remove the stigma, coming from such a responsible and weighty body of gentlemen as those who formed the Royal Commission, that the organisation of our Army and Navy is unsatisfactory and dangerous, and that no attempt has been made to place in on a sound footing.

(5.8.) MR. DUFF (Banffshire): I think the House and the country will be anxious to know the details of what has been done. So far as this Report goes, I am bound to say that the Government appear to me to have paid very little attention to it. The Secretary of State for War has said that there is to be a Committee of the Cabinet, and that Committee of the Cabinet appear to me to have the whole matter in their own hands. As was pointed out by my right hon. Friend the Member for the Stirling Burghs, the kernel of this Report really is in the 19th paragraph, where it suggests that the heads of Departments

*Captain Verney*

should meet and form some programme. I want to know in what respect that recommendation has been carried out. On reading this Report, and from what has been said by the First Lord of the Admiralty, I have come to the conclusion that some arrangement was made by which the First Naval Lord, the representative of the War Office—the Adjutant General or the head of the Ordnance Department—and some others were to form themselves into a Committee. Of course, it could only be an advising Committee. I do not believe that Cabinet Ministers, however able they may be, can take the initiative in affairs connected with the defence of the country. They must have professional advice; though I admit that they are finally responsible, yet the initiative must come from the War Office. Nothing has yet been said with regard to what has been done on paragraph 19. I want to know what has been done with regard to the position of the First Naval Lord. Sir Frederick Richards, a man of great experience, proposes a reduction of his routine duties. Is it proposed to relieve him of many of those routine duties by giving him a captain and secretary? I think that would be a very good thing indeed. But I entirely dissent from the Report where it places the First Naval Lord above his colleagues. That would not be for the benefit of the Service. Sir Frederick Richards also refers to the question of naval ordnance, and I do hope in connection with this subject that the First Lord will be able to assure us that he will lay on the Table the Report of the Departmental Committee, in order that we may see what the Army are really doing in regard to ordnance. As to the suggestion of Sir Frederick Richards, on page 34 of the Report, for a separate Naval Ordnance Department, that, no doubt, would be very expensive, and I do not think we have a right to ask the country to go to that expense unless we are quite satisfied that it cannot be encompassed in any other way. This is not a new proposal. We used to have an Ordnance Department on which either Service might call. Was that a satisfactory arrangement? I do not think it was. I have representations from several officers that they do not altogether approve of the system. If you had a separate Ordnance Depart-

ment I am not at all sure that you would get over your difficulties. I do not mean to say that you would have so much trouble as you have now. For my own part, I have never been able to see why the Admiralty should not go to Woolwich and say we want so many guns, and then, if Woolwich could only supply a few of them, the Admiralty should go into the market and get their own guns. The objection hitherto has been the want of interchangeability between the two Services. Against that objection I would mention that there would be an Ordnance Committee for supplying designs to the Army and Navy. If there is one design I cannot see why one stock should not be made from it, and why the Admiralty should not be able to order their own guns. I think it is worth while attempting that system before going to the expense of a separate Ordnance Department. I think the First Lord of the Admiralty will facilitate discussion if he tells us what has been done to carry out the recommendations of the Commission.

\***(5.20.)** **SIR R. TEMPLE** (Worcester, Evesham): I would not have ventured to address the House had I not been a Member of the Royal Commission and had a hand in the Report which has just been commented upon. Now, I desire to say that after a very searching and impartial investigation the Admiralty came out well—thoroughly well. Inasmuch as the management of the Admiralty has often been adversely criticised in public, I hope that this result will be regarded as highly satisfactory by the majority of the House and by the nation at large. In the Admiralty there are three elements—first, the junior Lords, each one of them with definite responsibility for his own Departmental work, together with a voice in the general policy of the Navy whenever called into council, though with absolute deference to the First Lord. Then the First Naval Lord now has virtually a separate responsibility and position of his own, subject always to the authority of the First Lord. He is relieved, not entirely, but largely of Departmental business, so that he may give his undivided thought to the great question of the fighting power of the Navy. If it should be found in time of

danger that our fleet is insufficient, we shall have a right to know whether the First Naval Lord recommended a force which would have been found sufficient, and whether the professional adviser at the Admiralty gave adequate counsel to the First Lord. Then we have the First Lord of the Admiralty as the absolute and final authority, because he is answerable to Parliament. I submit that this system comprises individual responsibility for the members of the Admiralty, together with combined action in case of need, and with one head solely responsible for the final decision. Such an organisation is essentially a powerful one, commensurate with the mighty power of our armament, and national defences. Further, I am bound to say that many distinguished Naval Authorities and other officers gave evidence before us, and we were struck with the confidence they testified in the Admiralty, which seems to command the esteem of the great Service over which it presides. Lastly, one word as regards the ordnance. The hon. Member for East Bucks seems to think it a very dreadful thing that the guns of the Navy should be made by the Army Authority.

\***CAPTAIN VERNEY**: I never said that. I said it was absurd that the Commander-in-Chief should be held responsible for them.

\***SIR R. TEMPLE**: Well, but that comes to the same thing. And the hon. Member for Banff, who last spoke, seemed to be of the same opinion. Now, I must remind the House there are only three alternatives. You must either have a separate Ordnance Department, such as once existed and was abolished, or, failing that, you must have the ordnance made by the Army for the Navy, or by the Navy for the Army, because uniformity of size and fashion of sample is essential in the event of war. Therefore, I submit that you must have one Department; and if you do not have a separate Department you cannot do better than follow the existing plan of this country, namely, that the Army should make the guns for the Navy.

\***(5.25.)** **LORD G. HAMILTON**: It is very gratifying to have this testimony to the organisation of the Admiralty from one who has had experience in the service of the Government of India,

which all will admit has been marvellously effective. I am glad to find that one who was formerly a distinguished member of the Governor General's Council is able to appreciate the constitution and organisation of the Department, which is now carried on and maintained very much on the lines as that to which he has been accustomed. I think it must be admitted by all impartial readers of the Report that it may be fairly pointed out that only four allegations have been made against the Department. I have been able to give effect to those allegations by making changes, which no doubt, have been conducted quietly, and therefore have escaped the notice of hon. Gentlemen. The Commission pointed out that there are two spheres of action in which the Army and Navy ought to operate. The only fault found with the Navy was that it was not prepared to respond to the operations of the Army, and that there was no fixed plan laid down by which the duty was imposed upon the Admiralty in time of peace to convey troops to different parts. My opinion, and the opinion of every distinguished naval officer I have met, is that expressed by Sir Frederick Richards, who says—"To give such a guarantee would be, in my opinion, as wrong as to expect it." And you may depend upon this: that whenever the Naval Forces of this country are in serious danger, it will be due to unnecessary dispersion. The one thing above all others necessary to the Admiralty is not to enter into engagements to unconditionally scatter its ships so that they cannot be readily concentrated in our own waters. With regard to other recommendations of the Commission, I am glad that I may, without exaggeration, say that we have fully complied with them in our present system. The hon. Member for Banff went on to criticise certain remarks of Sir Frederick Richards in which he proposed an alteration of the existing system of supplying the guns. Now, I have said on several occasions that neither my right hon. Friend the Minister for War nor myself are thoroughly satisfied with the system of supplying the guns, but we thought it better to make the most advantageous use of the system which we have, though I have no doubt that the natural tendency of events will be to give the Navy control

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over its ordnance. Every step that has been taken in that direction has resulted in increased efficiency. Under the circumstances, I do not think it is possible to accept any proposal for a change, but there will be no prevention of any step in that direction. I believe the constitution of the Navy is a good one. It certainly attaches to every Naval Lord responsibility for his Department. It gives him high *status* by making him a member of the Supreme Governing Board of the Admiralty. By the distribution of Papers in the Admiralty, every Naval Lord will be fully cognisant of the general policy. The simplest and most effective way of answering the questions which have been put to me will be to lay on the Table a Paper which will show what was the distribution of business some years ago, the alterations which were made in 1885, and again in 1888, and the further alterations recently made for the purpose of giving more full effect to the recommendations of the Royal Commission. I think the Paper would give general satisfaction to those who take an interest in naval questions. It will show that the First Naval Lord of the routine which has hitherto attached to his office, and clearly and distinctly defines the duties of the other Naval Lords and their responsibility for the Departments over which they have control.

*\*(5.30.) ADMIRAL MAYNE (Pembroke and Haverfordwest):* I regret to say that I must differ not only from the First Lord of the Admiralty, but from hon. Gentlemen who have also spoken. The hon. Member for the Evesham Division (Sir R. Temple) seemed to form an idea of what the First Naval Lord really was from what he ought to be, and he actually tells the Committee that if disaster happens to our fleet, we have a right to know who is the First Naval Lord, in order to call upon him to answer for it. We have had it not only from First Lords in this House, but from volumes of evidence before Commissions and Committees, that the First Lord of the Admiralty considers himself solely and entirely responsible. As I have said, when speaking upon this subject before, he claims responsibility in this House when there is no trouble; he does not claim the responsibility when the fleet has been beaten at sea. He does not claim

responsibility when the Admiral in command is being abused by everybody. But we have had in evidence, within the last few years, from the First Sea Lord himself, that he had no responsibility whatever. We had it from Sir Arthur Hood and other Lords that they considered they had no responsibility. Sir Arthur Hood went so far as to say that, seeing this House would not vote money for ships, it was of no use the First Sea Lord thinking of how many there ought to be. This House has never refused to vote money for ships when asked. Of course, if it is not asked, the House is not likely to volunteer a large sum of money. The mere fact of the way the money was voted when Sir Thomas Brassey was in office in 1884, and when the present First Lord asked for it, shows there is no difficulty about the matter. The real fact is, there is no responsibility whatever in the Board of Admiralty. The First Lord is nominally responsible, but he cannot sign a document in the first person singular; he has no individual existence whatever. If the First Sea Lord occupied a position such as that described by the hon. Member for Evesham, that would go far to meet the difficulty. If the recommendations of the Commission were carried out, and we had means of knowing that the advice of experts was being acted upon at the Board, then we should feel that the First Sea Lord was to some extent in the position in which we wish to see him. But if anyone happens to take up a minute or two of the First Sea Lord's time by calling upon him, I think he would be found sitting before a pile of routine papers, trying to get rid of them, and having no time to devote to the more important questions to which the hon. Member for Evesham says the First Sea Lord can now devote himself. It is the old story that we heard during the Russian scare, when the First Sea Lord being wanted for some important matter was found bestowing the deepest consideration on what was to be the pattern of a hat riband. He has every kind of routine work put upon him, but no time for serious work. With reference to the Ordnance, I should like to urge most strongly upon the First Lord further progress in that path which he says will tend to its being made an entirely

separate department. The hon. Member for Banff (Mr. Duff) objects to a separate Ordnance Department because of the expense, and he quotes evidence to show that the old Ordnance Department did not meet with unqualified approval. The old Ordnance Department was conducted on no commercial principle whatever. It had a soldier at the head, and everybody, I was going to say, scrambled for guns and got them as they could. What is wanted is a separate Ordnance Department, with a civilian at the head, who knows what he is doing, and at whose right hand should be a Naval Officer and Military Officer of high rank, through whom both Services could obtain what they want. And, perhaps, what is most important, the guns should be voted for in this House upon a separate Vote. There should be no question of not ordering the guns because it increases the Navy Vote or the Army Vote. The country does not care about these considerations, because the money comes out of the same pocket. If we had a separate Ordnance Department, it would reduce the Army and Navy Votes proper, and the guns ought to be provided more cheaply and better than now. The responsibility for guns used in the Navy resting with the Commander-in-Chief of the Army is, of course, ridiculous. Sir, the difficulty in criticising this Report is that we are working entirely in the dark. This Commission was appointed to inquire into the administration of the two great spending Departments, and we have not before us one word of the evidence upon which that Report has been framed, although it shows plainly that most important evidence must have been given. The noble Lord the Member for Paddington (Lord R. Churchill), in his separate Report, says—

“The evidence before us in many particulars disclosed a state of things more seriously unsatisfactory and possibly more pregnant with danger than Parliament or the public imagine.”

We have been told that we cannot have the evidence because certain gentlemen gave it under a pledge of secrecy. So they did, but only with respect to a certain part of their evidence. I asked one of the witnesses, and he said he considered secrecy was only advisable as to about 12 out of some 70 questions asked him, and an officer of

high rank told me that in sending in the answers to printed questions he did not say all he wished, because he had not the protection of publicity. I cannot understand the lack of courage there must have been among those gentlemen, who were afraid to have their views made public. Unless they made personal attacks on individuals, which ought, not to have been received by the Commission, I can conceive no circumstance which would make any gentleman wish to hold back his fair and candid opinion of the administration of the Admiralty or the War Office. The First Lord of the Admiralty spoke just now of not pledging the Navy in time of peace to the conveyance of the military in time of war. In that he is unquestionably right. It is not merely the conveyance of troops, or the transport of a certain number of men, but you must also have a fleet to send with those troops. You cannot take troops on an expedition unless you are prepared with sufficient ships of war to cover their landing, and to defend them against attack during the voyage. In fact, you would have to send a large squadron, and to be always under a pledge to do that would, as the First Lord very properly says, be the most injudicious and rash promise that could possibly be made by any Admiralty. I should like to say, before I sit down, that we have been told by the First Lord that it is of the utmost importance that we should have a dock at Gibraltar and a dock at Bombay. Neither of these is forthcoming. Why? It appears as if Treasury clerks are to be allowed to govern the Navy. We were told that a Departmental Committee was considering the question, and, in answer to a question, I was told there was not a single Naval officer upon that Committee.

\***LORD G. HAMILTON** : It was a financial question.

\***ADMIRAL MAYNE** : No doubt the provision of all docks is a financial question, but if the First Lord is to be really responsible for all the requirements of the Navy, the money for docks or anything else, when wanted, ought to have been forthcoming. While I admit to the utmost that the present Admiralty has done great things, yet I maintain that every obstacle is put in their way by the

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most faulty system which exists, except that of the War Office.

\*(5.50.) **MR. SHAW LEFEVRE** (Bradford, Central) : I listened with interest to the statement made by the noble Lord that he has practically carried out all the recommendations of the Royal Commission. I rather hoped the noble Lord would proceed to tell us what he had done, instead of referring us to a Memorandum not yet before us. Under the circumstances, the First Lord must not be surprised if the discussion is resumed next Session. Looking to their Report, I think it must be satisfactory that the Royal Commission do not find any radical defects in the Admiralty. It is now absolutely certain that the First Lord of the Admiralty is supreme at the Board ; that he is responsible to Parliament and the country for the management of the Navy ; and that the other members of the Board are responsible to him for their own particular Departments. The responsibility of the First Naval Lord has been clearly laid down in the Orders in Council—he is the principal Naval adviser of the First Lord of the Admiralty. On that account he ought to have more time at his disposal, and ought not to be occupied so much with matters of detail. The recommendations of the Royal Commission on this point are of the greatest importance, and ought to be fully carried out. I also attach very great importance to the recommendation of the Royal Commission, that there should be closer communication between the Admiralty and the War Office. I wish to know whether that recommendation has been carried out, and whether the First Lord of the Admiralty and the Secretary of State for War, with their advisers, meet in Council. I do not attach any great importance to the recommendation that the Prime Minister should preside at such meetings, his time is already so fully occupied by other work that I do not think he would be able to give much attention to questions relating to the Army and Navy ; but I do attach the greatest possible importance to the recommendation that there should be frequent communications between the heads of the two great Departments. The recommendations made by both will be submitted to the Cabinet, and will be of the greatest value in shaping

its policy with regard to Naval and Military matters. With a view to closer communication, it is of the greatest importance that the two great Departments should be housed in the same building, and, therefore, I must express my deep regret that it should have been decided to proceed with the erection of buildings for the Admiralty and War Office, where it will not be possible for them to communicate easily with one another. I believe it would still be wise to erect some great building on some other site, in which both Departments might be housed under the same roof, devoting the other buildings to some other great Public Departments. I must, in conclusion, enter my protest as to the way in which the Navy Estimates have been dealt with this Session. Looking back to a long experience, I do not recollect any year in which the Navy Estimates have been treated with so much neglect. Generally they are brought forward at a time when the House could give them sufficient consideration. But, during the present Session, there has been only one sitting of four hours given to them. I do not suggest that the head of the Admiralty was guilty of any manœuvre, but a large sum of money was voted during the dinner hour, which enabled the Admiralty to proceed with their business without coming to the House for more money. I think that will be a lesson to us in the future, and we shall do our best to prevent the Admiralty taking more than the first Vote on the first night of the Naval Estimates, so as to ensure that the others will come on at a reasonable period of the Session for the further discussion of Admiralty matters. At this point of the Session, and in the absence of a number of hon. Members, who I know desire to take their part in Naval matters, I do not think the Committee can possibly do full justice to all the important questions that arise on these Votes.

(5.58.) MR. HANBURY (Preston): If I am in order, there are only two questions which I desire to put. Before the Naval Estimates Committee, in answer to a question of mine, the First Naval Lord said that in the experience, not only of himself, but of previous Sea Lords, they never in the beginning of the financial year had been called upon to

say what the strength of the Navy ought to be. Therefore, I ask my noble Friend, now that he has assigned specific duties to the separate Lords of the Admiralty, has he assigned the special responsibility to the First Sea Lord of informing him in the beginning of the year what the state of the Navy ought to be? Again, with respect to guns, all I want is that the Navy should order its guns in a business-like fashion. I maintain that the Navy ought to be able to order its guns from the War Office as from a private firm; and if it orders its guns from the War Office it ought to be able to treat the War Office as it would treat a private firm. Take the history of one of our 110-ton guns; I think it is a scandalous history. The order was entrusted to the War Office, and it was sent on a common contract form. My point is that, whether the Admiralty order guns from the War Office or from a private firm, it ought to draw out its own contracts and test its own guns. There is one other point I desire to raise. It is a good many years since we had any Report as to the Naval Reserves. I do not think we have had one since the Duke of Edinburgh was Admiral Superintendent. At the present moment considerable doubt exists in the public mind as to the value of the force. Why are the annual Reports not now published? Would it not be as well to go back to the old rule of making them public?

\*(6.2.) SIR E. J. REED (Cardiff): I think my hon. Friend has hardly attached sufficient value to the remarks which fell from the First Lord. I, for one, cannot but express my satisfaction at the numerous changes which are being carried out at the Admiralty in the direction of increasing the responsibility of the Senior Naval Lord, especially relieving him of a great deal of his routine duty. I agree with my hon. Friend that the revelation as to the absence of responsibility on the part of certain Sea Naval Lords, and particularly of the Senior Naval Lord, is astounding. I think it will be well for us to give the Board of Admiralty encouragement in the direction indicated by the words of the First Lord. It ought not to be the case that no highly-placed Naval Authority should be available to whom we can look for satisfactory information



as to the strength, movements, and preparedness of the fleet in time of war. As to the recommendation of the Committee regarding a Council or Committee of professional heads of Departments, I do not think that such a body should include any outside person possessing no official responsibility. It would be a very injudicious proceeding to bring into a permanent Council of this kind anyone who has no responsibility. Such a danger would be increased by giving the Council a deciding power. Still, I do not believe that in these days any Committee or Council, consisting of politicians alone, or politicians and naval officers alone, could do full justice to the subject in the present condition of the Public Service in the Navy any more than it could in the Army. The use of mechanical appliances in the Navy is superseding, to an enormous degree, the action of men, and I can scarcely understand how, at a time like the present, when questions continually arise touching the relations between the great Departments—questions, for instance, relating to the transport of troops, the escort of transports, the length of a voyage, and the consumption of fuel—a Committee of the Cabinet could deal with such matters. I think, that what is wanted is the appointment of a Joint Committee comprising the heads of professional Departments, as an advising, but not as a deciding, body. I could mention many urgent cases in which the necessity of closer communication between the War Office and the Navy is demonstrated. For instance, on the subject of harbours, ports, and river defences, the Local Authorities in the various localities have the greatest possible difficulty in finding out who possesses the deciding power in those matters, or whether they ought to go to the War Office or the Admiralty. That is one matter which might be decided by a Joint Committee, comprising professional officers of both Services. Through the courtesy of the Secretary for War I had the privilege the other day of witnessing the launch from the shore of a Brennan torpedo. These torpedoes are intended for attacking ships off the coast, and in connection with them there are many matters, such as the choice of places where they shall be fixed, and other technical questions, which ought to be dis-

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cussed by a Joint Committee of Army and Navy officers. I regret that nothing has been done in the direction indicated by the Committee in Clause 20 of the Report. The Secretary for War the other day seemed to suggest a want of confidence in the value of technical assistance; he went so far as to say that technical men are good to advise, but not to decide. I wish to know why the assistance of technical persons who are most intimate with the operations of war is to be limited to giving evidence before persons who are not in the possession of the requisite knowledge. I have one fault to find with the constitution or working of the Board of Admiralty; I do feel that it adheres too much to the old lines laid down by a past age. The services of sailors, politicians, and technical men ought equally to be utilised. In the Engineering Department especially is the assistance of technical men needed. The truth is, the Navy, like the Army, is being kept an aristocratic Service. Engineers and technical men are not aristocrats, and these branches are consequently being kept down by Naval officers and politicians at large. At the present moment the whole Engineering Service of the Royal Navy is in a state of considerable dissatisfaction, because they know they have not a single person on the Board who is interested in them. I advise the First Lord not be guided merely by his Naval officers, and to take into serious consideration whether he will not give some large measure of satisfaction to that branch of Her Majesty's Service upon which success in any and every operation of war in the future must depend. I, for one, knowing with what ease this dissatisfaction in an engine room of a ship might result in disaster at a critical moment, do not feel that the Navy of the country is as safe as it might be made.

(6.19.) MR. SEXTON (Belfast, W.): I rise to ask as to the use of the gunboat *Britomart*, lately, off the coast of Kerry. Her Majesty's ships have been used recently off the coast of Ireland for the purpose of facilitating evictions, but on occasions previous to the use of the *Britomart*, so far as I am aware, they have only been utilised for the purpose of conveying the Sheriff and the armed forces of the Crown, to assist him in the carrying out of the evictions. But there

has been a new departure in this instance, and I contend it has been a completely unjustifiable development of the procedure. These proceedings arose out of a dispute between an Irish landlord, the Earl of Cork, formerly a member of the Royal Household, and his tenantry, who live on the Blasket Islands. These tenants derive their living mainly and substantially from fishing, and fishing-boats are their principle implements of trade, and the means by which they procure their livelihood. Now, this gunboat was employed against those people, and the first question I have to ask is, by whom was the gunboat requisitioned for the purpose, and by whose authority was it allowed to be so used. Was it by the authority of the First Lord of the Admiralty, or of any other official? Not only did the *Britomart* convey the Sheriff and his officers from the mainland to the islands, but it also carried a number of *employés* of Lord Cork. I submit it was the duty of this landlord to find a conveyance for his own *employés*, and that he had no right to use one of Her Majesty's ships for the purpose. When the gunboat reached the island a seizure was made, and it appears to me that that seizure was contrary to law. According to the Civil Bills Act, debtors are entitled to retain the implements of their trade to the value of £5. The proceedings against these tenants were under writs of *fi. fa.*, and they, therefore, had the right to retain the implements of their trade to the value I have mentioned. The only implements of trade which they possessed would be their fishing-boats, and I contend that Her Majesty's gunboat was used for an illegal purpose when it was utilised for the purpose of towing away from this island the boats of these unfortunate fishermen. Another question which I have to put is, by what rule of law, or by what usage of the Admiralty, or by what precedent which can be quoted, is a justification to be made out for using one of the ships belonging to this country for the purpose of taking away the property of private persons, and conveying it from those islands to the mainland. It must not be forgotten that, by taking those boats, the authorities deprived these poor fishermen of the means of pursuing their industry, or of procuring

food, while, in the case of illness, they were also deprived of the possibility of securing medical aid. This is an act of war—an act of war on the part of the commander of one of Her Majesty's ships against a poor and helpless community. No doubt the transaction is open to explanation, and I think we are entitled to insist upon a full explanation, and, therefore, without any personal reference to the First Lord of the Admiralty, in his position as a Minister of the Crown, I beg to move that the Vote be reduced by £1,000, simply in order to call attention to this matter.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Item A, Salaries, be reduced by £1,000, part of the Salary of the First Lord of the Admiralty."—(*Mr. Sexton.*)

\*(6.25.) LORD G. HAMILTON: A good deal of information has already been given on this subject in reply to questions put by hon. Members opposite. War vessels are sometimes employed for the purpose of assisting the Civil Authorities in enforcing the law, and I believe that in the present instance the *Britomart* was employed for that purpose. The practice in Ireland has been that any gunboat or vessel connected with the Admiralty can be requisitioned, if no other means of conveyance can be found, and as no other means of conveyance was available, in the instance referred to, the *Britomart* was so employed. I understand it is the duty of naval officers, when a requisition is forwarded to them, to assist the Civil Authority in enforcing the law. With regard to the persons conveyed in the gunboat, I believe, that outside the officers and men on the boat, the only other persons were the Sheriff, his bailiffs, the police officials, and certain land agents. It appears to me that the officer in charge of any vessel is perfectly right in taking on board persons who are willing to assist in enforcing the law. The hon. Member who has just spoken has asked me whether the seizures which were made were legal, and in reply to that, all I can say is that I can give no opinion on a legal matter of the kind. It is not for the officers of a vessel to consider whether the proceedings are legal or otherwise. With regard to the goods that were seized, I believe that if a number of cattle had been seized, the

seizure would have been justifiable, and, therefore, do not see why the seizure of boats is illegal. That is all the explanation I can give on the part of the Admiralty. I do not think it is the business of naval officers to express any opinion as to the legality of the orders under which they act.

(6.32.) MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.): The noble Lord who has just sat down has laid down a very startling doctrine, and I think if he had considered the question for a moment he would not have made such a speech. I would ask the noble Lord whether, supposing the Sheriff had captured so many tons of hay, or so many fields of potatoes, it would have been the duty of the blue-jackets to have loaded the hay on board their vessels, and to have dug up the potatoes and put them in the hold amongst the gunpowder. We are told it is the duty of the Naval and Military Services to protect the Sheriff. Supposing the Sheriff seized the one ewe lamb of a widow, would it be the duty of one of the protecting soldiers to take it on his shoulders and toddle off with it to the Sheriff's pound? If Her Majesty's ships are to be used for the carriage of the tenants' assets, why are not the backs of Her Majesty's soldiers to be used in the same way? What are the facts about the captain of the *Britomart*? Is he not the man who, in Bantry Bay, ran down the little yacht of my hon. Friend because it had a green streamer on it?

\*LORD G. HAMILTON: I am not aware that he was ever engaged in any transaction of the kind. The hon. Member is thinking about Captain Blackburne, of the *Shannon*.

MR. T. M. HEALY: Well, that shows the spirit prevailing amongst the officers of Her Majesty's Navy. I withdraw the statement about the captain of the *Britomart*. I put it to the noble Lord, however, does he persist in the suggestion that the towage of these boats was protection? The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary allowed the police to work the battering-ram in Donegal, on the ground that it was necessary for the protection of the Sheriff. We exposed that contention to this House, and since then the police have not been called upon for battering-ram duty. In this case I say it is only humbug to pretend that the

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Sheriff could not have got conveyance to the Blasket Islands. There are boats galore on that part of the coast of Kerry, and is it to be supposed that Lord Cork and his agents, who own the principal part of the coast, could not have got a boat in which to convey the Sheriff and some of his emergency men to the island? If you lay down the doctrine that it is the duty of Her Majesty's Government to provide sea conveyance for Sheriffs, you must say also they are bound to provide land conveyance, and they must place horses and carts at the service of the Sheriff, every time Mr. Smith-Barry, or any other gentleman connected with the land question in Ireland, wants to make a seizure. I suppose, also, according to the noble Lord, they must provide gun-carriages in which the things seized can be taken away. I would suggest to the noble Lord that he should revise his opinion on this important question, because no lawyer would support it. I say it is no part of the duty of the Government to provide means of conveyance. One of the means of conveyance at the disposal of the Government is a war balloon. Will it be contended that, if the Sheriff called on them to do so, it would be their duty to provide a war balloon to take him over to the island and to bring back the potatoes and other belongings of the tenants? The suggestion that the Government are bound to help the Sheriff to carry away his booty does not hold water—not even bilge water. It is perfectly absurd for the noble Lord to say that this action was necessary for the purpose of protecting the Sheriff. The protection of the Sheriff is a mere farce, and the contention put forward by the noble Lord shows that, as we have always contended, the Government of Ireland is a mere landlords' association. After all, we subscribe to the cost of the *Britomart* and to the wages of the captain and the seamen. We do not want to have our money used in this way. The captain of the *Britomart* has exceeded his duty, and it is monstrous that he should be backed up in his excess of duty. I remember the eloquent speech in which the present Chief Secretary for Ireland denounced the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Derby (Sir W. Harcourt) for having sent gunboats to Skye. I

should like to know whether the Member for Derby sent marines into the crofters' houses to take away their little store of winter feeding for the benefit of the Duke of Argyll. Suppose you sent marines to a tithe seizure on the Welsh coast, would the marines take the tenant's stock on board one of Her Majesty's ships, in order that it might be afterwards sold for the benefit of the Archbishop of Canterbury? No, Sir, it is only in Blasket Island that these things are tolerated. I hope we shall have some further expression of opinion from the Government on the subject.

(6.45.) MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton): As I understand it, a writ of *fiery facias* has been executed, and the captain of one of Her Majesty's vessels has taken charge of the goods and chattels seized under it, and has moved them. Now, I want to test the legality of this proceeding. I have understood hitherto that nothing could be clearer than that, while the forces of the Crown might be called upon to protect the Sheriff in the execution of his duty when any resistance was anticipated or was in course of being shown, they had no right whatever to interfere in any way with the seizure. The test is a very simple one. To whom is the writ of *fiery facias* directed? Not to Her Majesty's Fleet, but to the Sheriff of the county. If Her Majesty's sailors have a right to remove goods, Her Majesty's land forces, as has been already pointed out, have a similar right. Is it contended that if the Sheriff of Middlesex levied under a writ of *fiery facias* he might send to Woolwich or anywhere else to get gun-carriages for the purpose of removing the furniture or other goods seized? The proposition is ridiculous. It is clear that an actually illegal act has been committed. In whose custody were the things seized when on board the *Britomart*? They were in the custody of the commander of the *Britomart*, and not in the custody of the Sheriff. Suppose the Parcel Post is used for the removal of goods which have been seized by the Sheriff, if the goods pass into the custody of the Government, as they must, whether they are put on board a ship of war or into the vehicles of the Postmaster General, they pass out of the custody of the Sheriff. I do trust that responsible Members of this House, who contend for some show of

legality in the proceedings of the Government in Ireland, will support the position we take up on this question. I am glad to see that the Attorney General has just come into the House, and I would appeal to him to express his opinion upon the legality of what has been done.

(6.51.) MR. E. HARRINGTON (Kerry, W.): I am sure the challenge of the hon. Member to the Attorney General cannot pass unnoticed. I see the Attorney General and the Solicitor General are putting their heads together to see what answer they shall give.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir R. WEBSTER, Isle of Wight): I really must ask the hon. Member not to make these observations. I have been asking for the facts. I know nothing at all about the matter.

MR. E. HARRINGTON: I have much pleasure in stating the facts. The Island of Blasket forms part of my constituency. There is upon the island no resident medical man, and no clergyman. If, as alleged in this case, all the boats are taken away, I do not see how these poor islanders can get to the mainland when the doctor or the priest is needed. The gunboat, *Britomart*, took on board in Tralee Bay, Mr. Cecil Roche, the County Inspector, three District Inspectors, and the Sheriff and Sheriff's officers. These men went to Blasket Island, and, in lieu of rent, seized the canoes and boats belonging to the islanders, leaving no means of proceeding on shore, and no means of securing the fish, which forms a great part of the sustenance of these poor people at this period of the year. Hon. Members may still recollect the harrowing descriptions that were given a few years ago of the poverty and destitution of these islanders. Newspaper men visited the place and found the people were living on turnips and seaweed. The Irish potato crop is now believed to be failing. This is the time the First Lord of the Admiralty chooses for lending a vessel in order actually to starve the people. The noble Lord says the people have met the demands made upon them. He might just as well announce to me that they had taken up all the stocks and shares in the market at the present day. They never could pay. They are on the verge of starvation, and have

nothing with which to pay. They may have attended the sale and redeemed their boats for a few pence. The noble Lord has not answered a single question addressed to himself about his own business. Am I to be told that at any time Mr. Cecil Roche wants a cruise in these waters, a gunboat is at his disposal? Surely there have been some communications with the Admiralty on the subject. The noble Lord will remember that some time ago, when the French fishing boats were taking the bread out of the mouths of these people, I asked him to send a gunboat to protect their fishing rights. He said he could not spare one, and he sent out an old cutter, whose maximum speed, I suppose, was about four knots an hour, to catch the French fishing boats, which have each a crew of 12 men and are provided with screws. The noble Lord thought it ridiculous that the men of the Blasket Islands should have this boat to protect their fishing rights. That was a question of protecting an Irish industry, but when it becomes a question of the destruction of an Irish industry, and the torment of the people, seemingly the consent of the Admiralty is not sought in the matter, and the captain of the *Britomart* can lend the services of his ship on his own responsibility. I think the way my hon. and learned Friend dealt with this matter—though he touched it with a light hand—will commend itself to the Attorney General opposite, and I shall be surprised if, when the Debate is over—some naval officer on the Government Benches does not get up and make a decent protest against this disgrace to an honourable profession. This case is a disgrace to the Navy, and I am surprised that men bound by the ties of Party pretend to lend their sanction to the theory that it is part of the duty of the Navy to act as the servants of the Sheriff. I am more interested and concerned in what may be called the humane aspect of the question than in the legal one. These people are treated as if they are a hostile nation. They are left to starve and die on the rocky island, and this is done under the flag of the British Empire, the glorious Union Jack that Home Rulers are tearing to pieces. I would rather see it torn assunder than see it disgraced by such work as the *Britomart* has been performing.

Mr. E. Harrington

The Cabinet shows that, in its every move, it is actuated more by its sympathy with the landlords than by any desire to vindicate law and order.

(7.3.) THE SOLICITOR GENERAL (Sir E. CLARKE, Plymouth): The moral question put by the hon. Member as to whether it was right or wrong to use the *Britomart* for the purpose of conveying the Sheriff to this island, and bringing back the goods of the islanders, is quite apart from the legal question put by the hon. Member for Northampton. I understand that the hon. Member for Northampton put a proposition before the Committee—and he challenged assent or dissent from the proposition—that it was absolutely illegal for this boat, the *Britomart*, to be used, or, as he said, for a gun-carriage to be requisitioned by the Sheriff of Middlesex from Woolwich, for the purpose of conveying goods which are seized by the Sheriff. I do not agree that it was absolutely illegal. It is clear, I think, that the Sheriff was not entitled to requisition the ship for the purpose of conveying goods seized, but in this case the Sheriff, as I understand, went on board the boat and was taken to the island, for the purpose of effecting a seizure. The goods were brought back by the *Britomart*, and certain boats were towed away. The hon. Member says that the goods passed from the custody of the Sheriff to that of the Forces of the Crown. Now, I do not understand that that was the case at all. The goods were in the custody of the Sheriff all the time. There was nothing illegal in asking the persons on the ship to assist the Sheriff in removing those things. There was no duty on them to do it. At the same time, they were entitled to do it, and there was nothing illegal in their action. The question of law is a simple one, and I do not desire to go beyond that question. I, however, shall be happy to supplement what I have said if the hon. Member thinks there is any part of the question he has propounded which I have not dealt with.

\* (7.7.) Mr. BRADLAUGH: I thank the hon. and learned Gentleman for what he has said, but he has not quite replied to my question—probably because he did not hear me. I assumed that the Sheriff had a writ of *feri facias*,

but I said that no person not constituted a bailiff by the Sheriff has a right to take possession of any goods under that writ. I suppose the Sheriff's powers are limited and made clear by law; but this is the question I desire to have answered: Whether the goods can be put on a vessel of war, or war carriage, and whether the Sheriff can have any authority where the military law is supreme. Suppose the captain of the *Britomart* were sued for trespass for carrying away the chattels. He could not justify himself on the ground that he was acting under the instructions of the Sheriff, because the Sheriff has no right to request him to take possession. I was struck by one phrase the hon. and learned Gentleman made use of. He said what had happened was not "absolutely illegal." Was it illegal at all?

\*SIR E. CLARKE: The hon. Member used the term "absolutely illegal," and asked whether we assented or dissented from the proposition he laid down. I do not agree that it was absolutely illegal, but I do not mean to qualify my statement in the least. I say it was not illegal.

\*MR. BRADLAUGH: With all due respect to the hon. and learned Gentleman, I think that "on the other side of Westminster Hall," as we used to say, it would have been held to be absolutely illegal. The authorities might protect the goods in the possession of the Sheriff, and protect the Sheriff in carrying them away, but the doctrine laid down by the learned Solicitor General would be most dangerous. If it is to be laid down by the Law Officers that the naval officer is acting rightly in seizing goods for the Sheriff, then the same rule will hold in the case of military carriages when required.

SIR E. CLARKE: I am distinctly of opinion that there was nothing illegal in what was done. I know of nothing to prevent the Sheriff from asking the assistance of any person to convey away goods seized. There is nothing to prevent a military or naval officer rendering assistance, and I do not assent to the idea that because it is a naval officer who renders such assistance, the goods in any way pass out of the custody of the Sheriff. Dealing simply with the question of law, I venture to say there was nothing illegal.

(7.14.) MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.): I will not deal with the question of law, as that can be dealt with by men better qualified than myself, though, as a layman, I should say that the point made by the hon. Member for Northampton is an exceedingly strong one. What I desire to call attention to is the fact that the Solicitor General made a most important declaration—from my point of view quite as important as if he had said that the whole of the proceedings were illegal. What did he say? Why, he said that the Sheriff had no right to claim the assistance of these naval officers and seamen. He said that the Sheriff had no right to requisition the ship to begin with.

SIR E. CLARKE: What I said was that the Sheriff had no right to requisition a ship of war or a baggage wagon for the purpose of conveying away goods seized.

MR. T. M. HEALY: And he went on to say that there was no duty resting on the captain or the men to take them.

MR. DILLON: Yes; that is what I understood. Now, let us compare that with the statement made by the First Lord of the Admiralty in reply to the hon. Member for West Belfast. The First Lord of the Admiralty did not stop at justifying the captain of the *Britomart* in carrying away the boats or in towing them away—some people have said that they were actually taken on board the *Britomart*, but that does not matter—but he went further. If my memory serves me rightly, he said that in his judgment it would have been the business of the captain to take cattle on board. That would have been a most extraordinary process. Surely, if that is so, we are justified in contending that it would have been his duty to take furniture in the same way. It comes to this, then. The captain of one of Her Majesty's ship is to act as the servant of the Sheriff. The First Lord of the Admiralty says it is the duty of Her Majesty's ships to carry out the Sheriff and his officers' orders, whereas the Law Officers of the Crown say there was no such duty upon them.

\*LORD G. HAMILTON: I had no notice of this question.

MR. T. M. HEALY: There were several questions on the Paper.

\*LORD G. HAMILTON: No questions were put to me, for I was obliged to be away from the House. I had no notice of this case.

MR. E. HARRINGTON: You were asked questions before upon the subject.

\*LORD G. HAMILTON: Not in this case.

MR. E. HARRINGTON: In similar cases.

\*LORD G. HAMILTON: The argument of my hon. and learned Friend I understood to be that, assuming it was the officer's business to convey the cattle, it was his duty to convey the boats. I cannot express a legal opinion upon the matter.

MR. DILLON: This is an extremely important matter. If the noble Lord cannot now express a legal opinion upon the matter why did he allow the *Britomart* to go on this most objectionable mission? I contend that the First Lord of the Admiralty ought to have consulted the Law Officers of the Crown, and satisfied himself of the legality of the proceeding, before the *Britomart* was permitted to go on this most objectionable expedition. There is not, I believe, a naval officer in the House who is not ashamed and annoyed at one of Her Majesty's ships having been sent on this marauding expedition against this island. Should it not have been the duty of the First Lord of the Admiralty to have refused to allow the *Britomart* to go on this cruise? We have it now on record that a ship of the British Navy has been requisitioned by Cecil Roche and Company to go on this most odious and detestable duty of starving out these unfortunate islanders under circumstances to which I will presently allude. I say the noble Lord ought to have consulted the Law Officers of the Crown, and have found out whether he would be justified in allowing such an expedition. His desire should have been to save Her Majesty's Navy from such a scandal. I have heard officers of both the Navy and the Army speak in bitter terms of indignation against the duty they are called upon to perform in Ireland, for they are well ashamed of being called on to harry the poor peasants to pay unjust rents to grasping landlords, and I say the noble Lord should have taken advice on this subject, and in the spirit of these officers

should have done all in his power to save Her Majesty's ships from this miserable duty. Can it be maintained that the Admiralty did not know anything about this transaction? Can it be possible that they do not know whether or not Her Majesty's ships go to certain places, and commit what are believed by many people to be illegal Acts? One thing we now know is that the *Britomart* volunteered for this odious work, no duty being laid upon them to undertake it. That is a monstrous position, and I think that every one connected with the Navy ought to be grateful to my hon. Friend the Member for West Belfast for having introduced the subject. It is very unsatisfactory that we cannot get a definite decision whether the acts done by this ship were legal or not, but it is to be hoped that the result of this discussion will be that no other ship of the Navy will be sent on similar expeditions on the west coast of Ireland. Does the noble Lord remember the tragic occurrence which took place in connection with the *Wasp*, when making a swoop down on the inhabitants of Tory Island? The ship went to the bottom. Many lives were lost, and I venture to say that more money was lost to the Treasury of England by the catastrophe than would purchase the fee simple of Tory Island three times over. It is time these matters were investigated; it is time these miserable landlords, who try to drag rents out of the country that the country is not able to pay, should be refused the assistance of Her Majesty's ships. The First Lord of the Admiralty was not content with getting up and defending the *Britomart*, and saying that its commander was justified in carrying off all kinds of goods seized by the Sheriff, but he presumed that we should be glad to hear that the result of this raid had been a settlement with the landlords—that the tenants had been compelled to pay their rents. On that I wish to ask the noble Lord two questions. First, has he satisfied himself that the potato crop is not in danger of failure, and that the tenants, after being forced to pay these rents out of their small savings, have means to meet the coming winter; and, secondly, can he say whether, after the settlement the *Britomart* returned with the boats of the

Blasket islanders. If the boats were not returned a gross injustice has been committed, and it is a disgrace to the captain. I do not know how the facts are in this matter, but I think the First Lord of the Admiralty should make inquiries; and, if he finds that the boats have not been returned, he should administer reproof to those who are to blame. I think we are entitled to replies to these questions. It would also be a great relief to the Irish people if, at the same time, the noble Lord would declare that in future he will not permit any ship or officer to be employed in similar work beyond what the strict letter of the law permits.

\* (7.26.) LORD G. HAMILTON: It is obvious that I cannot say whether the tenants of Blasket Island have sufficient means to meet the coming winter or not. With regard to the potato crop, I can only say that the Chief Secretary is anxiously watching the matter, and is receiving Reports from all parts of Ireland.

MR. T. M. HEALY: From Mr. Cecil Roche?

\* LORD G. HAMILTON: If there is any likelihood of the potato disease showing itself, there will be an inquiry, and, no doubt, the island in question will be reported on. In respect to the action of naval officers or ships in future, the Solicitor General has expressed his opinion on the legal aspect of this matter. The rule which is enforced, and which, in my opinion, ought to be maintained, is that vessels should only be employed for the conveyance of Sheriffs in such cases as the present, when there are no other means of conveyance.

MR. DILLON: It is notorious that in this case there were other means of conveyance.

\* LORD G. HAMILTON: I understand that, practically, there was no other means of conveyance. As I have said, a vessel should only be thus employed when there are no other means of conveyance, and not where the object or purpose is to save a small pecuniary sum to those who are going to make the seizure. As to whether the boats were legally or illegally seized—

MR. T. M. HEALY: No; the question is whether it is the duty of the officers to do this work.

\* (7.30.) LORD G. HAMILTON: It is clear from the answer of the Solicitor General that it was not imposed on him, and I hope hon. Gentlemen will be satisfied with my assurance that I will take care that in future, whenever it is necessary for a man-of-war to be employed for the conveyance of Sheriffs, it shall be strictly confined to that duty.

(7.32.) MR. DILLON: After the speech to which we have just listened, my own idea will be not to divide. I think the noble Lord has, to a great extent, met us reasonably. The only point I would desire to emphasise is this: He said that in the future these gunboats would not be supplied unless there was absolutely no other means of conveyance. I am perfectly well aware that if the Magistrates say an immense force of police is necessary, it may not be possible, except at enormous expense, to provide ordinary means of conveyance for them; but while a gunboat might be allowed to convey police as a guard to the seizing party, it does not follow that the Sheriff should go in the boat as well.

(7.33.) SIR R. WEBSTER: I have really nothing to add to what has fallen from my hon. and learned Friend the Solicitor General. In answer to the questions which have been put, I should, however, like to say that the duty of the forces is only to aid when protection is necessary, and where they are requisitioned for the purpose. I think it would not be right to allow those forces to be employed simply to save the landlords or agents expensio. A requisition ought to be made, when protection is necessary, for the protection either of the Sheriff or of the persons who are to carry out the procedure. I think the hon. Gentleman has laid down what may be regarded as a fairly correct view on the subject.

\* (7.34.) CAPTAIN VERNEY: More than one hon. Gentleman below the Gangway has used the word "disgraceful" in commenting on the conduct of the captain of the *Britomart*. I know nothing of the captain of the *Britomart*. I do not even know his name. I have myself been employed on more than one occasion on service of this kind, and I know there is no work more distasteful to a naval officer, and none in which he would be less likely to go one inch



further than he is required. I am certain that the captain of the *Britomart* did not go in any way beyond his duty, and no disgrace attaches to a man who does his duty and no more.

(7.35.) MR. E. HARRINGTON: I am certainly surprised at the speech of the hon. and gallant Gentleman. I am better pleased with the opinion expressed by Gentlemen on the Treasury Bench than by the observations of my hon. and gallant Friend. Surely they are not all angels in the Navy.

\*CAPTAIN VERNEY: Yes they are.

MR. E. HARRINGTON: Well, I think we have now reduced the possibility of these vessels being used in disgraceful exhibitions of this kind. I desire to say to the First Lord of the Admiralty, as I contradicted him across the House, that my hon. Friend beside me raised a question of this kind about 10 days ago. On that occasion, I asked a question with regard to the protection of the fishing industry, and the next day there appeared in the papers the account of the cruise of the *Britomart*. Then, I said, in the presence of the noble Lord, I would confine myself to asking whether the noble Lord would give the House any account of the cruise of the *Britomart*. I now ask the noble Lord by what process are these gunboats requisitioned, and I ask him to say why this gunboat, which was on the coast, was refused for the protection of the fishing industry, and was given for this purpose.

\*(7.38.) MR. BRADLAUGH: The language used by the Attorney General is very satisfactory, and the way it has been received by the hon. Member for East Mayo (Mr. Dillon) prevents the necessity of continuing the argument. I am bound, however, to point out that in the only authority I have been able to get at the moment—Archibald's *Chitty*—I find the law is very clearly stated, namely, that no one except the person to whom the Sheriff directs the warrant, or the bailiff whose name is put into the warrant, has any power to take and carry away the goods, and the bailiff cannot appoint any deputy to execute the warrant.

\*(7.39.) MR. H. J. WILSON (York, W.R., Holmfirth): We sometimes hear a good deal about obstruction and the waste of time in this House. But who is it that has been wasting a great deal

of time on this occasion? It is a good many days now since we first heard complaints against the captain of the *Britomart*, and I wish to remark that if the answer now given by the First Lord of the Admiralty had been forthcoming at an earlier period an hour or two of the time of this House might have been saved.

(7.40.) MR. SEXTON: I understand that during my absence from the House the Government have given an undertaking, first, that the Queen's ships shall not in future be supplied for the conveyance of the Sheriff and his force, except in case of absolute necessity, secondly, that the Queen's ships shall not be used to convey persons other than the Sheriff and his force, and, thirdly, that the Queen's ships shall not be employed to remove property which has been seized. The giving of these undertakings makes it clear that the case brought forward was just. They also attain the object with which I ventured to submit the case to the House, and I have, therefore, great pleasure in asking leave to withdraw the Amendment.

(7.41.) LORD G. HAMILTON: I did not say that the gunboat should not, under any conditions, convey someone to point out the place where the decree was to be executed.

MR. SEXTON: I accept that—someone who might point out the place.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Original Question again proposed.

(7.42.) MR. E. HARRINGTON: I am sure, as the First Lord of the Admiralty is in a kind mood, he will give a guarantee that next fishing season he will allow a gunboat to cruise off this coast for the purpose of protecting the local boats. They are not as long or as strong as the French boats, which have generally 12 men on board.

(7.43.) LORD G. HAMILTON: I will say at once that one of the duties of the Navy is to protect the fisheries. One of the difficulties we have to contend with is the rapidity with which foreign fishermen move from place to place. Very often, when the captain of a gunboat hears that a foreign vessel is in one locality, and proceeds there, he finds it has gone to another locality. Certainly,

*Captain Verney*

however, we will endeavour to protect the fisheries.

(7.44.) DR. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid): The First Lord of the Admiralty will recollect that the Committee which sat upstairs on the Navy Estimates some time ago devoted a great deal of attention to the condition of the medical officers in the Navy. In the course of the year before last the Director General of the Navy, Mr. Dick, expressed his concurrence with a proposal, which I understand is going to be carried out, namely, that medical officers when they have completed a service of seven years will be granted a certain leave in London to attend the Metropolitan hospitals, and try and brush up their professional knowledge. I want some assurance from the noble Lord as to when this is to be carried into effect. Then there is the question of leave. These gentleman only get a fortnight's leave in the year when they are doing duty in the Mediterranean. I hope the noble Lord will be able to give us some satisfactory assurance on this matter also. There is also the question of travelling expenses. Is it not simply ridiculous that a medical officer should be paid off, say, in the North of Scotland, and should have to proceed to Devonport, at his own expense, in order to join the new ship to which he is appointed? The medical men in the Navy are as good men as are to be found in Her Majesty's Forces, and I really think you will be saving expense, and acting in a wise and beneficial way, if you accede to the demands of the medical men for fair treatment.

(7.50.) MR. A. O'CONNOR (Donegal, E.): I desire to deal with a matter of general administration. The Board of Admiralty is composed of the First Lord of the Admiralty, the First Naval Lord, the Second Naval Lord, and an additional Naval Lord, the Junior Naval Lord, and the Civil Lord. This appears to me to be rather an obsolete combination. It comes down from a period when the Navy was very different from what it is now, and its administration was very different. Within the life-time of most men in this House the Navy has undergone a remarkable change. The old ships of war are entirely things of the past, and the floating forts which now supersede them are not only differently manned but differently managed from

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those of old days. On the Board of Admiralty there is no corresponding change. With the increased use of machinery, and the development of modern ships, the position of the engineers becomes more important every day. When I have myself been on board some of these monster ironclads I have been astounded and bewildered. It is perfectly plain that the men concerned with their management are men upon whom the efficiency of the fleet to a great extent depends. The noble Lord has admitted that to some extent, and Lord Charles Beresford told us last year that the question of winning or losing an action might largely depend on the engineers. Under these circumstances, it behoves the noble Lord to consider whether the treatment this class of officers receives from the Board is such as they can fairly be satisfied with. I am inclined to think that the representations made by the engineer officers have a great deal to recommend them. I only suggest a different distribution of the present pay, and a different constitution of the Board, so as to enable the engineer element to have an adequate representation upon it. During the last 20 years the importance of the engineering portion of the Navy has been put strongly to the front, and yet you find that the position and pay of the engineer officers has practically not been touched. These men are not merely executive officers. They are not, like the naval officers themselves, mere nominees. They are not introduced into the Navy by favour. Their qualifications are of an exceedingly important description. Some years ago the Whitworth Scholarships were established, and the singular success of the naval engineer officers in respect of these scholarships was such that, in the year 1882, they were absolutely debarred from competing for them. Only the other day there was a competition for posts in the engineer service, and one of the Whitworth scholars was amongst the successful men, but, in spite of his scholarship, he only got a second-class certificate in the examination. It will, therefore, be seen by the Committee that the qualifications of these men are very considerable. The pay, however, is very low. I will not dwell on arguments I might use, but will go at once to the objections the noble Lord has

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raised to any serious interference with the existing state of things. He argues that men in a similar position in the Merchant Service are not better paid, and that the Admiralty find an unlimited number of candidates. Now, I traverse both these statements. I have looked into the matter, and have worked out the details, and I find the facts are the other way. The chief engineer on an Atlantic liner gets £30 a month, besides being messed free, and he has no expense for uniform, and he has a number of advantages which an engineer in the Navy has not. If the noble Lord means to compare the mean rates of pay of engineers in the Merchant Service with those of the engineers in the Navy, then it would be equally fair to compare the rates of pay of other persons in the two Services. If he compares the rates of pay of doctors, stewards, and cadet officers in the two Services, he will find that his argument will carry him a length he will scarcely care to proceed to. But if he will treat the engineers of the Navy as compared with the Mercantile Marine engineers in the same way as other classes of officers are treated he will find it will be absolutely necessary that a very substantial increase will have to be made to the pay of these men. Now, so far is the supply of candidates from being unlimited that the facts seem to indicate the very reverse, and that the supply is falling off in a very remarkable manner. Last year, for 32 studentships there were 177 competitors, of whom 85 obtained the minimum of qualifying marks; but this year there were only 93 competitors, and, while the minimum of marks was raised from 770 to 880, of the 93 candidates only 34 qualified for the 40 vacancies, so that six of the unsuccessful candidates of the previous year had to be brought in. Then four of the candidates failed to pass the medical examination, so that all the vacancies are not filled up. It is not then correct to say that the supply is unlimited. I understand the noble Lord proposes to lower the standard of examination for students, and this seems to indicate that candidates do not offer themselves in sufficient numbers to meet the demand. The time for training has been reduced in some instances from six to five and even four years; six assistant engineers have just entered after completing only four years of stu-

*Mr. A. O'Connor*

dents' time in order to make up the required number. Then, with regard to educational expenditure, although in these Navy Votes a very great deal of money is expended for the education of students as executive officers, the amount devoted to the important class of engineers for the Navy is disproportionately small, and I think there should be a redistribution of the educational resources placed at the disposal of the Admiralty. The great point, however, is the constitution of the Board of Admiralty, and it is astonishing to me that the deficiency of the Board in engineering skill is a point not taken up by the Commission presided over by the noble Lord the Member for Rosendale. There ought to be in direct communication with the First Lord some one with practical experience of present-day engineering in the Navy, some one in touch with the living Service afloat. At present there is nothing of the kind. There is, I know, an Engineer-in-chief, with a salary of £1,000, but there is all the difference between having an engineer at the service of the Board, and an engineering member of the Board. I suppose there is a prejudice against this, connected with the old traditional system of nomination and appointment by favour and influence which has so long prevailed throughout the Navy. Why is it that the Admiralty have not introduced the same system as has been adopted in the Army? For a commission in the line, a man has now to enter for a competitive examination. It is not a very stringent examination, but there is the satisfaction in thinking that an important branch of the Service is open to all citizens. But it is not so in the Navy, and why it is not so is a matter that certainly deserves consideration. Of late there has been a disposition on the part of the Admiralty to fall into line with the general feeling of the country. There are many points in connection with naval administration that invite comment. Many have been dealt with in the Report of the noble Lord's Commission, some have been mentioned in detail, and some have been but cursorily touched upon, though vital to a sound administration of such a Service as the Navy is. But, because of considerations that weigh with all members of the Committee, I do not care to press these

points now. Those I have submitted will, I hope, commend themselves as not unworthy the attention of the noble Lord.

(8.12.) **MR. DUFF:** One question I desire to put to the noble Lord in relation to the naval manœuvres. When the naval manœuvres were first instituted, Parliament was supplied with full Reports, by the captains of ships, of the action of the ships and the working of the guns. But this year we have been supplied with what the Admiralty are pleased to call "Narratives of the manœuvres," which are little more than repetitions of stale newspaper reports, and do not contain, in an official and responsible form, that "truth about the Navy," to enable the House to judge what value the nation is receiving for its money. I do not know why the earlier practice has been departed from; it was a very useful form of giving information, and I think more for the interest of the Service. I hope I shall not be told that we want to conceal our defects from other nations, because it is perfectly well known that any Government can get any information it wants in reference to the manœuvres. For ourselves we want practical information, and it is not to be expected that we can get that from newspaper reports.

(8.15.) **SIR W. PLOWDEN** (Wolverhampton, W.): I desire to emphasise what was said by the hon. and gallant Member for Pembroke (Admiral Mayne) that there ought to be laid before Parliament so much of the evidence taken by the Royal Commission as is not absolutely confidential, so that it may be seen on what authority the proposals of the Government are based. The noble Lord the Member for Paddington has told us in the Report that the evidence discloses a state of things more serious, more unsatisfactory, and more pregnant with danger, than Parliament or the public imagine; and such a statement seems to call for the publication of so much of the evidence as can be given without prejudice to the public interests.

(8.17.) **LORD G. HAMILTON:** I cannot accede to the suggestion of the hon. Member who has just sat down, as officers gave their evidence before the Commission on the understanding that it would be treated as confidential. Questions of the kind have, I believe, been

put to the First Lord of the Treasury more than once, and the answer has been that it would be a breach of the understanding upon which the evidence was given, to make that evidence public, and it would not be for the public interest. If I were to attempt to give portions of the evidence excluding other portions, the result would be to mislead those who might read the published portions. I have been asked a number of questions which I will endeavour to answer. The hon. Member for Mid Cork has asked me a question in reference to travelling allowances for medical officers to which I cannot just now give him a definite answer, but if he will put his question on the paper, I will give him an answer. As to giving notice to medical officers when they are told off for foreign service, I can only say they are given as long notice as is possible, and if there have been instances to the contrary, they have been due probably to oversight. I will look into the point, and take care it is remedied. A scheme to enable medical officers on leaving their ships to visit London hospitals is now before the Treasury, and I have very little doubt that it will be soon in operation with great benefit to the public service. The hon. Member for East Donegal has called attention to the engineering branch of the Naval Service, and has made an appeal for the improvement of their status. His proposal assumed two shapes, first to recognize the engineering branch of the Navy on the Admiralty Board, and secondly to raise the pay of this branch of the service. I have expressed my views before, and as the hon. Member has put forward certain facts, I will put other facts which will show the difficulty of granting his request. The education of the engineering officer costs far more than that of the executive officer, though the amount appearing on the Estimates is less; and besides, there are the expenses of apprenticeship, which have to be met by youths entering the engineering professions apart from the Naval Service. I still believe that the Admiralty can obtain a sufficient supply of candidates, though no doubt the responsibilities of engineer officers have increased in recent years. But the amount of engineering talent has also enormously increased in the same time.

and it is a somewhat curious fact, as I could show from Board of Trade Returns, that payment of engineers in the Merchant Service has gone back rather than forward. On board ship we do not want a large staff of highly trained engineer officers of high status and with high emoluments, but capable working men, to superintend the working of the engines. The back-bone of the complement must be essentially of working engineers, and on all these large liners which make such exceedingly rapid voyages across the Atlantic the great bulk of the engineers are equivalent to engine room artificers in the Navy. Then, too, it must be remembered that the engineer officer is almost continuously employed and the executive officer is not. With the engineer officer promotion is almost automatic; of the executive officers, two out of three are compulsorily retired. I draw a distinction in engineering work between designing engines and managing them. No doubt the time may come when it will be necessary to pay the engineers who design engines higher salaries than at present, for the Admiralty undoubtedly do not remunerate engineering talent as well as private employers do, and within the last few years we have lost two or three officers from that cause. I am opposed to having an engineering officer on the Board of Admiralty, because a technical expert on a supreme administrative body is out of place. It was once tried and did not answer. The Board should be occupied with questions of administration and organisation, and should go outside its own circle for technical advice. The Engineer-in-chief of the Navy holds a most important position, and much has been done to improve his status. He is now officially responsible and signs the specifications for the machinery which is put into the ships. The hon. Member for East Donegal is mistaken in assuming that there is a system of select nominations for the post of executive officer. There is a limit to the number of candidates nominated for the Naval Service, but I am only too glad to have the names of persons qualified to compete from any quarter. It is, however, necessary to take more care in investigating the antecedents of boys so nominated than in the case of young men entering the Army at a later age. These boys are

*Lord G. Hamilton*

associated together for purposes of education on board the *Briannia*, and anybody who has experience of the training of lads, knows the evil effects of bad influences at an early age. Subject to this limitation competition is as open for the Navy as for the Army; and one alteration has been recently made in the system of nomination. Only a short period for nomination is now allowed, as under the old system we found that when boys were nominated at 10 years of age the interval was occupied in cramming. With regard to the question raised by the hon. Member for Preston, I have told the hon. Member in private what I say now, that I think inference has been drawn from a portion of Sir Arthur Hood's evidence, which is not altogether fair. The gallant Admiral is not accustomed to be examined by a number of expert and adroit gentlemen, some of whom had the object of making Sir Arthur Hood say what they wanted him to say, rather than what he wanted to say. In my personal experience at the Admiralty, I have never known a Naval Lord more ready to take responsibility upon himself and act fully up to that responsibility.

MR. HANBURY: That is not the point; Sir Arthur Hood said he had never been asked to express his opinion as to the adequacy of the Fleet.

\*LORD G. HAMILTON: That is true; but I think the hon. Member will see there are certain limitations. Much as I appreciate the assistance I receive from any naval colleagues on the Board, without whose help we could not carry on our administration, certainly I would never allow any naval officer to have control of the Naval Estimates and dictate—

MR. HANBURY: The noble Lord does not appreciate my point, which was this. Before the Estimates were framed, the First Sea Lord, who is an expert in the matter, had never gone into the question as to what were the necessities of the Navy in ships or men, what were the actual requirements of the Service from other than a financial point of view.

\*LORD G. HAMILTON: That may be so, but if you analyse the reasons which induced him to make that statement, you will see it was impossible for anyone to undertake that duty unless by special direction of the

Cabinet. My hon. Friend must be satisfied with my statement that we have since made great progress. The annual Naval Manœuvres supply a test of the equipment of our vessels. In my opinion they are very valuable for that purpose, and I hope that they will be repeated every year. As to the suggestion of the hon. Member that I should lay on the Table a detailed report respecting the manœuvres, I may point out that in any such report it would be necessary to criticise the respective operations of the rival Admirals. That would be rather insidious, and it would also be undesirable to publish the information of foreign nations details as to every defect in every ship taking part in the manœuvres. A statement of a general character I might not object to lay before the House, and, of course, I shall be very glad to answer any question put to me concerning the behaviour of individual ships. Then my hon. Friend has suggested that we should order our own guns. My reply to that is that we do order our own guns, although we employ the War Office as our agent. We draw up our own contracts. The test which is imposed is the charge which the Ordnance Committee lay down as the full charge for the gun, with 25 per cent. added. I am not at all sure that the test is not too severe. With regard to the Naval Reserves, I will ascertain whether the report of the Admiral superintending that branch of the Service can be laid before the House. We do not care to call out the Reserve too frequently, as it punishes the men by depriving them of their employment, but I do receive a report from Sir George Tryon, the Admiral Superintendent, every year, and I will see if it is desirable to lay the next one on the Table of the House.

(8.37.) DR. TANNER: There are one or two points on which I should like explanations. I observe that there is a substantial increase of £2,000 in connection with the constructive staff. Is this to be a permanent increase? Another matter on which I wish to speak is one which I never lose an opportunity of bringing before the House. I think it is perfectly ridiculous that this country should be called upon to provide salaries for individuals who

practically speaking do nothing. In this Vote there is an item of £1,000 for the salary of the Civil Lord of the Admiralty. The Navy has three representatives in this House, the First Lord, the Civil Parliamentary Lord, and the Secretary to the Admiralty, yet frequently there is no one here to answer questions put by hon. Members. Even if the Civil Lord is here, it is utterly impossible to draw him out, I suppose because he knows very little about seamanship. Now what work does he do for this £1,000 a year? He does not go up and down the country as formerly, nor does he now entrance the House by his *post prandial* eloquence: he simply seems to turn in here and go to sleep on the benches. His office is simply a ridiculous sinecure. I protest against such posts being created and maintained, for I hope that if these gentlemen are to be rewarded for their political services, the Carlton Club should put its hands into its pockets. I hope these questions will be answered.

(8.43.) LORD G. HAMILTON: There was an enormous amount of additional work in the Constructive Department last year, and I am sorry to say the increase is likely to be maintained for a few years. As to the duties of the Civil Lord, among his many duties, he superintends works, including contracts; he sees to the purchase of stores, of land for coastguard stations and of building sites; he superintends the signalling staff of the Navy; has to do with pay, allowances and pensions; look after the charitable funds connected with the Admiralty; appoints naval schoolmasters, &c.; and conducts any inquiries that we may wish to have made.

(8.45.) DR. TANNER: I am obliged to the noble Lord for his explanation. It shows me why things are so mismanaged. I can now understand how it is that thousands of pounds have been wasted on Cork Harbour without any real work being done; the result being that you cannot even dock a gunboat there.

Question put, and agreed to.

2. Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £1,659,300, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Expense of the Personnel for Shipbuilding, Repairs, and Maintenance, including the cost of Establishments of Dockyards and Naval Yards at Home and Abroad, which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1891." (8.46.)

\*(9.17.) COLONEL HUGHES: I have at last the privilege of calling attention to the low wages paid by the Government in Her Majesty's Dockyards—

Notice taken, that 40 Members were not present; Committee counted, and 40 Members being found present,

\*COLONEL HUGHES: With regard to the number of unskilled labourers employed in the dockyards receiving less than 20s. a week, the First Lord of the Admiralty was a few months ago good enough to give me the exact figures. I find there are 4,542 at wages ranging from 19s. downwards, and of these 1,037 are receiving wages as low as 15s. a week. The condition of the men at the lower rates is one of considerable hardship. A labourer at Portsmouth, after 17 years' service, receives the magnificent salary of 17s. a week, out of which he has to pay 4s. 6d. a week for rent. There are others who, after 14 years' service, receive 14s. a week. In most of those cases the rent varies from 4s. to 5s. a week. There are many cases in which the wages, if divided among the members of the family, would give for their support 2½d. per head per day, and it must be very hard indeed for a family to live in anything like decency and comfort on such paltry wages. At Chatham there are men with eight years' service earning 18s. a week, out of which they have to pay 4s., 4s. 6d., and even 5s. for rent. One man with a wife and six children gets 15s. weekly and pays 4s. 6d. for rent. In Deptford the rent runs up as high as 8s. 6d. a week. In London it would be generally at least 2s. a week more than in the country, and yet a man who has served 10 years is still receiving at Deptford 15s. a week. Therefore, the rule does not apply at Deptford as at Pembroke, that after three years' service a man should get a slight rise. I should like to know the reason for that. The family of a widower, with six children earning 16s. and with 5s. a week to pay in rent, has 2½d. per person a day to support them in London. It may be said that the Government has a right to get labour at the cheapest possible rate, and that it is the duty of the Authorities to go into the market and get labourers at whatever rate they are willing to work for. That doctrine is borne out very much by a document

issued from the Treasury some years ago, which laid it down that the rate of wages which men are found willing to take must be the full market rate, as it is optional to refuse or accept it. That was in 1861. I do not think that is a rule which we in this House wish to be acted upon. It is a very strong thing for any man in this House to rise and complain of the conduct of his own Party, but my complaint applies equally to both Parties, and whoever may be in power should not allow this to go on any longer if it can be avoided. The mere statement of the miserable wages paid to these men and the lives they necessarily lead, should compel the Government to make close inquiry and rectify this dreadful condition of things. This House grants money for the public service, the distribution of which it leaves to the different Departments, but not with an absolute discretion to do what they like with. Members are, therefore, justified in seeing that there shall not be 4,500 people in the dockyards receiving less than a £1 a week—less than the market rate and less than they can bring up their families upon. The House is not required by the Empire to save money out of the miseries of the poorest of the men we employ. These men, by the favour of the Conservative Party, have votes, they have been educated and their children are being educated, they read the papers, and they see that while they only receive 15s. a week, £70,000 is given for a picture to place in the National Gallery, and £19,000 is spent in buying up a pension granted in the reign of Charles II., and this money is paid to a rich man, while 4,500 men who work for Her Majesty building ships get such low wages that it is impossible for them to keep themselves respectable. One man told me that he went and broke stones in the parish yard before he accepted this miserable wage, but he relented at last for the sake of those dependent on him for a livelihood. The Government ought to be a pattern to the employers of the country. The Commission of the other House which sat on sweating put in the strongest possible light the duty of the employer to see to the interests of their working people. If that is a duty, as I believe it to be, the Government in this rich

country sets a bad example to employers by paying 15s. a week for unskilled labour. We have not the excuse which ordinary employers have got, that owing to competition they have to cut everything as fine as possible. The Government have not the excuse of competition. I cannot bring myself to believe that those at the head of affairs really believe in their hearts that they are justified in paying wages which are not sufficient to keep body and soul together. It may be said with regard to the dockyard labourers on the establishment that they will receive a pension at 60 years of age. But they never live to get the pension. I have been to their homes, and I can assure you such cases of distress never came to my knowledge before. We spend thousands of pounds in looking after the inhabitants of other countries, but we neglect our own very much. No doubt the law of supply and demand control the conditions of labour, but if we have any control over the employment, for the sake of example to others, and in duty to ourselves, we should take care that labour received an adequate wage. It is a most serious thing, because when these men are driven to distraction by want, they form themselves into combinations, they call themselves Leagues, and they get into the hands of agitators. If it is the duty of any one to attend to these men's complaints and requests, it is the duty of the Representatives in Parliament, but upon applying to the different departments, you meet with this answer, that if a man is to work in the department, no Member of Parliament ought to interfere between that man and the department. I admit it is rather strong to complain of the department, and I would not do it if I could avoid it, but it is a greater evil to allow these men to lead wretched lives where we can prevent it. I feel that the House is the proper quarter in which to bring the question forward, and that the House will, sooner or later, settle it in the interest of labour. Of course, we all have our constituents to look after, and believe me, that as far as I am personally concerned, I have only the general good of the community at heart. There has been great agitation lately in the labour market, the overstocked state of the market making it desirable to look into it. A large number of people who come

from abroad are unable to obtain employment to maintain themselves, and a large number of agricultural labourers flocking to the towns, and also unable to find employment, causes such competition that the labour market is overstocked, the only solution for it appearing to point in the direction of emigration. But upon that question I will not touch upon the present occasion. With regard to these 4,400 men we employ, it ought to be a pleasure to us to give them fair wages and to treat them as if they were our own private servants. At the present moment these men are not paid sufficiently well, and, therefore, you cannot expect them to do their full duty. Some of those interested in philanthropic work would do far more good if they would look into these cases, and bring the necessary pressure to bear upon those who have the employment of these people. As to the labour market being overstocked, no doubt that is right, but for the Government to pay low wages will not remedy it. I have now mentioned the salient facts, and if I do not get any attention this time, I shall endeavour to renew my proposal year after year until the conscience of the House and the conscience of the people outside is awakened to this labour question, which is growing in importance. It is said that 18s. a week is not enough to keep a man employed in the Post Office if he has a family, and if that is not enough for the Post Office, how is 15s. a week enough for the dockyard labourers? Why should it be 18s. a week in the Post Office, and yet 15s. is considered enough in Deptford Dockyard? I think I have said sufficient to introduce the subject, and I hope during the recess the matter will be thoroughly looked into, and in order that it may be the beginning of a constitutional agitation in this House, I shall be very pleased to put the question on record by taking a division which will let the working men know what friends they have. And if they have not enough friends now, they will have by and by, for the Irish Members, with all their faults, are still generous, the Scotch Members are, no doubt, economical, but they only desire fair value for their money, and the English Members are as full of justice as ever; and by a combination of good feeling in



this House it may be possible to put sufficient pressure upon those of our officers who employ these men. I join issue at once on the question that we have no right to pay more for an article than we can get it done for, because that would justify the making of a dozen shirts for 10½d. But that is not the question, and in order to raise the question I have brought forward in a constitutional manner, I beg to move that the Vote be reduced by the sum of £100, because the large sum of money paid in wages is not fairly distributed: if it was there would not be this class complaining of distress nor the low wages which I have had the honour to represent to the Committee.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Item B, Wages, be reduced by £100."—(*Colonel Hughes*.)

\*(9.37.) LORD G. HAMILTON: I think it desirable that I should speak at once in answer to the speech of the hon. Gentleman. The hon. Gentleman who has just addressed the Committee informed us he is the friend of the working man, but, at the same time, I am bound to say he gives one an extraordinary impression as to his interest in the working man by selecting that one item of the Vote that goes to the working man—namely, the payment of wages—and moves the reduction of that by £100.

An hon. MEMBER: The forms of the House.

\*LORD G. HAMILTON: The hon. Gentleman might have raised the question some other way; he might have selected some other portion of this Vote, but he deliberately selected that part of the Vote that appertains to the wages of the men, and he selected it deliberately, because he said he wished out of this Vote of wages to have a more equal distribution. Now, Sir, I will not detain the Committee long, but I want them to consider this question in the abstract, so far as it applies to our dockyards. I cannot say I agree with the propositions of the hon. Member in the form in which he has taken them; but I agree in this, that the State should set an example to private employers, though I do not myself—and I do not suppose anyone in this House will—believe these men give

*Colonel Hughes*

a good return. But the hon. Gentleman did not exactly indicate to us what was the nature of the rise, or even the nature of the proposition he wished us to assent to. He said there were a certain number of persons who receive low wages, and he went on to say that 20s. per week for all these branches was much less than the market rate, and he further went on to say he advocated this payment of excess over the market rate, because there was no competition with Government establishments. Now, I have had some experience during the four or five years I have been First Lord of the Admiralty of dockyard establishments. Five years ago, one of the main difficulties I had was to contend with the opinions expressed by gentlemen who represented constituencies other than dockyard constituencies, that unless those who were entrusted with the management of these establishments could introduce a good economic system of administration so as, in some way, to approximate the cost of Government establishments to those of competing private firms, the taxpayer should refuse to regard them as permanent establishments of the country. I think it would be a great misfortune for the Navy, and the nation at large, if the dockyards were not permanent national institutions. I quite agree with the hon. Gentleman that the Government having *employés* in a locality should set an example to all others, that they ought not to fix their wages by the lowest rate at which a starving man can work, that there should be a margin, so to speak, over and above the market rate, but to what extent are you prepared to carry it? Even now, under the improved system of dockyard administration, we find great difficulties. This is a question that affects the taxpayer, and would the taxpayers assent to our so fixing our schedule of prices above the market rate as to render it impossible for these establishments to compete with private yards? What every one, who wishes to favour any particular establishment or institution, should do is to ascertain and notice those influences that are likely to be permanent. Unquestionably the predominant feeling in this House as regards national establishments competing with private establishments is that they should be economical in their

management, and if by a snatch division at the end of a Session, or some other time, some hon. Gentleman like the hon. Member for Woolwich (Colonel Hughes)—who represents a constituency almost exclusively composed of Government *employés*—got this assent, and got a rate far in excess of the market, that very proposition would endanger the maintenance of this institution, as a permanent national institution; therefore, in whatever we may do we must be careful of these matters. Now, Sir, I admit the hon. Gentleman was at some disadvantage; he wished to raise his question on the Ordnance Vote in connection with the Arsenal at Woolwich, but he was unable to do so, and, therefore, has very properly raised it on the Dockyard Vote, connecting it, however, with the Deptford Dockyard. It is perfectly true there is a certain proportion of unskilled labour in the dockyards which only receives a remuneration of 15s. a week. The hon. Gentleman, to illustrate that, has given cases of labourers and widowers with large families, and I am compelled to say that if a widower with a large family is still in receipt of 15s. a week, it is because he is not a good workman, because 15s. a week is not intended for married men with large families. I have looked into this question closely during the past few years, and have made personal inquiries at every dockyard as to the class of labour the dockyard officials can obtain whenever they advertise. If hon. Members will carry their recollections back four or five years, they will remember the Board of Admiralty, of which I was the head, was compelled to reduce the establishment because certain of the trades were not adjusted to the work they had in hand, and so far from the wage then being found inadequate, it was contended that the action I took inflicted injury upon the neighbourhood. I received a good many deputations at that time from various classes, and I made it then a matter of personal inquiry at all the dockyards. It is not true to say that these men who come are men out of employment, because, as a matter of fact, they give up other employment to come to the dockyard. Only this morning I was informed by the Superintendent at Chatham that they could obtain any number of labourers if they advertised for them, men who were at present in

employment. The reason for that is obvious to certain Members of this House, and especially those who represent the labouring classes. It is known perfectly well that the average wage paid weekly is not the only consideration, but that there are others. Those other considerations are continuity of employment, specified hours of labour per day, and, above all, the prospect of advancement, and whenever you get those advantages combined, even with a low rate of wage, you can get good men and you can make the initial wage for entrance into an establishment a matter, so to speak, of secondary importance. I quite agree that 15s. a week is a low wage and one at which a man ought not to be long employed. When we passed that rule finding that we could obtain any amount of labour we wished in the locality, we thought we ought to make it clear that 15s. per week was the initial wage for young men. We did not object to take into our employ anyone with a family, but we make it clear, this was to apply to young men or to pensioners, or anyone entering as an unskilled labourer at the dockyard. At the end of the first year the wage was increased to 16s. per week, with a further rise to 17s. after the second year, with the prospect, if a good workman, of going up considerably above 20s. a week. These are the arrangements we made, and I believe they act very well, and I am informed that under the new conditions, established by the rules that we can get any amount of labour, even of a better class than was obtainable before, and there is no dissatisfaction in the dockyard upon that point. In the dockyards there have been employed this year 21,000 men, and out of that 21,000 men there is only 1,000 at 15s. per week, and those 1,000 men are almost exclusively young men, or boys you may say, or pensioners. I believe if we adhere to that rule and make it clear this low rate of wage is merely adopted as a test of the capacity of the men, and that they can rise up to a very much higher rate if they show they are possessed of the qualities of a skilled workman, we shall draw a better class of labour than we get now. Then again, the Pension Fund, which includes officers and artificers, is 22 per cent. of the annual sum voted by the House for the establishment of men,

therefore it must be obvious to hon. Gentlemen that the pension is a consideration which must not be ignored. I believe I am also right in stating if you take dockyard employment as a whole, if you take the number of hours the men have to work per day, the continuity of employment and the prospect of advancement, the industrious labourer has a better chance of promotion in the dockyard than in any other class of employment in the country. If that be so, should we be justified in holding out to the hon. Gentleman any prospect of raising the wages to the extent he suggests? I feel it is our duty to make clear to those over whom we are placed in authority we will do our best to investigate any grievance they may have, and will do what we can, consistent with our duty to public finance, to improve their position. But I do not know quite what the hon. Gentleman wishes me to assent to to-night. If it is that we are to raise the initial wage in the dockyard 25 per cent., if that is the proposition the hon. Gentleman places before the Committee, I say at once it is not one to which we can assent in any shape or way. There is a good practice at the Admiralty, that when the Board visits the different dockyards some member of the Board sees the men personally, listens to what they have to say, he and they being alone, no superior officer of the Department being near them, and any expressions that may fall from them are subsequently reported to, and considered by, the Board. The Secretary to the Admiralty and myself early last winter went carefully through all the petitions that came from all the dockyards. Amongst them were some stereotyped petitions asking for increase of wages as regards the labourer, but no facts were adduced of any kind or sort to show that the wage which was then given was not considerably in excess of the market rate in the locality. We also had to consider a number of petitions from establishment men and the artificers, but I do not think the hon. Member proposed to deal with the skilled labour.

\*COLONEL HUGHES: Only the unskilled.

\*LORD G. HAMILTON: But in one sense they are connected with each other as a class. I think that our

*Lord G. Hamilton*

establishments, like the dockyards, give the men a greater chance of promotion, and enables a thoroughly industrious man to get on better than is the case in private employment. In considering and fixing the establishment we determined to increase the number of skilled labourers on the establishment, and, therefore, for the last three or four years we were compelled to stop entries into the establishments, because we found them in excess of what we required, and moreover it was necessary to adjust certain branches of labour and various trades one to another. We have now arrived at the point at which the establishment can be permanently maintained, and we therefore propose, for the future, to fill up every vacancy that may occur on the establishment, and upon the establishment the labourer will bear a large proportion to skilled labour. I have now dealt with the question of the dockyards; I have shown that 15s. a day is merely the initial rate of wages; and I have shown the Board of Admiralty have determined to make investigation into every case on the application of the men. It is perfectly true that there is a large portion of labour in the dockyards which receives only a remuneration of 15s. a week; but I am bound to state that if a widower with a large family is still in receipt of 15s. a week it is because he is not a good workman. The wages of 15s. a week are not intended for married men with large families. I have looked into this question and made personal inquiries at every dockyard as to the class of labourers who could be obtained whenever the authorities advertised. I was much attacked when I had to reduce the number of redundant labourers, and it was contended that the action I took had inflicted a great injury upon the neighbourhood. It is not true, however, that the men who came to the dockyards are men out of employment. They gave up their employment to go to the dockyards, and the actual wage paid is not the main consideration to them. There are other considerations—continuity of employment, fixed hours of labour per day, and, above all, prospects of advancement. These advantages combined make the actual wage of comparatively secondary importance. I believe 15s. a week is

a low wage, and not a wage at which a man ought long to be retained, but under the new rules it has been made clear that this wage is for young men, or pensioners with other means of subsistence. At the end of the first year they are advanced to 16s., and at the end of the second to 17s., and then they have prospects of entering the various branches of skilled labour which went up considerably over 20s. per week. This arrangement has worked very well. We can get any amount of labour even of a better class, and there is no dissatisfaction in the dockyards. There were this year 21,000 men employed in the dockyards, and out of this number only 1,000 are earning 15s. a week; these men being almost exclusively young men or pensioners. The hon. Gentleman opposite says that so great are the misery and distress that the pension is of no consideration, that the men die before they are able to obtain it, but the Pension Vote is 22 per cent. of the annual sum voted for establishment wages, and therefore the pension is a consideration which must not be ignored. Taking all the advantages into consideration, I think the industrious labourer has a better chance of promoting himself in the dockyards than in almost any class of employment which he can find. I and the Secretary to the Admiralty have carefully considered all the petitions from the dockyards, and we determined to increase the number of unskilled as well as skilled labourers in each establishment. For the last three or four years the Department was compelled to stop entries into the establishments, because it was found there was some excess of requirements; and, moreover, it was necessary to adjust certain branches of labour in various ways one to another. We have now arrived at the point at which we think the establishments can be maintained, and we, therefore, propose for the future to fill up every vacancy which may occur from the men upon the establishments as far as possible. In addition to the continuous employment, shorter hours, and prospects of advancement, men on the Government establishments get holidays, sick pay, and medical attendance. It is this combination and aggregate of advantages which made Government employment so agreeable to working men.

With regard to Deptford Victualling Yard, it is true there were a few men there at a low rate of wage. There are 37 men who get 15s. a week; 10 of these are under two years' employment, and the remaining 27 are reported upon as indifferent workmen. If, then, it is a question of raising the wages of the men in this establishment the Board of Admiralty must consider the quality of the labour given, because I am afraid I must say that a number of the men there employed have been retained for a good many years, not for the value of their labour, but more for charitable purposes. ["Oh!" "Shame!" and "Withdraw!"] Hon. Gentlemen who interrupt me have not understood the object of my remark. Those are men who had they been in private employment would probably have been discharged, inasmuch as they are not good workmen. That is admitted. I must not be misunderstood. What I contend for is that if the scale of pay is to be revised the Department must also revise the return for that pay. Perhaps I expressed myself somewhat too plainly; what I meant to say was that the head of the establishment would have got rid of these men before if he had looked simply to the return they gave for their wages; but he had kept them on—if hon. Members did not like the word "charitable"—from humanitarian considerations. ["Oh!" and "Shame!"]

THE CHAIRMAN: Order, order!

MR. HOWELL (Bethnal Green, N.E.): Then on what ground were they first engaged as workmen? Who was responsible?

THE CHAIRMAN: Order, order!

MR. J. WILSON (Durham, Mid.): I want to know—

THE CHAIRMAN: Order, order! The interruption is quite unnecessary.

\*LORD G. HAMILTON: I wish to make my meaning perfectly plain. There is a greater tendency in Government than in private employment to keep men on if they are once on the books; and with regard to the men I referred to, the manager of a private establishment would probably have got rid of them.

MR. HOWELL: Why?

THE CHAIRMAN: Order, order!

\*LORD G. HAMILTON: Because they are inferior workmen. They are kept.

on because the fact of their having wives and children prevents their discharge. There is no escape from the proposition I have laid down. I will undertake personally to look into any grievances, but I cannot undertake, and no representative of a Government can undertake, to assent to any proposition which asks him to raise the wages of the workmen in Government employment 25 per cent. above the market rate in the locality.

\***(10.15.) MR. FENWICK** (Northumberland, Wansbeck): This is the first time a responsible Minister has declared that the Admiralty employs men from philanthropic motives. Tomorrow the country will be surprised to read the declaration by a Minister of the Crown that workmen are employed in Government establishments on humanitarian principles.

\***LORD G. HAMILTON**: What I said was this: I alluded to one establishment where 37 men are employed at 15s. a week. Of these, 10 are under two years' employment, and the remaining 27 are very indifferent men.

\***MR. FENWICK**: I am within the recollection of the House, and I say I understood the noble Lord to say these men were receiving a low rate of wages because they were inferior workmen. What I should like to know is, why are they employed at all if inferior workmen? I should like to know whether the rate of wage that these men receive is less than that paid for similar duties by private firms. I should like, also, to call the noble Lord's attention to a statement made by a gentleman well acquainted with the duties performed at the Government dockyards. This gentleman made a speech, and in it he referred to a statement made by Professor Elgar before the Royal Commission, and certainly Professor Elgar's observation does not bear out the statement made by the noble Lord as to the character of the workmen or the character of the work done in the Government dockyards.

\***LORD G. HAMILTON**: I never said a word as to the inferior quality of the work. I referred to one particular establishment. My observation was exclusively confined to that. The generality of the labour given, I have said, was excellent.

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\***MR. FENWICK**: I am glad to hear that, and I should like to continue the observation. Professor Elgar said—

"From what I have seen in private yards, we can get as much if not more work than a private firm gets out of its men, and I am quite sure that the dockyard men are the best class of men who can be found throughout the country."

[*Ministerial cries of "Hear, hear!"*]  
Yes, but do you treat them as similar men are treated in private firms? Let us see. The noble Lord says the wage received by a workman in Government establishments is not the only thing the Government consider, but likewise the advantages of continuity of employment, short hours of labour, and the prospect of advancement. But this advantage of continuity of employment merely applies to the skilled workmen. Men who are steady, skilled, and constant in attendance at their work will find continuity of employment with any private firm, so that this advantage is not peculiar to Government dockyards. With regard to the shorter hours, even on the noble Lord's own showing, they are very little shorter than those at private firms, and the prospect of advancement is a very dubious advantage, both in his own opinion and in that of the dockyard labourers themselves. With regard to superannuation, is it not a fact that when a man is placed on the establishment he immediately suffers a reduction of wages of from 2s. to 2s. 6d. a week?

\***LORD G. HAMILTON**: Certainly it is not a universal rate, and if a man wish to remain on trial he can do so.

\***MR. FENWICK**: Well, at least the noble Lord will not deny that a very large percentage of workmen placed on the establishment list immediately have to suffer. They are reduced, say, from 32s. 6d. to 30s., or from 30s. to 28s. I would ask the noble Lord whether it is not a fact that in the event of a man on the establishment dying before he is 60 the whole of the deductions made from his wages go into the hands of the Treasury, without his widow or children receiving one iota of compensation?

\***LORD G. HAMILTON**: I said yes.

\***MR. FENWICK**: Very well, then the noble Lord admits that the Treasury makes a profit out of the deductions, and that the widows and children are allowed to go without them. With regard to

the comparison of wages, at the present moment the established men in the Government yards are receiving something like from 28s. to 30s. per week, whereas in London and other large dockyard towns the rate of wage for the same class of labour is from 38s. to £2 2s. per week. Then there are a large number of divisions and graduations of labour in Government dockyards which do not exist in yards of private firms. There are 70 fourth-class smiths in Portsmouth Dockyard, whose service averages 20½ years. These men are receiving 4s. 9d. a day, which is from 20 to 25 per cent. below the rate in private firms, while the third-class receives 5s. 6d. per day, which is from 22 to 30 per cent. below private firms, while their prospect of advancement is very slender, as shown by the average length of their service. I am glad to hear that some consideration is to be given to the case of those men, and I would suggest to the noble Lord the expediency, if nothing can be done this Session—and I do not suppose that anything can now be done—of recommending the Government early next Session to appoint a Select Committee to go into the whole case of the dockyards of the country, with a view of getting at the truth as to the relative positions the men occupy as compared with a similar class of workmen in private dockyards. I think that such a step would give unbounded satisfaction to the *employés* in Government dockyards, and that then there would be something substantial to go on in the consideration of the question.

(10.25.) **MR. H. KNATCHBULL-HUGESSEN** (Kent, Faversham): I must express my deep regret, which I think is shared by many Members, at the unfortunate course which the Government have felt bound to take with regard to the discussion of such an important subject as the Navy Estimates. It is little less than a public scandal that the question of the naval defences of the country should come up to be discussed when their adequate discussion is an absolute impossibility, and I hope that in a future Session the Government will remember the promise they have undoubtedly given that Supply shall be taken at as early a period as possible. I would suggest that in November or January, whenever it is that they meet, the Government should have the courage of their own opinions,

in which they will have the support of nine-tenths of the House and of 99 out of 100 sensible beings outside, and deal with the farce of private Members' nights, and take Tuesdays. I wish to express my general concurrence with the views put forward by the hon. Member for Woolwich, who has taken the only way of bringing the subject forward at all, and I entirely concur in the suggestion made by the hon. Member opposite. If the Government will assent to the suggestion, they would find it will expedite the course of business. There will be always grievances and irritation where a body of men have this to complain, that not only are their grievances unredressed, but unheard. If the complaints made be true, then a true remedy can be found for them; if untrue, at least the men cannot say that they have not had a hearing. The fault is not mine, or that of my constituents, that we are placed in this position. The first grievance to which I wish to call attention is that of the shipwrights and smiths in the dockyards, and herein I think I may count on the support of all Members who represent dockyard constituencies. The men complain that whereas they have the same duties to perform as men in private yards, their pay is less than the pay in private yards; and I may mention, in reference to the case of the shipwrights, that their work is more onerous than that of shipwrights in the employ of private firms, for while, in the latter, the shipwrights are concerned with the woodwork in the Admiralty yards, they undertake every species of work up to the largest ironclad. The average pay of shipwrights in the dockyards is 5s. per day, as against 6s. 6d. in the private yards, while smiths are paid 5s. in the dockyards and 8s. 6d. in the private yards. I think it is an anomaly which cannot be defended that workmen engaged on national work should be under less favourable conditions than men in private employ. Then, again, payment by tonnage and the check system is regarded by the dockyard men as nothing less than sweating, and the men ask that they shall be paid for the actual work performed. The smiths work is checked by officials who are not practically acquainted with the trade, but are mechanics, and, strange to say, the men have no means of knowing how

the estimate is arrived at. If the work exceeds the required estimate the man hears nothing of it, but if it falls below, details are not given, but he is called before the superintendent, lectured, threatened with dismissal, and fined such a sum as the case seems to deserve. The men at Sheerness complain bitterly of the injustice of the system, and, as I say, they ask that they shall be paid for actual work performed on a known and recognised method of computation. The smiths also complain of the stoppage of promotion, and that when a vacancy occurs in Class 3 a man in Class 2 is expected to perform the work of the man above him, and does not receive the proper rate of pay for it. That seems to me an unfair proceeding, and calculated to stop that spirit of healthy rivalry which ought to exist in Her Majesty's Dockyards. Another grievance has relation to pensions, and as this has already been treated upon I will only say a few words on this point. If after 20 years' service an "established" man attains the age of 60 years he receives 10s. a week, but if he happens to die at 59 every farthing taken from his wages to form the superannuation fund is lost to his widow and children. I do not believe that in private employment such a scandal would be permitted. I do hope we shall have an assurance that this grievance will be remedied. The case of the hired men—men not on the establishment—is different. They, after 20 years' service, receive a lump sum. The hired men ask that in the matter of pensions they should be placed on the same footing as the men in the establishment. I may mention that at Sheerness there is no feeling of jealousy on the part of the established men; they join with the hired men in this wish. Then there is a grievance on the part of the major trade apprentices. They are entered for seven years, but during that time they are not allowed to compete for other vacancies, as is the case with the minor trade apprentices entered for six years by Local Authorities. Further, they ask that they shall be allowed to serve the last five years of their term at sea as the best means of learning their profession. The leading joiners complain of their rate of pay, and ask that they should be allowed the same leave as other officers; the dockyard writers request that they may

*Mr. H. Knatchbull-Hugessen*

be assimilated with the second division clerks in the Civil Service; and the Royal Naval pensioners complain that they do not get the pensions to which they are entitled. I wish, on behalf of my constituents, to acknowledge their gratitude to the Board of Admiralty for the attention which has been given to dockyard matters. They consider that they have never, under any previous Board of Admiralty, had such good and careful treatment, and with respect to work they have nothing to complain of.

\*(10.37.) *MR. BURT (Morpeth):* It is impossible at this period of the Session, and in the present state of the House, that we can adequately discuss the many questions that arise upon this Vote, and I confine myself to one point. My hon. Friend the Member for West Nottingham (Mr. Broadhurst), who is unavoidably prevented from being present, has placed in my hand a letter he has received from the Secretary of the London and Southern Counties Labour League, to which my hon. Friend has desired me to call attention. The noble Lord in his speech has laid down what I consider a very good principle, that the Government should set an example of justice to employers of labour, and not be satisfied with paying merely the wages obtained elsewhere. But evidence submitted by the Association which sends my hon. Friend this letter seems to show that the rate paid by the Government is below rates paid by private firms, that where the ordinary labourer is in some instances paid by the Government 15s. a week, elsewhere he receives 17s. a week, and that similarly skilled labour is paid for on the scale known among the workmen as the cheat system. The facts set out in this letter, which I will submit to the noble Lord, that dockyard labourers are in some instances paid wages not exceeding, and even lower than wages paid to agricultural labourers, show that it is most desirable that the Admiralty should accede to the suggestion of my hon. Friend the Member for Wansbeck, and the hon. Gentleman opposite (Colonel Hughes), and direct an inquiry into the subject by Select Committee. Before this Committee dock labourers and others would give evidence, and I have no doubt that out of the information gathered a satisfactory settlement would be arrived at, and true economical

principles of administration need not be violated. The hon. Member opposite seems to have made out a strong case, and from the support he has received we have every reason to hope that his proposal for an inquiry will be accepted.

\*(10.42.) MR. C. J. DARLING (Deptford): I do not desire to prolong the discussion, but, as representing a constituency particularly interested, I would say a few words. The noble Lord has promised to inquire into the case of the men employed at Deptford Victualling Yard at 15s. a week. It is perfectly true that 37 men are employed there at this low rate of wages; 10 of them have been engaged for two years; the others for longer periods. The noble Lord says that, on coming to look into the case, it may happen that of these 27 men it may be found that there are some who are what are scripturally called unprofitable servants. The noble Lord made use of expressions which evoked interruptions from hon. Members opposite, and he said that the result of the inquiry might be that these men might find themselves none the better, but rather worse off, and that it might be found that whatever wages they were paid they did not earn them. Now, I do not think I should be doing my duty to my constituents if I did not say that these men are perfectly ready, as my hon. and gallant Friend (Colonel Hughes) has said, to submit their case to inquiry. I do not suppose that the House of Commons will desire that the men should be maintained upon humanitarian considerations. And as to the value of their services, I can only say that the statements of the men themselves differ entirely from the information which the officials of the yard have given to the First Lord of the Admiralty. But, however this may be, the men are quite ready to submit their case to inquiry, believing that it will be found that they are not adequately paid for the services they render, and I am glad that the noble Lord has promised that some investigation shall be made. The understanding I take to be that if these men are not worth their wages they must go; but, on the other hand, if they are worth more than they now receive, the wages shall be increased. I find a difficulty in assenting to some of the propositions put forward by hon.

Gentlemen opposite, but I agree that it is desirable that a Committee should be appointed to fully and systematically inquire into the grievances of the different classes of workmen that have been brought forward. It will settle definitely whether the workmen have just cause of complaint or not; and I cannot understand how any Public Department, if it holds a strong position, can suffer any disadvantage from such inquiry. For my own part, I cannot understand how the Department could continue for years to employ men below the market rate of wages, and, indeed, at a rate at which it is not possible for men to exist. I cannot see how it is possible. I do not find that I can get anything below the market rate, and I cannot understand how a Department can accomplish it. Much has been said about the scale of pay in Government employment being below the rate paid by private firms; but I am puzzled to understand why it is, if such is the case, that the Government can get men to serve them. If there are, as has been alleged, private firms wanting steady men, and offering continuous work or better terms than the Government offer, why do not workmen avail themselves of these opportunities, and cease to serve this parsimonious Government? When we are told of men giving up 30s. a week to get on the establishment at 28s. a week, then it appears to me there must somehow be an inducement to them to make the bargain. When a man ceases to be a hired man he is not bound to continue as an established man; and if he accepts lower immediate payment, it must be that he has compensating prospective advantages. I confess it is a puzzle to my mind, if it is a fact, that men perfectly competent to exercise their judgment, and give votes on the affairs of the country, continue to employ their industry in Government yards when they could get better terms elsewhere. Why should they do so?

COLONEL NOLAN (Galway, N.): Per manence of employment.

\*MR. C. J. DARLING: That may help towards an explanation, but there are many among my constituents and elsewhere who are not persuaded of the truth of the proposition that Government employment offers distinct advantages. I do hope that the Government will see their way to grant some inquiry into this



matter, if it be only for the purpose of allaying popular prejudice.

\*(11.1.) THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. H. SMITH, Strand, Westminster): I have listened with great interest to the Debate during the last hour and a half. [Laughter.] This subject is not a laughing matter. It might be a subject for derisive laughter from the hon. Member for Galway, but I can assure the hon. and gallant Gentleman that I have not considered it from that point of view. In common with all who are responsible for the government of the country, I regard it as a matter of the highest importance that the men who are employed in Her Majesty's dockyards and arsenals should be well paid and contented, and that they should be capable of rendering good work for the wages they receive. I am sure that the House of Commons would not desire to under-pay any of the servants of the Crown, and that, on the other hand, the House would feel that they were incurring very great responsibility if they paid more than was reasonable under all the circumstances of the case. The Government take the view that they ought themselves to conduct an inquiry into the grievances of these men. The course which the Government proposes to take is that the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the First Lord of the Treasury should associate themselves with the First Lord of the Admiralty, the Secretary of State for War, and the Secretaries of the two Departments, with the view of inquiring into the circumstances and conditions under which the labour of the dockyards is conducted at the present time, and of ascertaining for themselves, before the next Estimates are presented, whether, in their judgment, changes are necessary in those conditions. In January or February next the Government will be in a position to state their views to the House. Every opportunity will be given to the men themselves of making their claims known to the Government. One of the duties of the Secretary of the Admiralty is to appear from time to time in the dockyards, and to hear by himself and for himself every grievance and Petition, whether from classes or individuals. I trust that the men will avail themselves of this privilege on the next opportunity, and that they will feel that they have every right of appeal

*Mr. C. J. Darling*

to supreme authority while rendering loyal service to the State. I hope that the House will be satisfied with this explanation, remembering that the Government is bound to be careful in the administration of public funds.

(11.10.) MR. J. ROWLANDS (Finsbury, E.): I have listened with attention to the speech of the right hon. Gentleman, and I agree with him that this subject is no laughing matter. It is one I have taken deep interest in, and I may say that I have had a number of these men before me, and I have heard them state their case in their own language; whereby I have been enabled to judge as to what their grievances really are. I may point out that one disadvantage under which we labour in this Debate is due to the want of an authoritative standard of information as between hon. Members and those who represent the Government. It must be admitted that there has been considerable difference in the statement of the case as between these two parties, and it was mainly in view of this fact that my hon. Friend the Member for the Wansbeck Division of Northumberland suggested that the Government should make the investigation asked for. I feel sure that if the Government were to assent to the appointment of a Select Committee before which the men could make their statements, great advantage would result from the investigation; and if it is not now too late, I would appeal to the right hon. Gentleman to say whether he will not consent to such a settlement of the difficulty, especially when he remembers that it is asked for on both sides of the House. Our contention is that in cases of this kind bad wages produce bad workmanship, and that the same results are not obtainable as in those cases where a good rate of wages prevails. From my own inquiries made amongst the men in one of the Government Dockyards, I found that one of the grievances of which the men complained was this: that every two workmen had, as they put it, to carry a third man on their backs. I do not mean to say that this statement is absolutely correct, but, at any rate, it is one which is worthy of investigation. If there is not something in it, how can we account for the large expenditure which makes the Government work so much more costly than that which is done in private

dockyards? I hope the Government will grant this Select Committee. The right hon. Gentleman says we shall have further information in January, and that then we can take what action we think fit. That may be so; but why should we not have an opportunity of taking earlier action? I appeal to the right hon. Gentleman to consent to the request which has been so strongly urged from both sides of this House, that this matter shall be fully and fairly investigated by a Select Committee.

(11.20.) ADMIRAL MAYNE: The hon. Member for Faversham (Mr. H. Knatchbull-Hugessen) has so fully stated the case he has laid before the Committee that I will not go further into that matter, and I hope that the hon. Gentleman who has moved this Amendment will accept the offer which has been made by the First Lord of the Treasury. If the Government have such a good case as they allege, nothing but good can possibly accrue from such an investigation. If the proposal of the First Lord of the Treasury is accepted, I hope it will be carried out as speedily as possible, and that care will be taken that the workmen shall have every facility for putting their case before the Committee themselves, and not filtered through their superior officers. This is of great importance. It is not strictly correct to say that every Petition brought forward by the men is heard by the Admiralty; and that is a matter which requires to be looked into very closely. When the inquiry does take place, I trust the Committee will so shape their investigation that the evidence they may take will not be simply filtered through the officers of the dockyards. I am very glad to hear the statement that the vacancies in the Establishment are to be filled up, because I know that in the dockyard which I represent there are many vacancies which ought to be filled up, and I have not the slightest doubt that the announcement of the filling up of those vacancies will create a feeling of universal satisfaction in all the Government establishments.

(11.25.) COLONEL NOLAN: I regard the question we are now discussing as one of very serious importance. It affects, as we have been told by the hon. Member for Woolwich, something like 31,000 unskilled labourers, and the rise which has been asked for in whose

wages would amount to a very considerable sum per annum. Many of these poor labourers who are earning their 16s. or 17s. per week have to pay as much as 5s. or 6s. a week for rent, and an increase of 2s. upon their wages would make a considerable difference to them. From this point of view the question is one of great importance. If, however, the Government are to insist on the principle of going into the market and getting the cheapest labour obtainable, they would be setting a very bad example to other large employers, such, for instance, as the Railway Companies and the proprietors of the private dockyards. You must have a certain amount of labour; but if you restrict that labour to the lowest possible rate of remuneration, you may depend upon it that you will suffer in proportion. There is no doubt, however, that although the Government gets its labour somewhat below the ordinary market rate, the work it gives does possess the advantage of continuity. Still, by raising the rate of remuneration, they would, to a large extent, be protecting themselves against strikes, and I think they ought so to arrange their terms that strikes would be practically obviated. I trust that some such inquiry as has been asked for will be granted, and I sincerely hope that it will lead to a much better state of things in Her Majesty's Dockyards. These officials have their own objects, and laudable objects, to serve to show that they can manufacture cheaper than private firms, but we must keep this principle within control. As you cut down the price paid for labour, so you get gradually less skill in the labour you employ. We must remember there has been a singular immunity from strikes in Government Dockyards. The men behave very well. They do not combine and seek by striking and agitation to find a remedy for their grievances; they bring forward their grievances in the constitutional way in which all public servants should make their complaints known. The House of Commons, therefore, is bound to treat them fairly. A Departmental Inquiry is promised, but I think that a Committee of the House is a preferable mode of resolving the question whether the wages paid in the dockyards are according to the market rates or not. I should recommend the hon. and gallant Member

for Woolwich to go to a Division, and I think if he gets, as he ought to get, the support of Conservative Members representing dockyard constituencies, there is little doubt that we shall get a Committee next year, while I am afraid a Departmental Inquiry by permanent officials will burk the whole matter.

\*(11.32.) COLONEL HUGHES: I have a great responsibility thrown upon me. Certainly in the first instance I asked for a Departmental Inquiry, and this was refused. But now there is an offer that the whole matter shall be looked into by four of the ablest statesmen we have, and, in the interest of the workmen, I do not think I can do better than to accept that offer. If a Committee were promised, nothing could be done this Session. I hope the result of the inquiry will be a Report in such a shape that we shall have not only the conclusions, but know something of the way in which these conclusions are arrived at. If the conclusions should not be satisfactory, our demand for a Committee will be strengthened inasmuch, as we can say we have given the Government the opportunity of putting things straight, and they have failed. On behalf of the men I represent, I thank Members on both sides for the sympathy displayed, and I think it is my duty, in the interests of the men, to accept the offer made. I hope I may consider that I have a full assurance that the statements of the men shall be absolutely represented to those gentlemen who are to consider them, because there have been Petitions on this subject, duly presented through the proper official channels, which have never reached the heads of the Department at all. I rely on the undertaking given, and think I shall be acting wisely in accepting the proposal. It would have been more pleasant had the offer been made earlier, and then it might have saved a long discussion. Meantime, I, of course, understand that the grievances clearly proved will not have to wait for remedy until January next. If it is apparent that a man is underpaid at 15s. a week, he will be given an increase in his wage. On this understanding, and relying on the disposition evinced by the Government, I do not propose to put the Committee to the trouble of a Division.

\*(11.37.) MR. HOWELL: I am decidedly averse to a Departmental

*Colonel Nolan*

Inquiry. We know that the men who come forward and give evidence in these inquiries are marked, and we know that the inquiry will be more or less in the hands of the officials under whom the men work. I am astonished at the Members for the dockyard constituencies of Woolwich and Deptford so readily accepting the offer made by the Government. I am in favour of a Select Committee, in order that the inquiry may be a real one into the condition of dockyard labourers. If I wanted a reason I could find it in the speech of the noble Lord. He has admitted that incompetent labourers are kept on at the dockyards merely as a matter of charity.

\*LORD G. HAMILTON: No, I alluded to one particular establishment. I said nothing about dockyards, except that the work there was exceedingly well done.

MR. HOWELL: I have a distinct recollection of what the noble Lord said, and I know that he subsequently tried to minimise the effect of his speech by restricting it to a particular establishment. The Admiralty should employ skilled labour, and pay the normal price that labour fetches in the market, but it is a complaint among workmen that there is a tendency to take on a large number of unskilled workmen, and pay them lower wages, in place of skilled workmen. The hon. Member for Faversham has mentioned the complaint in Sheerness Dockyard, that unskilled men are set to supervise skilled labour. Let Government Departments act on the principle private employers know to be sound, that it is the cheapest in the long run to pay men for skilled labour, and not seek to get the work done by unskilled workmen. We want an inquiry by a Select Committee which can protect the men who come to give evidence, and I shall be very much surprised if the constituents of the hon. Member for Woolwich are satisfied with the way in which this question is treated. As to the men whose labour is said not to be worth 15s. a week, I would say it is no part of the duty of the First Lord to act as a relieving officer for paupers, whether in Deptford, Woolwich, or elsewhere; it is his duty to get the best skilled labour, and to pay the proper wage obtaining in the district.

THE CHAIRMAN: Is it your pleasure the Motion be withdrawn? [*Cries of "No!"*]

(11.47.) The Committee divided:—  
Ayes 64; Noes 124.—(Div. List, No. 243.)

Original Question put, and agreed to.

3. £1,670,000, Shipbuilding, Repairs, Maintenance, &c.—Material.

(11.53.) MR. SHAW LEFEVRE: There are some questions I have to raise in relation to this Vote, but I propose to defer these to the Report stage, which I trust will be taken at a reasonable hour.

Vote agreed to,

4. Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £1,300,700, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Expense of Contract Work for Shipbuilding, Repairs, and Maintenance, including the cost of Establishments of Dockyards and Naval Yards at Home and Abroad, which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1891."

(11.55.) DR. TANNER: This is the second million proposed to be voted in a couple of minutes. I think some explanation is due from the responsible Minister, some statement in regard to the expenditure, some comparison with expenditure last year, some statement of Departmental policy.

\*(11.55.) LORD G. HAMILTON: I shall be very happy to afford explanation on any specific point, but, as the hon. Member will see, this is merely a section of the Vote which the Committee have been discussing for the last four or five hours. It is simply divided into sections for the convenience of the House, and this is the section dealing with contract work by private firms.

(11.56.) DR. TANNER: On this point of contracts I do not see why Ireland should be boycotted, as it is. We have an admirable harbour at Cork, and splendid stores and appliances. From these millions so rapidly voted, I think we may fairly urge that a proportion should be expended on the country from which so much Revenue is raised for Imperial purposes. I should like to have an assurance in that direction.

\*(11.57.) SIR E. J. REED (Cardiff): As the designs for ships being built under contract do not differ from those being executed in the dockyards, no question arises on that account. It is for this reason that no remarks have been made upon this section of the Vote from this (the Front Opposition) Bench.

(11.58.) MR. A. O'CONNOR: The point raised by my hon. Friend (Dr. Tanner)

is a perfectly reasonable one. Out of this large Naval expenditure, to which Ireland contributes a considerable share, Ireland gets but a few niggardly crumbs in connection with Cork and Haulbowline. Why does not some of this money find its way to the encouragement of industry in Ireland, where there are firms capable of undertaking contracts? It is important that this clause should be looked into.

\*(12.0.) LORD G. HAMILTON: We did invite Irish firms to tender, but the largest of them in Belfast declined to do so. I agree that we should spread the ship building over as wide an area as possible, and that as there are two firms in Ireland who do their work in such a way as to bear favourable comparison with that of firms in Great Britain, they should have a share of the contracts. The claims of Ireland are not lost sight of, and this year we have given larger contracts to her than in previous years. I admit that Ireland should have a fair share of the contracts, and that the Admiralty always invite firms of standing and respectability to compete.

(12.2.) DR. TANNER: I find from the Estimate that this year you have a substantial increase of £40,000. Now, I am always loth to rise and speak on matters with which I am not conversant; but to justify my action just now I must point out that you have this substantial increase. Will the noble Lord explain the increase, and say whether or not it is to be permanent?

THE SECRETARY TO THE ADMIRALTY (MR. FORWOOD, Lancashire, Ormskirk): There is no increase; but a decrease of £264,000.

DR. TANNER: I am always glad to be corrected when I am in error. I have had some difficulty in understanding the Estimates, and if I have made a mistake it is in consequence of the way in which the Estimates are framed.

(12.4.) DR. CLARK (Caithness): It is not a wise thing to have all your eggs in one basket, and it seems to me it would be wise to have arsenals and secondary dockyard supplies at Cork and on the Clyde. You should have these places on every coast, so that in the event of war breaking out you could not be cut off from your supplies by the blockading of one or two naval ports.

(12.6.) MR. J. O'CONNOR (Tipperary, S.): The noble Lord has not replied as to contracts in Ireland and the places where they have been given out. As this matter was originally mentioned in the House by myself a few years ago, I may be allowed to express a hope that the contracts for supplies have been continuous. If that is so, I have no doubt that the manner in which the Navy has been supplied has been satisfying to those who are entrusted with the inspection of the commodities. What I want to know with regard to the firm to which allusion has been made—and which did, at one time, perform a satisfactory piece of work—is whether the Admiralty have seen their way to continue the class of work which was entrusted to that firm. If I remember rightly, the contract spoken of as having been given to this firm consisted of a water tank. I have no doubt the water tank was made perfectly, and to the satisfaction of those who had to inspect it; but new Estimates have been before the House two or three times since that contract was given to this firm. If the contract was merely a trial on the part of the Admiralty to see how an Irish firm could turn out a vessel of this kind, and if it has turned out satisfactorily, I want to know why no work has been given to that firm from that day to this. I think that when a water tank was given to the South of Ireland to construct, and two vessels of the *Swallow* pattern were given to a firm in the North of Ireland to build, and the work has been done so as to satisfy the Department, fresh contracts ought to be given. I want to know if further boats have been given to the North of Ireland to build, and, if not, why not? Have boats been built elsewhere, and, if so, has the work been done better than in the North of Ireland? I do not speak in a strain of jealousy. I do not care where the work is given so long as it is given to communities from whom taxation and supplies are drawn, but I do submit that, if contracts were properly completed and delivered by firms in the North and South of Ireland some years ago, it is strange that there has been no work of the kind done there since. Contracts have been given in the North and South of England, and also in Scotland, but Ireland has been left out in the cold. We thought that the water tank which

was given to the South of Ireland to construct was only a preface or beginning to some kindlier treatment of that part of the country, which contributes largely to the Imperial taxation; but we have heard nothing about it from that time to this. I now challenge the Government to say whether these contracts have been fulfilled or not in a satisfactory manner.

(12.15.) MR. A. O'CONNOR: I have looked through the Estimates very carefully, and I fail to find that, beyond a ridiculously small sum, there has been anything spent on Ireland at all. The noble Lord himself must be under a misapprehension. He would not, I am sure, lead the Committee to suppose that Ireland gets anything like her proportion of this £14,000,000 under these Votes. He would have us believe that something like a proportionate amount of the Revenue from the country is spent in Ireland, but such is not the case. At the victualling yard in Ireland you have only seven labourers employed—occasionally only five—whereas in the yards of this country you have thousands and tens of thousands of men constantly employed. The Committee is misled on this matter, and I would ask the First Lord of the Admiralty to explain how the matter stands.

(12.17.) MR. J. O'CONNOR: It is two years ago since we voted a sum of money for the purpose of putting machinery in the machine room at Haulbowline Dockyard. Is that machinery in perfect order? Has it been in use since it was put up, or has it been allowed to get rusty? Is there anyone employed there to keep it oiled and fit to be used in the event of our being at war?

(12.18.) MR. MAC NEILL (Donegal, S.): I should like to ask the hon. Member opposite (Mr. Forwood) what has become of the contracts he promised to the people of Govan on the eve of an election there? He promised the people mountains of gold—or contracts which would mean mountains of gold to the electors. Will the hon. Gentleman give a specific account of this matter to the Committee?

MR. FORWOOD: I have not had the pleasure of going to Govan, and I certainly never made a speech there.

(12.19.) MR. MAC NEILL: I beg the hon. Member's pardon. I was under a mistake. I meant the Civil Lord.

MR. FORWOOD: In answer to the observations made by hon. Gentlemen

opposite with reference to contracts given to Ireland, I should like to point out that contracts for something like £2,000,000 were offered to firms in Ireland, but those firms were too full of work even to take Government contracts.

Mr. A. O'CONNOR: How much Admiralty work is received in Ireland?

Mr. FORWOOD: It would probably amount to £16,000 or £17,000.

Mr. A. O'CONNOR: Out of £16,000,000. Will the noble Lord undertake that next Session this Vote shall be taken at such a time as to admit of reasonable discussion?

\*(12.21.) LORD G. HAMILTON: I cannot give an undertaking, as the hon. Gentleman is aware, but the usual practice will, I suppose, be followed. Vote 1 is taken first, and then the subsequent classes of the Estimates. The hon. Gentleman must recollect that this Vote really carries out the policy of the Naval Defence Act of last year, and that was discussed at considerable length.

Mr. A. O'CONNOR: There is a good deal outside the Naval Defence Act in these Estimates.

Question put, and agreed to.

5. £1,463,500, for Naval Armaments.

(12.22.) Mr. DUFF: This is one of those important Votes which I think it extremely inconvenient to have to discuss at nearly half-past 12.

\*LORD G. HAMILTON: The First Lord of the Treasury stated that he would take Report of Supply on Monday or Tuesday. I hope the hon. Gentleman will remember that he, among others, had an opportunity of discussing the Admiralty Vote.

(12.23.) Mr. DUFF: I have had no opportunity of discussing it. I know what discussing Votes on Report means. If a statement is contradicted from the Treasury Bench we have no opportunity of reply. It will not be convenient to me to be here on Tuesday. My first complaint with regard to this Vote is this. On the 20th February I moved for a Return, showing the number of guns actually delivered. I have since frequently asked for a Return, but have never succeeded in getting it. That is not respectful treatment of the House of Commons. The non-production of the Return lays the Government under the suspicion that the guns are not being produced with that

rapidity which we are frequently told about. Last year the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary for War said he hoped to receive 23 guns in the first quarter, 32 in the second quarter, and 26 in the third quarter. I should like to know how much of that programme has been fulfilled. The First Lord of the Admiralty, in his latest statement, takes credit for the fact that the production of guns has been fairly satisfactory. I find that only 27 guns of above nine inches diameter were actually produced last year, or five more than in the previous year. It is said we want 112 guns, and at this rate it will take a very long time to carry out the Government programme. To-night, the First Lord said the Admiralty were making their own contracts for guns. I cannot reconcile that with the noble Lord's Memorandum, in which he says the Admiralty are not responsible for the weapons. Allusion has been made by the hon. Member for Preston (Mr. Hanbury) to the contract for 110-ton guns. The matter was commented upon in the Report of the Auditor-General. The careless manner in which these contracts are made is shown by the fact that one of the conditions imposed is, that if the article is not satisfactory, another is to be furnished within 10 days. A 110-ton gun within 10 days! The Controller General rather goes out of his way to point out the extraordinary delay that takes place in delivering guns. He says that 24 guns of over nine inches, ordered as far back as 1885, have not been delivered, although they were promised in 1888. The guns of the *Sanspareil* were ordered on the 10th of May, 1886, and delivery was promised in April, 1888. The First Lord says in his statement that they will be delivered some time in the year 1890 or 1891. I should like to know whether these guns are yet on board the *Sanspareil*. I am quite willing to admit that the present Government have made some efforts to make up the leeway with regard to guns, but I do not think we shall ever obtain satisfactory results as long as the present system is continued. The right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury has expressed an opinion in favour of making the Navy alone responsible for its munitions of war. Until you adopt that principle I am satisfied you will have continuous repetitions of the scandalous

delays that occur in the delivery of guns. You will also have constant confusion in time of peace, and, I believe, disaster in time of war. Some time ago I submitted a Resolution on the subject. It was defeated, but ever since then the Department appears to have been moving in the direction I indicated. I am satisfied that the sooner they carry out my proposal entirely the better it will be for the Service and the better for the country.

\*(11.36.) THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Mr. E. STANHOPE, Lincolnshire, Horncastle): The hon. Member did me the honour to quote a speech I made last year, but he did not do me the honour to refer to the speech I made this year on the same subject. In the last-named speech I took up the very sentence he has quoted, and gave the House the fullest information on the subject.

MR. DUFF: What was the date?

\*MR. E. STANHOPE: It was on the introduction of the Army Estimates.

MR. DUFF: That was a long time ago. I want to know what has happened since.

\*MR. E. STANHOPE: Will the hon. Member allow me to speak? In the month of March this year I told the House exactly how far the anticipations regarding these guns had been verified. I am not going to delay the Committee by repeating the observations I made in March, but if the hon. Member will refer to my speech he will find that what I say is absolutely accurate. I will tell the Committee what is the case now. We have entirely overtaken the block which existed some time ago. We were in considerable arrears, which arose very largely from the fact that guns were required at the same time, not only for a large number of new ships but for putting new guns into fortifications. It was utterly impossible, under the circumstances, to obtain the requisite number of guns without considerable delay. I am happy to say that now no ship is waiting for guns which have not been completed. The last two 110-ton guns are passing through Woolwich, and will shortly be put on board. There are 70 guns ready to be shipped.

MR. DUFF: Of what size?

\*MR. E. STANHOPE: It is quite impossible to go into all the details. We are now able to say we are in a satis-

*Mr. Duff*

factory condition. The hon. Member asked a question with regard to the form of the contract for 110-ton guns. I have already explained the cause of the error referred to. It occurred before I had anything to do with the Department. The reason was that up to that time we had never had any dealings with contractors. Armstrong was then first beginning to make guns for the Army and Navy, and was practically treated as a branch of the Woolwich establishment. Now we enter into formal and regular contracts, in which all the necessary conditions are inserted.

MR. DUFF: The right hon. Gentleman has given me no answer as to why the Return I moved for in February has not been presented.

\*MR. E. STANHOPE: I did not know it had not been delivered. I am sorry for the delay, and will take care that it is delivered at once.

(12.41.) COLONEL NOLAN: I must say I think the way several items are lumped together in these Estimates is confusing and leads to great inconvenience. I think the different amounts should be presented separately; for example, that the guns turned out of Woolwich should be separated from those turned out by private contractors. There is another point to which I wish to draw attention. Three or four years ago I put a question to the Admiralty on the subject of submarine vessels, and was informed that it was under consideration. I would now ask whether the Admiralty is doing anything in the matter. These boats are, of course, not very reliable in the present stage of their development, but should really efficient ones be constructed it would be easy to destroy a whole fleet in the course of five or six hours. I hold, therefore, that great responsibility rests with the Admiralty in the matter. Great advances have been made of recent years in relation to ships of this description, and I should like to know whether the First Lord of the Admiralty has a definite statement to make, and whether the Department is sufficiently alive to the vast importance of the subject.

\*(12.45.) CAPTAIN VERNEY: The statement made by the Secretary of State for War is exceedingly interesting and very satisfactory. He tells us that a year ago we were much in arrear in the matter of guns, but that now we have

overtaken the demand. Well, I would ask him to supplement that information by telling us who was responsible for the delay of last year, and to whom the credit of the improved supply this year is due. That seems to me a sensible question to ask, as the facts are such as everyone ought to know. The Report of the Royal Commission states that the only real responsibility rests on the Commander-in-Chief, and that he alone is responsible to the Secretary of State even for such a matter as the defective design of a heavy gun. I want to know if that is the case to-day? Has there been any change since this Report was made, and is it the fact that, under the present system, the Commander-in-Chief of the Army is responsible for the heavy guns of the Navy, or whether the responsibility has been shifted to any other quarter?

\*(12.47.) LORD G. HAMILTON: With regard to what has fallen from the hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for Galway (Colonel Nolan) as to items being lumped together, I must point out that at the commencement of the year it is not possible to distinguish exactly what class of guns will have to be made. The hon. and gallant Gentleman thinks we should draw a distinction between Woolwich and private contractors, and that seems to me a very reasonable suggestion. Next year I will try and give the statement as the hon. Member proposes. As to wire guns, to which reference has been made, no doubt they are very reliable and have a longer range, but they are extremely expensive. The hon. and gallant Gentleman will be glad to learn that our modern ships are so constructed that wire guns can be used to replace ordinary guns at any time. The hon. and gallant Gentleman asked me if we had received any Reports as to submarine vessels. I am informed that Reports as to the performances of submarine vessels abroad are carefully considered at the Admiralty. The experiments hitherto made in this country have not been very satisfactory. Not long ago one of these boats went to the bottom of the dock, where she was being tried, and stuck in the mud. I think for many years to come, at all events, submarine vessels will not be of general use, but they are weapons of offence on which the Admiralty ought to keep its eye, and we will

give it our attention and consider all Reports on the subject from our representatives abroad.

(12.59.) MR. DUFF: As to subsection (d,) relating to small arms, I would like to ask the right hon. Gentleman if any magazine rifles have yet been ordered for the Navy. The other day I saw that we sent out some boats and arms for the Shiré River, and it struck me at the time that magazine rifles would have been extremely useful in connection with such an expedition. In fact, it seems to me that magazine rifles would be more useful on such occasions than any other form of rifle. Each boat will have eight or nine men on board, and, if one of those crews should be attacked by large bodies of natives it would be much easier to beat them off with quick firing guns. We can see plenty of these magazine rifles in use in Pall Mall, but it seems to me that it would be much more sensible to send them out to such places as the Shiré River. I should like to know how the matter stands.

\*(12.53.) LORD G. HAMILTON: No magazine rifles have been supplied to the Navy, or for the particular service to which the hon. Member has referred. The supply of these rifles to the Navy is clearly a secondary matter, as compared with the demands of the Army, and, in addition, the Martini, with its larger calibre, was considered to be more useful for naval service.

DR. TANNER: I would like to draw attention to the setting up of old hulks for use as powder magazines. Would it not be better when powder magazines are wanted to build new ships for the purpose than to patch up old hulks? To my mind, there is a vast amount of money wasted upon these old vessels, and it does not seem to me to be at all a business-like way of spending money. We have been told that all the guns required by the Admiralty are now in hand, and that a considerable amount of leeway has been made up. If any Member of the Committee will cast his eye over the Accounts for this year and the preceding year he will find that the items balance each other; that is to say, we are asked for the same amount of money this year as we were asked for last year. This is rather curious, seeing how difficult it is to form an estimate of the exact



amount to be expended, and how difficult it is to adhere to an estimate that has been framed. It appears to me, studying the way in which public money has been spent, or mis-spent, that even when the Government has to do its business in a proper business-like way, it has to make up leeway. Under these circumstances, it is curious how the Accounts for each year balance each other. Members go through these Estimates and try to curb undue expenditure, and yet are received with signs of impatience by hon. Gentlemen opposite. I maintain that we are legitimately entitled to examine into the way in which these large sums are spent. It is very difficult for many of us to deal with these financial matters, just as it is difficult for others to deal with medical matters—though they come easy enough to me. I would like to ask the First Lord of the Admiralty for information as to this £20,000, spent on patching up old hulks.

\*(12.58.) LORD G. HAMILTON: Owing to the increase of the Navy, a large increase has taken place in the armament necessary for it, and as there is not sufficient room for the additional powder, we have found that the best way is to convert old hulks into powder magazines, and moor them out in the tideway at Portsmouth and Devonport. The cost of this system is only one-eighth of what it would be if we built new magazines.

Vote agreed to.

#### ARMY ESTIMATES.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £294,800, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Charge for the Pay of Medical Establishments, and the Cost of Medicines, which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1891."

(1.0.) DR. FARQUHARSON (Aberdeenshire, W.): I appeal to the Government not to take this Vote to-night. It is rather late and we are to sit again at noon. Matters arise on the Vote in which many people are interested, but obviously no Press report of our proceedings can be given at this late hour. I hope the right hon. Gentleman will agree to Report Progress.

\*(1.1.) MR. E. STANHOPE: I hope that there will be no necessity for a long discussion. I would suggest that the

*Dr. Tanner*

Vote should be taken now, and further discussion could take place on the Report. ["No!"] I do not wish to press it. Possibly we might go on with the next Vote.

DR. FARQUHARSON: Will the Vote be taken to-morrow?

\*MR. E. STANHOPE: Well, that I cannot say.

\*MR. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.): Seeing that we are to be here again at 12 o'clock, is it not time we were going home?

\*MR. E. STANHOPE: I think we might sit for a little time and dispose of one or two Votes.

\*(1.2.) SIR W. BARTTELOT (Sussex, N.W.): There was an understanding with the leader of the House that we should not go on after 1 o'clock. We have been here a long time, and have to be here again this day early. The Army Votes are important, and except on the statement of my right hon Friend we have never had the opportunity of discussing them.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EX-CHEQUER (Mr. GOSCHEN, St. George's, Hanover Square): If there is a desire to postpone the Vote now, we do not wish to press it. But I would suggest we might take non-contentious Votes upon which discussion will not arise, and proceed with this Vote to-morrow (Saturday).

\*MR. E. STANHOPE: I think the Committee might take the Votes 8, 12, and 13, for Military Education, Pensions and Non-Effective Charges, and Superannuation and Allowances. There are no notices of Amendments to these.

(1.3.) DR. TANNER: Really, I do not think the Government have any claim upon us that we should depart from the understanding to break off at 1 o'clock.

MR. LABOUCHERE (Northampton): One o'clock, I understand, was only a general indication, and it is not unreasonable to take the non-contentious Votes. Perhaps the Chancellor of the Exchequer can tell us what is to be taken after the Army Votes to-morrow; is the Foreign Office Vote to be taken?

\*MR. GOSCHEN: The Army Estimates will be taken first, the Foreign Office Vote next, and then Class II.

Motion, by leave, withdrawn.

6. Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £112,500, be

granted for Establishments for Military Education."

(1.4.) COLONEL NOLAN: Perhaps the right hon. Gentleman can give us some explanation with reference to the Royal Military Academy. I believe the Government have raised the amount to be paid by Cadets from £125 to £150. That is a very considerable sum, and, as I think, too much. I know there are a number of Cadets, sons of General Officers and others, who get their education at a cheaper rate, and I do not complain of that. But I do not think that in consequence of this civilian fathers should have to pay an extravagant rate. I think the State should make up the difference.

\*(1.5.) MR. E. STANHOPE: The Committee, after careful inquiry into the subject, made various recommendations, all of which we could not see our way to adopt, but it was deemed desirable to raise the fees. The whole matter is, however, still under consideration.

(1.5.) COLONEL NOLAN: I am glad the Government are going to re-consider the matter. I would suggest that in dealing with the Royal Military Academy and the institution at Sandhurst, comparison should be made with similar institutions on the Continent and at West Point. Compared with these, it will be found the cost of military education in England is extravagantly high.

Vote agreed to.

7. Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £1,366,700, be granted for Pensions and other Non-Effective Charges for Warrant Officers, Non-Commissioned Officers, Men, and others."

(1.10.) COLONEL NOLAN: I think we are creating an impression among the people that we are getting rid of the system of pensions for old soldiers, and the feeling is growing that men do not get sufficient return for service, and the risk of being shot. I refer to privates, for it is not one man in four who is fit to be a sergeant or cares to be, and it is fortunate this is so, else the competition would be troublesome. Under the present system there is a complaint that old soldiers do not get their pensions when they are most needed. This matter was brought before Parliament some years ago in a Bill introduced, I

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think, by the noble Lord the Member for Rossendale, which was intended to meet those hard cases which constantly arise. That Bill, however, was not proceeded with, and I would suggest to the Secretary for War that he should turn his attention to this subject. Certainly I think our constituents are apt to make comments on our pension system, as it applies to officers and to men, and I fear the feeling that has arisen cannot but have a deteriorating effect upon the character of recruits for the Army.

\*(1.13.) THE FINANCIAL SECRETARY TO THE WAR OFFICE (MR. BRODRICK, Surrey, Guildford): It is different to deal with the number of men who under the short service system go away without pensions and who claim that their health has been broken down in the Service. An immense number of cases come before us; Members of Parliament and others are constantly sending them; but I am bound to say that in the great majority of cases inquiry shows that the break-down has been due to causes within the control of the men themselves or in civil life. As regards the system of deferred pensions, I quite agree that it is desirable that the Secretary for War should have some latitude in awarding pensions, but that opinion is not shared by the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Treasury, who think that no Secretary of State is safe unless closely bound by warrant. I daresay there is much to be said for that view, but, at the same time, I can tell the hon. and gallant Member that the powers of the Chelsea Commissioners have been considerably increased at different times, and I do not think that the Board could discharge their duty more conscientiously than they do.

(1.16.) MR. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne): I desire to bring to the notice of the Department two cases which illustrate what has fallen from my hon. and gallant Friend. They are cases which arise in my own constituency, and they have been brought under the notice of the present Government.

\*MR. E. STANHOPE: If the hon. Gentleman will furnish me with the particulars, I will undertake they shall be inquired into, and I will acquaint him with the result.

MR. CONYBEARE: I am obliged to the right hon. Gentleman, but still I think it is my duty to mention the cases

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across the floor of the House, and I will hand the particulars to him afterwards. The complaints are that the men do not get the deferred pensions of 3d. a day to which they are entitled at 60 years of age, and a further increase at the age of 65. Application was made to the Commissioners at Chelsea, but the reply was that they were not entitled under the regulations to the pension claimed. I will not dwell upon this further than to say that such cases of alleged injustice deserve more careful investigation than they appear to have received from the curt letter of the Commissioners. Men will be deterred from entering the Army if they have the fear that in their old age, and after an honourable record, faith may not be kept with them, and they may be deprived of the pension to which they consider they have a just claim. I accept the suggestion of the right hon. Gentleman, and will forward him the particulars which he has undertaken to look into.

\*MR. E. STANHOPE: Certainly.

(1.20.) COLONEL NOLAN: I cannot say that I altogether endorse the action of the Chelsea Commissioners. I am sure that the question is of growing importance. I wish to ask the Financial Secretary is it possible to make some distinction in these charges which are now lumped together? Could we not have the amount for privates kept separate?

\*(1.21.) MR. BRODRICK: I will see whether it is possible to separate them, but I do not think it will be very easy.

Vote agreed to.

8. £162,600, for Superannuation and other Allowances and Gratuities.

Resolutions to be reported to-morrow.

Committee to sit again to-morrow.

BILLS OF SALE BILL [LORDS].  
(No. 384.)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed.  
"That the Bill be now read a second time."

MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.):  
Does this Bill apply to Ireland?  
*Mr. Conybeare*

\*THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir R. WEBSTER, Isle of Wight): Yes.

DR. CLARK: What is the Bill about?

\*SIR R. WEBSTER: The Bill is simply to prevent documents relating to goods on their way to the warehouse being subject to the Bills of Sale Act, in the same way that Bills of Lading and Dock Warrants do not require to be registered. It has been introduced at the request of a number of leading merchants.

Question put, and agreed to.

Bill read the second time, and committed for to-morrow.

#### SUPPLY—REPORT.

Resolutions [7th August] reported, and agreed to. [See pages 114 to 169.]

#### LICENSING (SCOTLAND) ACTS AMENDMENT BILL.—(No. 376.)

Order for Second Reading read, and discharged.

Bill withdrawn.

#### MOTION.

#### LICENSING (IRELAND) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. T. M. Healy, Bill to restrict the granting of Licences for the Sale of Intoxicating Liquors in Ireland, ordered to be brought in by Mr. T. M. Healy, Mr. Johnston, Mr. Peter McDonald, and Mr. John O'Connor.  
Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 415.]

#### EAST INDIA (REVENUE ACCOUNTS).

Ordered, That the several Accounts and Papers which have been presented to the House in this Session of Parliament, relating to the Revenues of India, be referred to the consideration of a Committee of the whole House.

Resolved, That this House will, on Tuesday next, resolve itself into the said Committee.

It being after One of the clock, Mr. Speaker adjourned the House without Question put.

House adjourned at twenty minutes before Two o'clock.

## HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Saturday, 9th August, 1890.

The House met at Twelve of the clock.

## PRIVATE BUSINESS.

## DUBLIN CORPORATION BILL.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That, in the case of the Dublin Corporation Bill, returned by the House of Lords with Amendments, the Standing Orders be suspended, and that the Lords Amendments be now considered."—(Mr. Arthur Balfour.)

MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.): I object to the Motion being taken now. I believe there was an understanding that it would be taken on Monday.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN, Dublin University): My only object is to provide that the Standing Order shall be suspended on Monday.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.): I strongly object to the Motion being proceeded with to-day.

\*MR. SPEAKER: If the Motion is objected to it cannot be taken to-day.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL: I was assured last night that no attempt would be made to proceed with the Motion to-day, and I was much surprised to hear the Motion which was made by the right hon. Gentleman. I was told distinctly last night that it was not to be taken.

MR. MADDEN: The apprehensions of the hon. Member are unfounded. I have had no opportunity of explaining why the Motion appears on the Paper to-day. It was placed on the Paper simply to enable my right hon. Friend the Chief Secretary to move that the Bill should be taken into consideration on Monday. There never was the slightest intention of taking the Bill to-day.

MR. SEXTON (Belfast, W.): I am afraid that the suspicions of the hon. Member for South Tyrone (Mr. T. W. Russell) have run away with him.

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There is no intention of taking anybody by surprise. The only object in putting the Motion on the Paper was to secure that it should be taken on Monday. I wish to ask you, Sir, whether there is any danger whatever in the Motion, if fixed for Monday, being passed over on that day, and whether it would be an unchangeable order?

\*MR. SPEAKER: According to the Standing Order the Motion cannot, unless by arrangement, be postponed beyond Monday.

MR. SEXTON: Then I apprehend that, unless by arrangement, it cannot be further postponed?

\*MR. SPEAKER: That is so.

Objection being taken further proceeding stood adjourned till Monday next.

## QUESTIONS.

## THE CASE OF BENJAMIN CRUMPTON.

MR. J. KELLY (Camberwell, N.) for Mr. GODSON (Kidderminster): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department, whether he has considered the case of Benjamin Crumpton, formerly a prisoner for debt in Worcester Prison, who met with a serious accident there, owing to the want of repair of a portion of the building; whether he is aware that, though the accident happened some time ago, he is still incapacitated from following any employment, and has been put to great expense and has been caused great pain by the same; and, whether he would award him some compensation?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. MATTHEWS, Birmingham, E.): I have considered this case and I find that Benjamin Crumpton, a prisoner for debt in Worcester Gaol, sustained certain injuries by falling downstairs owing to the giving way of a handrail against which he was leaning. No charge has been made against the Officers of the Gaol in relation to the accident, and I am now making inquiry in order to ascertain whether any blame is attachable to the Prison Officials in connection with this incident.

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## ORDERS OF THE DAY.

## SUPPLY—ARMY ESTIMATES.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

1. Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £294,800, be granted to her Majesty, to defray the charge for the pay of medical establishments, and the cost of medicines, which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1891."

\*(12.20.) DR. FARQUHARSON (Aberdeenshire, W.): I do not think that any apology is needed from me in rising for the purpose of discussing this Vote. The army doctors, although very much scattered, and not allowed to combine for the purpose of bringing forward their grievances, are nevertheless able to bring strong aid to bear upon their professional views and feelings. We know that the British Medical Association supplies an important machinery for concentrating opinion upon medical questions, and enables the army surgeons to secure that attention to their opinions which they are not able to obtain formally and officially. Indeed, as a last resource, the Medical Profession and the Medical Schools really have the whip-hand of the situation. Their complaints have, at all events, been regarded by the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War as worthy of inquiry, and he very wisely determined upon appointing a Departmental Committee, which, as is well known to hon. Members, reported favourably upon the demands of the Army Medical Department. An idea got abroad that the Combatant Officers were unfavourable to the claims of the Medical Officers, but having read the evidence before the Departmental Committee, I am bound to say that all the great Departmental Chiefs who gave evidence showed no animus at all. No doubt they expressed views which were occasionally hostile, but they were views which they had a right to hold, and were by no means hostile to the sister Department. I think it is a most unfortunate thing that the recommendations of the Committee were not accepted, and I do so on two grounds—first, on account of the expense; and, secondly, in deference to

the opinion of the medical advisers of the right hon. Gentleman. Under the present arrangement the period of foreign service is much longer than it used to be; formerly it was only five years, now it is six, and I need scarcely say that an additional year of foreign service means a good deal in the life of a man; it leads to premature decay, and takes a good deal out of him. The War Office fill up the appointments at home by half-pay men, although the officers who have served their time abroad naturally look to home service as a relief from the monotony of foreign service. It is a source of great disappointment to them to find, when they come home, that one half of the appointments have been filled up by other men. There is one thing in which the right hon. Gentleman has done well. He has abolished the examination from Surgeon-Major to Brigade Surgeon-Major. Formerly a certain number of men were passed over and superseded because they failed to pass the examination. If they wanted promotion in another way they found that 30, 40, or 50 officers had been passed over their heads, and that it was hopeless for them to expect promotion to the higher grades. I would suggest that it would only be an act of justice to reinstate these men in the position they would have occupied if they had passed. There is another point I should like to mention. I think it is only natural to provide that Medical Officers should, once in seven years, have three months for study. Last night the First Lord of the Admiralty, in reply to a question from the hon. Member for Mid-Cork (Dr. Tanner), promised to provide facilities, in future, for enabling the Medical Officers in the Navy to polish themselves up after the rust of foreign service. I think that is only a reasonable provision, and I can assure the Government that at this moment in the Army it is a cause of much complaint. If a Medical Officer had the opportunity of coming home once in seven years he would be able to polish himself up by attending the Medical Schools. A man who is serving abroad never knows what has been going on at home until he comes back. Then again there is the question of rank and title. It is a question that has been very hotly debated, and a great disappointment has been expressed in conse-

quence of the non-acceptance of the recommendations of the Committee. The Committee recommended that the intervening gap should be filled up, and that in addition to Surgeon-Major there should be Surgeon-Colonel, Surgeon-Lieutenant-Colonel, and Surgeon-General. Sir Donald Stewart, a distinguished officer, gave evidence on this point. He said—

“They have now got the rank of Surgeon-Major, and I see no reason why they should not also have that of Surgeon-Colonel and Surgeon-General. I do not object to any reasonable concession. I see no objection myself to the use of these titles, and I do not understand why objection should be made. I do not think the Combatant Officers in the Army are in the least degree jealous.”

Now that is an important point, and I believe the impression that these titles would be conceded has had a most satisfactory influence in inducing candidates for Army Medical Appointments to come forward. In 1889, there were only 15 candidates for 10 vacancies. The report of the Committee then appeared, with the result that in 1890, when there were again 10 vacancies, there were 45 candidates. It was, however, only under the impression that this concession was going to be made that this large number of men of a good class were induced to enter into the competition. It is said that the rank and title of a Medical Officer is one that is honourable enough, and one which every man ought to be proud to possess. In private life, a doctor does not wish to be called anything but doctor, and he would scorn any other title. In olden times, even in the Medical Service, the title of doctor was sufficient. In those days, the Army doctor was nothing more than a doctor. He had simply to attend the patients in the hospital and he had no military duties imposed upon him at all. Matters have changed now; they have become more complicated by the process of evolution, and the old regimental system has been done away with, so that the Army doctor is thrown much less socially among his military brethren, and has had new duties thrown upon him. I wish altogether to disabuse the Committee of the idea that the doctors want this rank for any purpose of social distinction or swagger, in order to give them additional weight and position. They ask for it only in connection with the actual ne-

cessities of their life and their position in the Service. What they require is some title which will be easily understood by military men and soldiers. The Medical Officers think that a definite and distinct rank enabling them to assert their proper rights will be not for their own personal interest only, but for the interests of those under their charge, and for whose welfare they are responsible. The doctor has now the command of the men in the Hospital Corps; he has to instruct them in drill, and, in addition, he has the responsibility of looking after their pay, clothing, arms, equipment supply, and stores in his own department. These functions are, in reality, elaborate military duties, which were quite unknown before, and which place the Medical Officer in an entirely new position. He therefore feels himself compelled to ask for some more definite military rank, in order that he may maintain his proper position and assert his proper rights. I am told that if we give this rank to the doctor we must also give similar rank to the Army Chaplain and the Veterinary Surgeon. Now they have no call for such rank at all; they are simply the Chaplain and the Veterinary Surgeon, and, like the Navy doctor, they live under different conditions, and do not require these titles any more than the Army Medical Officers did under the old regimental system. In the Navy the Medical Officer leads the same life as the officer in the old regimental system. He lives with the other officers in the Service, and has no duties except those connected with his profession allotted to him. He has no desire for the rank and title which the Army doctor thinks he is fairly entitled to. The old plan has been found to break down entirely on active service, but it is well known that the Medical Officers of the Army would be satisfied if the Secretary for War would frankly accept the recommendation of his own Departmental Committee. There is a growing feeling that the only permanent solution of the question will be to establish the medical department on the basis of a Royal corps something like the Royal Engineers. This was the view taken by the deputation which recently waited upon the right hon. Gentleman. A forcible speech was made by Sir Andrew Clarke, the President of

the Royal College of Physicians, in which he pointed out that some sort of arrangement of the same kind would suit the doctors very well, namely, that they should have a definite rank in their own corps, and a command purely limited to their own particular duties. If they had this position they feel that it would be of great value to them in the Service. Dr. Beattie, who gave evidence before the Departmental Committee, was employed in the Egyptian campaign, and he stated that he could not undertake to do again what he did in that campaign, without more definite rank. Dr. Parke, who served upon the Stanley Expedition, writes to the *Medical Journal*, and states that if Mr. Stanley had not granted military rank corresponding to that of other officers connected with the Expedition, he (Dr. Parke) would have been quite unable to hold his own and to perform his duties properly. This is a strong argument in favour of the proposal that Army Medical Officers should be made members of a Royal corps. It is not a novel proposition, but has been recommended by other Departmental Committees, and a very considerable number of Medical Officers have given it as their opinion that nothing less than a concession of this kind will provide a permanent solution of the question. Nearly all the younger Medical Officers who have seen anything of the modern conditions of warfare are strongly of opinion that this is the only way in which the question can be permanently settled. It is a plan which is working well in foreign countries; in America it works extremely well. Sir Andrew Clarke states that he has been in communication with the chief of the Army Medical Department of the United States, who says that no difficulty, either in theory or practice, has ever arisen there in consequence of the titles which have been conferred upon the Army Medical Officers. In Italy and in France the same system prevails, and there is no unpleasant distinction drawn between combatant and non-combatant officers. The right hon. Gentleman asked the other day why we have changed our opinion, and he pointed out that two years ago a deputation which waited upon him took a different view. That is quite possible; and even in this House we must admit that changes of

*Dr. Farquharson*

opinion in political matters are not altogether unknown. But since the deputation waited upon the right hon. Gentleman, I have had an enormous number of communications from medical men all over the world urging me to bring the question before the House and the Authorities, and see whether it is not possible to carry out this new idea of a Royal Staff Corps. I do not think it would make any material change in the present system; I do not think that the calling of a doctor a Colonel or a General can do any one the slightest harm. He would simply be Captain, Major, Colonel, or General in the Royal Staff Corps. If such an arrangement could be carried out, I think it would remove the feeling against granting this rank and title which is now entertained by the Military Authorities. I apologise to hon. Members for having detained them at such great length upon a point which is probably uninteresting to many of them. It has, however, been a burning question with the Medical Officers of the Army for many years, and I have felt it my duty to bring their complaints and grievances under the notice of the Committee. Some persons say that their position and pay are already too good. I do not think so. They have important work to do; dangerous work also, without the stimulus of excitement; and they are constantly exposed to the dangers of pestilence and infection which combatant military officers have not to contend with, and which carry off a good many of them. A great many of them die early, thoroughly broken down and unfit for anything after the hard service they have gone through. I am sure we are all agreed that as a matter of national and Imperial importance, the Army ought to have the best men who can be got. They will not come in under the present condition, and I think it is only wise to grant the concessions for which they ask and which will not cost anything. Their grievances may be looked upon as sentimental, but they are none the less deeply felt. The grumbling which is now going on is very acute and it may become chronic. The right hon. Gentleman has now a golden opportunity for conciliating the Medical Department once for all. I thank him for the reception he gave to the deputation and for the assurance he has given to the House,

that he will consider the statements which have been made to him. I hope he will do so in a friendly spirit. The Medical Department gladly accepted the recommendations of the Committee, and I think it is advisable at any rate to try them, and see whether they will not settle the whole question. There is a strong and growing feeling that the institution of a Royal Staff Corps will be the only means of bringing about a permanent settlement of this great question.

(12.50.) MR. MAC NEILL (Donegal, S.): I am sure that the Committee are very much indebted to my hon. Friend for the zeal and ability with which he has brought forward the grievances of the Army Medical Department. Perhaps I may be able to speak as to the cause of those grievances with more impartiality than my hon. Friend, although, of course, he is influenced by a just and honorable desire, now that he is a Member of the House, to give a helping hand to persons of whom, in other days, he was a distinguished associate and member. Having listened to the grievances of these men, and having had communications from them, I am perfectly certain that they labour under substantial grievances which, if the House of Commons knew them, they would try to alleviate and remove. I claim for the officers of this Department that they should have at the very least equal rights and privileges with the combatant officers. In former times the doctor was one of the ordinary officers of the regiment, but since the Army Medical Department has been instituted, there has been a segregation of these officers, and the Medical Staff is no longer on the same footing as the Regimental Officers. That being so, I maintain that they ought to be placed on an equal footing with the Royal Engineers with special military rank and privileges. I am unable to understand the great desire that exists among these men to have military rank; but that desire undoubtedly exists. From a sort of *plébiscite* that was taken some time ago, it was found that out of 992 officers, 75 per cent. were of opinion that they ought to have military rank. In the army, obedience to the word of command is absolutely necessary, and in the hospital especially it is essential that the business should be carried out expe-

ditionally, and that the word of command should be promptly obeyed. I certainly cannot conceive why the medical officer should not be able to speak with the same authority on medical matters as the regimental officer on regimental matters. I find that there are no fewer than 459 Irish medical students in the Army. The men who go into the Army as a rule are persons in easy circumstances; but with the Medical Department it is the reverse. They go as professional men, and therefore every attempt should be made to make their position pleasant and to provide that they shall suffer no social humiliation. At the present moment they are subject to certain social slights and indignities which, however much we may feel inclined to laugh at them, are very galling to those who are subjected to them. Take the case of Sanitary Boards. No medical man can sit upon them or express his opinion in conference with other officers. He is simply ordered to attend, and in all these matters, whatever the rank or seniority of the medical man may be, he is always placed at the very bottom of the list. Again, until he has seen 20 years' service, he gets no Army rank at all, and even then he is only able to become a Surgeon-Major. Then, again, in regard to sick leave, the Medical Officers feel that they have a substantial grievance. The right hon. Gentleman the Secretary for War, in reply to a question which I put to him on the 18th of June in regard to the sick leave privileges enjoyed by an ordinary combatant officer over a Medical Officer, admitted that a Subaltern would be entitled to 12 months' leave of absence, whereas the highest Medical Officer in the Army is only entitled to 6 months' leave. What is the reason of that? The right hon. Gentlemen said it was the ground of expense. Now I am, personally, a rigid economist, but I think we may sometimes be penny wise and pound foolish. This is certainly a point into which the question of expense ought not to enter, as long as we have no less than 100 generals who are doing nothing for the public service, but who draw from the public revenues £62,000 a year. Would it not be infinitely better when you have a first-rate medical man, to give him 12 months' leave of absence, and allow him to come back reinvigorated and thoroughly fitted for the discharge



of his onerous and difficult duties! Then, again, take the question of foreign service. Up to a few years ago the period of service in line regiments was limited to five or six years, and a medical man had only to undergo a course of five years' service. An additional year has now been added to the continuous time during which he must serve, and that again on the ground of expense. It will then be seen that the very highest of the Army Medical Officers are placed in a position of inferiority, although they are in as great danger as any of the combatant officers. They go into the thick of the fight and attend to the wounded side by side with the men who are fighting. I need only mention the names of two of these officers—Surgeon-Major Reynolds, who was present at Rorke's Drift, and Surgeon-Major Cronin, who obtained the Victoria Cross for distinguished gallantry in the South African War. In his case courage is hereditary. He obtained the Victoria Cross, and his mother got a months' imprisonment for defending her homestead. The mortality among Medical Officers is twice as great as among the ordinary combatant officers. There is a constant strain upon their physical energy and a constant risk of infection. At the same time, by obtaining the services of the best possible men, we succeed in preserving the health of the troops. I have no doubt that the great experience which some of our most eminent medical men have acquired in relieving pain and suffering is entirely due to their early connection with the Army. Consequently, if these men are well paid and are given opportunities of practice, which enable them to bring out whatever knowledge and skill they have acquired in the Army, the public are benefited in the long run. They could not have a better school of study than the experience which they have derived from a long course of Army services. In regard to the mortality among officers on active service, the statistics of the last three campaigns in Burma, Egypt, and South Africa, show that the mortality among medical officers was 3·1, as against 5·4 among the ordinary combatant officers. I do not think we ought to be content with the assurance that the War Office would be able to get men to do the work of service at a reduced cost. The matter

*Mr. Mac Neill*

ought not to be entirely regulated by strict questions of supply and demand; it should be regulated by a higher basis, and I hope that the right hon. Gentleman will be induced to make better arrangements, both in regard to leave and pay as well as to relative rank. I know cases in which medical officers have been very badly treated in the Army. I will only mention one instance—that of a man who was taken prisoner in the Zulu War. He attended, not only his own men, but the Zulus. He was kept in captivity for two years, in constant danger of his life. When he was released and came home, in addition to the misery and anxiety he had undergone, he lost his sight; he is now going about blind, and, with the exception of his pension, he has never received either a decoration or a reward. He is a relative of my own, and I am very proud of him—Surgeon-Major Ward. My contention is that it is for the advantage of the service that these men should be liberally treated.

\*(1.10.) Mr. BARTLEY (Islington, N.): As it was my privilege or misfortune to be a lay member of the Departmental Committee, which sat last year, I should like to say one or two words on this subject. I am quite sure that the country is anxious to pay liberally and generously for the services of the doctors, both in the Army and Navy, so that they may secure the services of the best men. That was the unanimous feeling of the Committee, but when we came to look into the details, we found that many difficulties arose. The hon. Member for West Aberdeenshire (Dr. Farquharson) said that the crux of the whole question was the matter of rank and title. Upon that point I can say very little as a layman, but it does seem to me extraordinary that men belonging to one of the noblest professions in the world should be craving after such military titles as Colonel and Captain. Surely the title of doctor is infinitely preferable to any sham and tinsel title. The hon. Member talks of the Committee having recommended these titles, but it must be remembered that the suggestion emanated from the younger Medical Officers; that the preponderance of evidence was against it, and that three out of eight members of the Committee were opposed to it. It did seem to be somewhat odd that men who had just joined the Service should be craving for

this change. The hon. Member says that it was very difficult before 1877 to get candidates to compete for Army medical appointments. That is true, but in 1877 great changes were made in the Service, and since then there has been no difficulty in obtaining candidates. In 1880, when the new regulations came in force down to 1887, when the last competition took place before the Committee sat, 885 qualified candidates presented themselves for 493 appointments. Last year there were 45 candidates for 10 vacancies. It is, therefore, clear that the younger members of the profession are willing to enter the Service on the basis on which it is now regulated. In my opinion the crux of the question is not title but pay and retirement. We went carefully into those questions, and I am afraid that I stood on the question of retirement in the unenviable position of a minority of one in my Report. Looking at it from the absolute view of finance, I thought that the pay was fairly liberal. It attracts a large number of candidates, and is more liberal than that of any other branch of the Army. I do not say that that ought not to be so. All I say is that it is so. The officers desire rapid promotion. That also is only reasonable and natural, but we, as taxpayers and guardians of the public purse, must look at the cost. The non-effective Vote is 57 per cent. of the entire Vote; but that is not all, for we had it upon actuarial calculation that the system is so arranged that when it is completed the cost of the non-effective Force will be 70 per cent. I am quite sure that while the public are quite willing to pay liberally for the active Army Services, what they will not do is to have a non-effective Force costing as much as the effective Force. Under the present system there is no doubt that in a short time the non-effective or pensioned portion of the Army Medical Department will practically cost as much as the effective medical branch, and I am sure that is a state of affairs which the public will not allow. The hon. Member for Aberdeenshire has said that the gentlemen who leave the Service become highly successful private practitioners

Dr. FARQUHARSON: Some of them.

Mr. BARTLEY: As one of the public, I object to that; I think that we ought to buy these men's services and keep them for

their working lives. I object to a system by which we buy only the elementary period of a man's service so that he is able to retire when quite young and then start a private practice. There was a strong feeling in the Committee that in order to secure rapid promotion a system should be adopted of getting rid of an officer after five or 10 years' service, giving him, as an inducement to retire, £500 after five years, and £1,000 after 10 years. Now I must say that I objected to that proposal emphatically. It simply means this, that you get a young man of 24 who may know his theoretical work very well, but, as a rule, a doctor of 24 cannot have been trained in the practical work of his profession. No person in private life would employ a medical man who has just come from the hospital, but would prefer a man from 30 to 35 years of age. The result of the proposal would simply be to employ men while they are learning their practical duties, and after 10 years' service you would give them £1,000 to go, their place being taken by raw recruits. That seems to me to be a most unreasonable plan. We ought to have the most efficient men we can get, and when we have got them we should keep them as long as they are capable of doing good service. After 20 years' service, or when a man is about 44 years of age, he may, under present regulations, retire, whether ill or well, having the right to retire after that service upon a pension of £1 a day. I think that is a too liberal arrangement. My own opinion is that between 40 and 50 is the most efficient period of a doctor's service. What I am really afraid of is that if the retirement system is increased, the House of Commons will one day wake up to the fact that the non-effective Vote is as high as the effective Vote, and will set to work roughly to curtail it. It has been conclusively proved that we can get all the men we want under the existing arrangement. Most of the grievances of the Medical Officers are more sentimental than real, and the best way to avoid friction is to revert more than we do now to the regimental system, which there can be no doubt is infinitely preferable to the present system. All the officers, both combative and medical, would then, as they are now on board Her Majesty's ships, be much more bound together,

and the Medical Service would be much more efficient and free from continual dissatisfaction.

\*(1.20.) THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (MR. E. STANHOPE, Lincolnshire, Horncastle): It is only a few days ago that I received a deputation upon these subjects, composed of some of the most eminent members of the profession, and I heard their views fully expressed. The case has now been fully and ably stated by the two hon. Members opposite. I have nothing to complain of in the manner in which the discussion has been conducted, except in regard to one observation which fell from the hon. Gentleman who spoke first, to the effect that the medical profession have the whip-hand of the Government in the matter, and that they intended to make their power felt. That is not the way in which the question ought to be approached, and certainly no argument of that sort will have the smallest weight with me. I am satisfied that we shall in future, as in the past, be able to make proper provision for the exigencies of the public service. I am not, for obvious reasons, going to dwell at any length upon the subject which has been brought forward, but I should like to say a few words on the two main heads. It is perfectly clear that the recommendations of the Committee presided over by Lord Camperdown would, if adopted, have had the effect of increasing the cost of the Army Medical Department to £100,000 a year. On the other hand, there was Lord R. Churchill's Committee which also considered the question, and they expressed a strong opinion that the expense of the Department is already excessive, and that steps should be taken to decrease it. What my hon. Friend the Member for North Islington (Mr. Bartley) has just said, is quite true; that the non-effective charge for the Medical Department of the Army will speedily exceed the effective charge unless steps are taken to decrease it. The present Government have taken certain steps in that direction. An Army Medical Officer has a right to retire after 20 years' service upon £365 a year—a rate which I am bound to say is exceedingly liberal. The Government have been desirous of making use of doctors with their own consent, after they retire into private life, retiring as they do in some cases, in

*Mr. Bartley*

the prime of life. We found the doctors perfectly agreeable to enter into that arrangement, and we have employed them at certain stations in England, saving by that means a sum of nearly £30,000 a year. The second point brought forward, and the main one, is the question of title. I received a deputation upon that subject the other day, headed by Sir Andrew Clarke, and composed of some of the most eminent medical men in Great Britain and Ireland. They left me in no doubt as to what they were claiming. They want to be called distinctly—generals, colonels, majors, and captains. The hon. Member opposite spoke of titles easily understood. I should have thought that the title of doctor or surgeon, accompanied, if you like, by some additional title, would be easily understood, whereas the title of general, colonel, major or captain, applied to a medical officer is one that would not be easily understood. I have had representations placed before me on this matter by officers in the Army, and I am bound, I think, to respect, as far as I can, their strongly-expressed feeling. Therefore I told the deputation, and I now tell the Committee, that I am not prepared to come to a decision on the subject until I have consulted the Military Authorities whom, indeed, I am now consulting. When we have arrived at a decision it will be announced to the House. I trust that the Committee, after the discussion which has taken place, will now allow us to go on with other matters.

(1.30.) MR. A. O'CONNOR (Donegal, E.): There is one question affecting this Vote which ought, I think, to be submitted to the Committee. I refer to the question of the supply of medicine to the army, and the manner and terms on which it is obtained. In most of the Departments of the Public Service the system of contract is adopted. In the Medical Department of the Army that is not the case, and there are two bodies—one the Apothecaries' Hall, and the other Savory & Moore, a private firm, who have for about 35 years had practically the monopoly of supplying drugs to the Army. The amount charged in the present Vote is about £12,000 for the service. That is evidently more than need be paid, according to the admission of the Army Medical Department them-

selves. I shall therefore move the reduction of the Vote by 15 per cent., or £1,800. The ground on which I do so is this: The Army Medical Department is entirely dependent on Apothecaries' Hall and Messrs. Savory & Moore, not only for the supply of drugs but also for their quality. The Army Medical Authorities admit that they never test the quality of the drugs supplied, either at headquarters or wherever they may be used. Now it seems to me an extraordinary thing that this should be so, having regard to the fact that there is at Somerset House a Public Department for Analysis, under the superintendence of Mr. Bannister, a gentleman of very great capacity, who is constantly, under the Drugs Act, analysing all sorts of things for the Public Departments. His services are, of course, at the disposal of the Army as well as any other department, but they have never applied to him to have these drugs tested. Indeed, the representative of the Army Medical Department said that he was not aware of Mr. Bannister's existence, and the department has been going on for years simply accepting whatever Apothecaries' Hall and Messrs. Savory & Moore chose to send them. Messrs. Savory & Moore, I ought to mention, are simply a private retail firm, and not even wholesale manufacturers. The Public Accounts Committee put to the representative of the Army Medical Department a question as to why he did not go to the wholesale firms and invite contracts. The answer practically came to this—that the present system works very well, and that the Army Medical officers are satisfied. From one point of view that was a reasonable answer, medical men are concerned in the treatment of disease and the cure of wounds, which is very much more important than the drugs; but at the same time the quality of the drugs is of such importance that the Department ought to exercise extreme care in getting the best articles that can be obtained, and should have the quality tested by their own officers. That, however, is not done. It may be taken for granted that the drugs furnished by Apothecaries' Hall are the very best, but in regard to Messrs. Savory & Moore, the wholesale druggists can supply just the same drugs; and Messrs. Savory & Moore are dependent upon them. The Public Accounts Committee

had produced before them certain lists of prices from wholesale firms. A comparison of the figures struck me as being rather extraordinary, and in consequence I waited upon the firm of Evans & Co. in the City. I asked them, "Have you ever been invited to tender for Army Medical Stores or Drugs?" and their answer was "No. We had, a long time ago, some kind of communication with the Department, but it ended in nothing. We got little or no information." At another meeting of the Public Accounts Committee I asked the representative of the Department if he had communicated the conditions and terms of supply to any of the wholesale firms, and I found he had not, thus getting a corroboration of what I had learned from the City firm I have mentioned. He said, "We have never communicated the conditions of the supply, and we do not know that they would be willing to send out small quantities, such as are sent out by Apothecaries' Hall and Messrs. Savory & Moore." I prosecuted my inquiry further, and I ascertained that the wholesale firms would be perfectly willing to supply drugs in the quantities issued by Apothecaries' Hall and Messrs. Savory & Moore. A second question was, whether any trade discount is allowed by Apothecaries' Hall or Messrs. Savory & Moore, and I was told that not only was it not allowed, but that it had never been applied for. The wholesale firms were prepared to supply as good drugs in the same quantities, under the same conditions, and to allow 15 per cent. discount. Further, as to the quality, they are prepared to supply any number of authorities with samples for testing—either Mr. Bannister at Somerset House, or any professor of *materia medica* at any of the hospitals. From other inquiries, I have discovered that Messrs. Savory & Moore are nothing but tradesmen, while among the wholesale firms there are men who are distinguished members of the Pharmaceutical Society. Therefore, I do not see why the public money should be to a large extent squandered and paid away when there is no necessity for it. I also fail to see why there should be this monopoly in the hands of these two particular bodies at the expense of the public. The Navy obtains its drugs by contract, and it gets them in bulk

and distributes them. Under these circumstances, it appears to me that there is no necessity for the expenditure of £1,800 of this Vote, and I beg to move a reduction of the Vote to that amount.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Item E, Cost of Medicines, be reduced by £1,800."—(*Mr. Arthur O'Connor.*)

(1.37.) THE FINANCIAL SECRETARY TO THE WAR DEPARTMENT (*Mr. BRODBICK, Surrey, Guildford*): I know that the hon. Member has taken great interest in this subject before the Public Accounts Committee, and I have no doubt that there is a difference in the practice of the War Office and the Admiralty in regard to the supply of medicines and drugs. The Admiralty receive them and place them on board ship, whereas in connection with the War Department there are a very great number of stations which have acquired great experience in the packing of small parcels, and it is impossible to receive the articles in the same way as the Admiralty, unless we were to set up a station at Woolwich, or somewhere else, for the purpose of dividing the medicines and distributing them to the different army stations. The hon. Gentleman has pointed out that the first thing to consider is that the high quality of the medicines shall be maintained. In times past, in the various campaigns which have occurred, there has been a considerable amount of criticism as to the quality of the drugs supplied, and the War Office, in taking certain particular firms and limiting the supply to them, have no doubt considered that it is more important to have an absolutely reliable supply than to secure the lowest price by competition. The Public Accounts Committee, in their Report, after taking evidence, admit that there would be great difficulty in introducing the Admiralty system into the War Office. They feel the great importance that is attached to the maintenance of the high quality of the medicines supplied to the Army, and they add that the experience of other departments ought to receive the attention of the War Office. I think the Report of the Public Accounts Committee shows, at all events, that they are not

*Mr. A. O'Connor*

prepared to take any steps in recommending the House of Commons to depart from the present practice. I quite agree with the hon. Member as to the advantages of competition, but with regard to prices in this case, they are constantly changing, and we take independent means of arriving at them. If we found that we were being charged anything beyond the market rate we should at once call for a fresh supply by competition, if necessary. But as long as we are satisfied that we are not paying beyond the usual market rate, I hope the Committee will not press us to abandon the present system, by means of which we have been able to place the supply in the hands of firms of the highest standing. We feel quite sure that the high quality of the medicines and drugs themselves will continue to be maintained.

(1.42.) *MR. A. O'CONNOR*: It is perfectly true that the conclusion arrived at by the Public Accounts Committee was most tame and impotent. The evidence before the Committee was of the strongest possible description. It was admitted that the trade discount was not paid or asked for, and that no practical or *bond fide* attempt had been made to ascertain whether other firms would supply equally good drugs at lower prices. The whole evidence was in favour of some practical inquiry at any rate being made by the authorities at the War Office. When the representative of the Army Medical Department was asked by myself whether he would cause some inquiry to be made, he said, "I should have to get the permission of the Secretary of State for War before I could do that." I now ask the Secretary of State if the Department has applied for permission. In answer to myself, the representative of the Department said he was not unwilling to make inquiry of independent firms as to their willingness to supply drugs on at least as good terms as those which are now obtained, and I received the same answer—that he would have to get the permission of the Secretary of State. I presume that the right hon. Gentleman has not been asked for permission.

\**MR. E. STANHOPE*: No, Sir.

*MR. A. O'CONNOR*: In the meantime, the country is put to an unnecessary expense, and the only plea put

forward in justification is that it is so important to get pure drugs. Everybody knows that, and is prepared to admit it; but I challenge the right hon. Gentleman to say upon what ground he pretends for a moment that Apothecaries' Hall or Messrs. Savory & Moore supply better drugs than some half-dozen manufacturing and wholesale chemists in the City of London. Why should he suggest that Messrs. Savory & Moore supply drugs that can be better depended upon than the wholesale manufacturers? Under the present system the money of the country is being wasted, and I am sorry the Government have not undertaken to cause an inquiry into the matter. I have no doubt the quantities required could be obtained from other firms, and that other firms would be as capable of distributing the drugs, and as willing to distribute them as Messrs. Savory & Moore.

\*(146.) MR. E. STANHOPE: What the hon. Member has said as to the evidence given before the Committee by the Army Medical Department has impressed me, and I shall be perfectly willing to undertake an investigation to see whether we can get drugs equal in quantity and quality and at a cheaper rate elsewhere. I will undertake, before next Session, to look into the matter and see if we can with safety to the public service obtain what we want elsewhere.

MR. A. O'CONNOR: Under these circumstances, I ask leave to withdraw the Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Original Question put, and agreed to.

2. Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £1,555,000 (including a supplementary sum of £180,000), be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the charge for the pay and allowances (exclusive of supplies, clothing, &c.) of the Militia (to a number not exceeding 136,448, including 30,000 Militia Reserve), the Yeomanry, and the Volunteers, which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1891."

\*(147.) SIR W. BARTHELOT (Sussex, N.W.): I should like to say a few words as to the present condition of the Militia. No one will deny the importance of the force, and I think the country will be glad to have some infor-

mation with regard to that force, because it desires that it should be kept in as efficient a condition as possible. I do not deny there are a large number of Militia regiments that are in a most excellent condition, where Colonels and officers do their duty, and do it thoroughly; but it is equally true there are other Militia regiments which do not come up to that high standard, and to whom it is only right that the attention of the Secretary for War should be publicly directed, so that he may make further inquiries with regard to their condition. I am not going to deny the great interest my right hon. Friend has taken in this force, and the remedies he has sought to apply to it to increase its efficiency; but, still, it is the fact that the Militia is not in that condition which we should like to see it in. That force may, in certain circumstances, which we all hope will not arise, be called upon to play a most important part in the defence of the country, and schemes have frequently been proposed to make it still nearer a portion of the Army than it now is. I myself have advocated schemes by which every militiaman, by an increase of bounty, will be induced to enrol himself to serve in any part of the world for which he may be called upon. At present we know that 30,000 of the best men of the Militia are enrolled for the Militia Reserve, and the great fear of all Colonels of Militia is that, upon an emergency, they will lose these men, who are the backbone of their regiments, and will be left with nothing but mere boys and recruits. In the Peninsula, at Waterloo, and in the Crimea, I do not know what this country would have done without the Militia, and, therefore, my right hon. Friend will do well if he can make this force, not only in name but in reality, the third and fourth battalions of the first and second battalions which are now formed of the Regular Army. I believe that it would give a great impetus to the Militia and increase its efficiency, if retired officers, living in the county to which a regiment belongs, could be induced to join that regiment. The questions of the closer alliance with Line Regiments, as well as the efficiency of the officers, were most ably raised at the United Service Institution, and approved by many Military Officers. At the beginning of this year a Com-

mittee, presided over by Lord Harris, reported upon this Force. It went into every detail and made certain recommendations, which my right hon. Friend has carried out to only a limited extent.

\*MR. E. STANHOPE: Almost all have been carried out.

\*SIR W. BARTTELOT: That may be the case; but many of the recommendations have been cut short by my right hon. Friend, and thus they have been made less efficient. My right hon. Friend will agree with me, that one of the first things to engender in every Colonel of Militia, is a desire to visit the dépôt barracks where his recruits are being trained and see each batch of recruits, and thus make himself acquainted with the men. Another matter to which I desire to direct the attention of my right hon. Friend is this, one officer is now allowed to go to the dépôt if there are 40 recruits, and the Committee recommended that he should go when there are only 25 recruits. In some instances it might be very easy to get 40 recruits, but in others it would be difficult to get them, and I think it would be a benefit, not only to the officer, but to the recruits, if the number were reduced to 25. The Committee also recommended that further encouragement should be given to officers to make themselves efficient at the infantry schools. If subalterns go to these schools and obtain captains' certificates, they ought to have pay and allowances when they stay there, and the same with captains, if they obtain a field-officer's certificate they should also receive pay and allowances. It would be money well spent in the interests of the country. Opportunity ought to be given to officers to attend both Woolwich and Hythe, so that in each battalion there should be a proper qualified artillery or musketry instructor. Coming now to the very serious question of non-commissioned officers, there is only one way, so far as I can see, to improve this body, and that is, to give greater encouragement in the shape of money to the old line sergeants to go into the Militia. The ordinary sergeants are neither effective nor efficient, and many of them are not able to maintain their status after the annual training is over, and they lose the hold upon the men. I have been astonished to find that

*Sir W. Barttelot*

many of these sergeants are afterwards the servants of those who were privates in the Militia. This is a very serious question, because such men are almost bound to be lenient: and therefore too much cannot be done to encourage non-commissioned line officers to come into the Militia. Another serious question is the introduction of the musketry instruction recommended by the Committee. The Committee thought the Militia recruits should have 14 days' extra instruction, but only seven additional days have been granted, and, considering the efficiency of the force, and the issue of a new rifle, it is absolutely necessary that these men should understand most thoroughly what is required of them. Dealing with minor matters, I think that when the men go under canvas in bad weather, they should have tent-boards supplied to them. You take men out of their own comfortable cottages at all seasons of the year, and it is only right that you should take such precautions as can be adopted, without serious inconvenience, to save them from serious consequences to their health. Then, I think they should be supplied with helmets like the line regiments. At present they are sent out in their Glengarry caps, and many of them make this a source of complaint. These are all more or less serious questions which, to my mind, deserve the serious attention of my right hon. Friend. I would suggest, in addition to the other recommendations I have made, that a proper roster should be kept, so that each Militia regiment may in its turn be drilled with the Regular Army. If you go to Aldershot, you will find there London regiments and Surrey regiments and Berkshire regiments, at Strensall regiments only from neighbouring districts, but none from more distant parts of the country. Some of the Scotch and North Country regiments have not been brigaded with regular troops for 14 years. Though the cost of carrying out my suggestions might be considerable, I say it would be cheerfully borne, because the people would know that in times of emergency they would have a force on which they could thoroughly rely. My right hon. Friend cannot do too much to encourage the Militia, because in times of war Militiamen have always been ready to fill up the gaps in the line.

\*(2.2.) COLONEL SANDYS (Bootle Division of Lancashire): Having been connected with the Militia for 16 years, and having the honour at present to command a Militia battalion, I take this opportunity of bringing a few practical points under the notice of the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary for War. I agree with much that has been said by the hon. and gallant Baronet who has just sat down, and I particularly concur in his remark that we should do our best to make the Militia force thoroughly efficient. I think the present system of training recruits is not the best that could be devised. In former days the Militiaman received 10s. as bounty on enlistment, and came up altogether some months later for their recruits-course of instruction drill; but in many cases, after receiving this bounty, they did not appear. Now, the alternative course adopted is, that the recruits should come up to be drilled as soon as they all enlist. This has certain advantages, but the men come up in twos and threes, and the Drill-Sergeants are all the year round ceaselessly engaged in drilling squads of only a few men, whom they never can bring up to a state of efficiency, because they were so few together. The hon. Baronet said a Militia officer might be appointed to attend with recruits' drill for every 50 or every 25 recruits present at instruction. I should like to see a squad of even 25 recruits, or even 15, in the regiment with which I am connected present at one time together in a squad. The remedy I would propose for the present disadvantages is to fix four dates during the year for the training of Militia recruits, and to let the men come up in batches, each set being taken through the entire course and made ready to join the ranks before the next batch is called up. At present, the time given for the training of recruits is 56 days. From this have to be deducted Sundays and half Saturdays and all days in hospital. Every man on joining the Army is compelled to be vaccinated, and after he has been vaccinated he is generally unable to shoulder a rifle for six or seven days. The result of this and other loss of drilling time is that he comes out of the recruits' preliminary training knowing little about his work, in fact only half drilled. I would advocate that if the time of training is

fixed at 56 days it should be a clear 56 days working, and that there should be 14 days for musketry instruction in addition to this. The same thing is to be said about the 28 or rather 27 days' training for the Battalion. Let the 27 days' training be 27 working days—under the present system there are only 16 whole days and three half-days out of the 27 days for which a Militia Regiment is called up for training annually. The hon. and gallant Baronet spoke about the advisability of having good non-commissioned officers of Militia. I agree with him. We have two steady Line sergeants for a company, and I would suggest that they should never be allowed to fall below that number. The cook sergeant should, in my opinion, be a supernumerary. Militia sergeants are really of very little use in the training of battalions. The young officers frequently know nothing about their duties, and use their Militia training merely as a stepping-stone towards entering the Line, and I am sorry to say that many of them seem to think they come into the Militia in order merely to play lawn-tennis and amuse themselves. Another point to be considered is that of the powers of Militia officers Commanding. At present, if a non-commissioned officer misconducts himself he cannot be tried by Regimental Court Martial, and all that can be done is to reprimand him. To reprimand a Militia non-commissioned officer is, as the French say, *pour rire*. Then there is the question of the allowances of Militia officers on joining the Regiment for its annual training. Militia officers are all supposed to come from the county to which the regiment belongs, but, in point of fact, they do not do so. I know, however, one Lancashire regiment which has not one Lancashire officer in it, and I maintain that an officer ought to have his full railway fare from the place from which he proceeds to join his battalion, and his full fare from the place of training back to his home. At present it is only given from the limits of the county to which the regiment belongs. In the case of a mounted officer, his horse ought to be carried at the expense of the State. An officer has also to take a considerable quantity of baggage with him, and that should be conveyed by luggage-train at the expense of the



State. If this system were followed it would make a great difference to many Militia officers who have to look at every sovereign they spend, for the pay of a Militia officer does not nearly meet his expenditure out of pocket during the training. Allusion has been made to Infantry Schools of Instruction, and I wish to ask my right hon. Friend whether, instead of attendance at these, he will allow officers who wish for a certificate of proficiency in drill to put in the same time with a Line regiment, and get the same allowance as if they had attended a School of Instruction, obtaining a similar certificate if found competent at the end of their drill course with the Line regiment. I will not trouble the Committee further. I trust the suggestions I have made will be deemed worthy of consideration, as they are the result of practical experience in the working of a Militia regiment.

(2.15.) DR. FARQUHARSON: I have been strongly urged to bring before the House a matter in relation to the difficulty of obtaining recruits for a regiment in my native county, the Gordon Highlanders. This, which used to be a very strong regiment, seems to be in danger of melting away. Lieutenant-Colonel Man, an officer of distinction, who has served abroad, and who is thoroughly devoted to his work, represents that under present conditions, it is difficult to get recruits, and those he gets are not of the right sort. It was admitted by nearly all the colonels of country regiments who were called before the recent Committee that the old system, with its conditions of bounty and preliminary drill, worked far more satisfactorily in attracting desirable recruits than the new system. Under the old system of preliminary drill and ten shillings, countrymen from the agricultural districts were attracted to the Service in batches, and the money was an inducement to men long out of work. Under the old conditions, men were drilled together at the Militia Barracks, and the preliminary stages of service were more pleasant than now, when one, two, and three men are drilled in the presence of jeering regulars who sneer at the new recruits. I daresay the new plan is better for towns, but it is not so for the country districts, and I would ask the right hon. Gentleman, Is

*Colonel Sandys*

it not possible to make the system more elastic, the towns and the country districts being permitted to act each in their own way in this matter? I believe that if the old system were revived, the Militia would soon regain its former popularity.

(2.18.) MAJOR RASCH (Essex, S.E.): Since leaving the Regular Army I have had considerable experience in this branch of the service, and I quite agree with the observations of the hon. Baronet, the Member for Sussex (Sir Walter Barttelot). I recognise the importance of this Vote not only because of the largeness of the amount involved, but also because of the importance of maintaining the strength and efficiency of the Militia, upon which the Secretary of War must largely depend for the completion or filling up of the 2nd and 3rd Army Corps. The discipline and material of the force leave very much to be desired. I cannot understand why the Secretary for War cannot change the amateur character of the great mass of officers by leavening them with officers from the Line. I do not see why an officer, when he applies for leave to retire, should not have imposed upon him the condition of serving half-a-dozen years with a Militia battalion. Officers, as a rule, join the Militia with the idea of having an easy time, and, so far as my experience goes, they get it; and, as regards the men, I would suggest to the Secretary for War that he should send a certain number of regiments, say 20, every year to Aldershot, to be brigaded with regular troops, and drilled under such a general as Sir Evelyn Wood. Instead of that, under the present system only some half-a-dozen regiments are sent to drill with the regulars, while the outlying country regiments never get a chance of doing so. The inspection, as I know from considerable experience, is little better than a solemn farce. The inspecting officer, probably the General commanding the district, goes down, the regiment is paraded, there is a march past, the general congratulates the Colonel, the Colonel compliments the officers, the officers thank the men, and the whole thing is over. I happen to know one particular case, and I am prepared to lay it before the right hon. Gentleman, if he likes, in which there was a recent inspection of a battalion of Militia, and a flagrant breach of regula-

lations was going on the whole time, but the General Officer did not allude to it, perhaps did not observe it, and his speech was as complimentary as ever. As to the strength of the Militia, I think the right hon. Gentleman over-estimates it when he puts it at 96,000, because every one knows that under the system by which the men are called out for training at different periods, a certain number of men are counted half-a-dozen times over, and this cannot be prevented unless you call out a certain number of regiments in the same district at the same time. I think attention to these and a few other points would tend greatly to the improvement of the Militia in all respects.

\*(2.22.) MR. E. STANHOPE: Hon. Members do me no more than justice when they say I attach the highest importance to matters connected with the Militia Service. I can assure the Committee that the War Office has given, and is giving, close attention to the important question of the officering of the Militia, both in the commissioned and non-commissioned ranks. The Committee referred to, the majority of whom were Militia officers, made certain recommendations to me, and I have carried out the greater part of them at an increase of £49,000 in this year's Estimates, which is a substantial proof that I wish to do what is possible for the Force. I am not prepared, however, to yield to the numerous demands for a still further increase of expenditure until, at least, the new system has been very fully tried, and until I am fully satisfied that for what the country expects from the Militia a further increase of expenditure is required. It is a custom to depreciate the value of the Militia Force, but I may say this. I have had conversations with many distinguished officers on the subject, including Sir E. Wood, than whom there is no more capable officer in the country. Sir E. Wood spoke in the most favourable terms of the Militia regiments that had come under his notice as commanding officer at Aldershot, and said they were extremely efficient for the short training they have had. Among the recommendations made and carried out are seven days' extension of drilling, which involves a large cost; additional musketry training; further instruction of officers; and the attraction of non-

commissioned officers on their retirement from the Line to the Militia by a small grant and a promise that their pay should be raised to that of the permanent staff. Other improvements have been made, including the issue of tent-boards when the Militia are put under canvas, and of flannel instead of cotton shirting. An hon. Gentleman opposite had called attention to the desirability of introducing what he called a more elastic system. I think there is a great deal in that, and so far as I am able, without injury to the public service, I shall be very glad to do so. The hon. Member for Essex spoke of the introduction of officers from the Line into the Militia. That, I think, is very desirable, but I would remind my hon. and gallant Friend that we have tried to effect this by offering exceptionally favourable terms to officers of the Line who consent to join—the Militia, but, so far, I cannot say from what cause, we have not met with any considerable success. I entirely agree that it would be an advantage to the Militia to have more opportunities of drilling with the Regular troops, and I should much like to carry out a plan of that sort, but there is considerable difficulty in the way, and considerable expense involved in moving battalions a long distance to Aldershot. Allusion has been made to the position of the Militia in the event of our being engaged in a foreign war. Of course, in such an event, the Militia would have to be called upon to a large extent to fill up the ranks of the regular Army; but if our forces had to be mobilized for home defence only, then the Militia Reserve would not be taken for the Line, but would remain with the Militia, and in that way a force nominally of 96,000 men would be held at disposal. As regards home defence, the country is, therefore, in a very much more favourable condition than has been put before the Committee. I hope that I have answered sufficiently the questions that have been put to me, and that I have shown that the War Office has given close attention to the various matters that have been raised.

(2.30.) MR. PICKERSGILL (Bethnal Green, S.W.): I take the opportunity this Vote offers to call attention to the appointment of Colonel Sewell to the

command of the Volunteer Battalion of the Essex Regiment. In 1882 this gentleman appears to have been engaged in organizing disturbances of political meetings, and to have reverted to the practice in 1883, of issuing forged tickets for a meeting.

\*MR. E. STANHOPE: There is absolutely no proof whatever of any such thing.

MR. PICKERSGILL: The charge has frequently been made against Colonel Sewell, and if he is innocent he would have appeared before the Select Committee to rebut the charge.

\*MR. E. STANHOPE: He has taken every opportunity of denying these charges, and I do not think the hon. Member has a shadow of proof against him.

MR. PICKERSGILL: As Colonel Sewell distinctly declined to appear before the Committee, which was the only occasion upon which his statements could be properly examined, I am justified in saying that there is the strongest possible case of suspicion against him with regard to this second offence. At the time the appointment to the command of this regiment became vacant Major Charles Ford was second in command. He is a very experienced officer, and had a reasonable claim to be appointed; but, unfortunately, he was a Liberal candidate for Devonport, and that fact appears to have prejudiced him. It will not be questioned that appointments to the Volunteer Force should not be governed by political partisan feeling, but in this case there is—not to place it too high—considerable ground for suspicion that the appointment was influenced by political considerations.

\*(2.33.) MR. E. STANHOPE: I had never heard of Colonel Sewell or Major Ford until yesterday, and I had no idea whether they were Conservatives or Liberals. The Military Authorities have exercised their choice in this matter without the smallest regard to political opinions, and they have always evinced a marked objection to such being brought forward. Colonel Sewell was selected on his merits and military qualifications, and I am satisfied he will make a very efficient Commanding Officer.

*Mr. Pickersgill*

(2.35.) DR. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid.): I have listened with great interest to the remarks of the right hon. Gentleman on the Militia, but he did not mention what I have several times called attention to—the exceptional position of the Irish Militia. It is really ridiculous, the position they occupy in consequence of the way in which they are officered. It is a noteworthy fact, so far as Ireland is concerned, that year after year the police records show that hundreds of these Militiamen are tried and convicted for absenting themselves from the different trainings. We find also that the effect of the training they get is to make them mere useless members of society. I have had some experience of Poor Law administration, and I can say that a large proportion of the able-bodied male paupers in the South of Ireland belong to the Militia. The Vice-Guardians of the Cork Union will confirm me in this. These men leave the workhouse and take part in the annual drill, and afterwards return and become a burden on the ratepayers. Again, last year while I was the guest of the Chief Secretary in Irish Prisons, I had the opportunity of speaking to several Medical Officials, and they told me that a surprising number of Militiamen spend the major portion of their time in gaol. That is the state of the Irish Militia, and it is not such as the right hon. Gentleman has reason to be proud of. A great deal is due to the bad example of Militia officers. I have heard from many military friends expressions of indignant disgust at the mismanagement of the Irish Militia. Any one living in the North, South, East, or West of Ireland, who knows anything about Militia regiments, is perfectly well aware that the annual period of training is nothing more than a carousal, and that card play goes on from early morning until late at night. I have seen it myself over and over again. The hon. and gallant Gentleman spoke about the inspections. To my mind they are nothing more nor less than a solemn farce. Regiments are put through a few evolutions, the Commanding Officers congratulate the Regimental Officers, the Regimental Officers congratulate the men, and the whole thing winds up with a banquet and a ball, which are

the principal items in the day's programme. I know that some of these Militia regiments are looked upon as a training ground for young officers who seek to enter the Service through the Militia. I maintain that they are bad schools for these young men, who get into the habit of gambling, and often, instead of being able to pass into the Army, become derelict and have to seek another means of gaining a livelihood. I know many instances in which young men have thus been ruined, and in which the facts have been hushed up by the Commanding Officer in order to save the credit of the regiment. I have seen disgraceful scenes in connection with these Militia regiments, and I only wish hon. Members would look into these matters for themselves. The hon. Member for South Tyrone says he wishes to promote temperance. Well, if he would only trouble himself to witness the scenes which occur when Militia regiments are disbanded on arriving at Bandon terminus, in the city of Cork, I think he would have his temperance principles strengthened. Now, I happened to live right opposite that particular station for many years, and I witnessed the disgraceful scenes which were going on. From an early hour in the morning until midnight the station was besieged by poor women and children awaiting the arrival of the train, and when the regiment reached the terminus, and the men were disbanded, they all adjourned to the nearest public-houses, and scenes of great disorder were continually occurring. I say positively that at this time the streets were never safe after an early hour in the evening. I do not think it is wise or right to disband all the men at once. I have seen the Adjutant of a Militia regiment actually beaten by the men, and the pickets driven back. Surely some steps could, and ought, to be taken to prevent such occurrences. May I suggest to the Government that they should commence the necessary reforms by first dealing with the officers, and making them real officers. Instead of letting them look upon the annual training as so many days' sport, let them look well after the men; let them try and promote true soldierly habits in the regiment; and if they do that, I think a different state of affairs would soon prevail. The

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Secretary of State for War has I understand, approved some scheme for passing old pensioners into the Militia regiments. I think that is not a satisfactory arrangement, for it is calculated to cause a certain amount of friction between these pensioners and the permanent staff. I have on two or three occasions brought under the notice of the House some questions in connection with the Waterford Artillery Militia, who, I think, have not been treated in a proper and considerate way. I trust the right hon. Gentleman will look into this matter, and attempt to redress the grievances complained of. Then there comes the question of vaccination. During this short annual training a good deal of time is spent upon vaccination. Why could not that be avoided by only enlisting men who had been already vaccinated? I think there is a good deal of ridiculous humbug and bunkum about the Militia Force. The Militia Officers try to ape the officers of the Line, especially in the matter of their uniform, and if they would only give the attention devoted to this question to the real duties of officers I think it would be much better for the force, and we should get a marked improvement in it.

(3.0.) MR. BRODRICK: The hon. Member has made a very long speech about the Irish Militia, and it is impossible for me to deal with all the points that he has raised. He has had a good deal to say against the Force, and I can only reply that the reports which have reached my right hon. Friend, the Secretary for War, do not bear out the hon. Gentleman's view as to the condition of the Militia regiments. At the same time the hon. Gentleman will recollect that the Irish command is now about to be placed in the hands of Lord Wolseley, of whose military capacity the House entertains a very high opinion. We may rest assured that statements of the character made by the hon. Gentleman respecting the condition of the Militia force in Ireland will not escape the attention of Lord Wolseley. I think there could be no officer more determined that every regiment under his command shall be efficient, and he certainly will bring himself *en rapport* with all that is going on. The hon. Member has said some-

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thing about the number of Militiamen who, when the training is not proceeding, live in workhouses. I think the number is not quite so large as he imagines, and it is not infrequently the case that men who have come from the workhouses to the training enlist into the Line at the end of the training.

(3.4.) DR. TANNER: I think if the hon. Gentleman will make an inquiry of the officials in Irish Workhouses he will find that what I have said in this respect is accurate. Now, I should like to say that I object to the system under which the men are trained at Spike Island. If you want to make these men thoroughly efficient it would be far better to put them in barracks with a good Line regiment. They would then have an example of military life which is certainly not afforded them at the present time, for now they have every opportunity of contracting bad habits.

(3.5.) MR. P. J. O'BRIEN (Tipperary, N.): I wish to put a question, not for the first time, as to the conduct of officers in taking part in political agitation while they are engaged in active service, and in assisting in evictions of Irish tenants.

(3.6.) MR. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne): I have no personal knowledge of the condition of Militia regiments, but I must say I think the spirit in which my hon. Friend's remarks were met by the right hon. Gentlemen on the Front Bench is not calculated to inspire us with much hope that there will be an improvement. I rise to bring under the notice of the Government the conduct of certain regiments. I am not sufficiently acquainted with the constitution of the Army to be able to say whether they were Militia or not, but it was a regiment on duty at Falcarragh when I was there last year, and the conduct of the men on that occasion certainly bore out the general description of their behaviour which my hon. Friend has given us today. There was great disorder and drunkenness going on every evening while the regiment was there. The few public-houses which exist there were always open and constantly filled with the men. My hon. Friend the Member for Mid Tipperary was on one occasion assaulted by the men without the slightest provocation, and I do hope that the Government will take some steps to put an end to this misconduct.

*Mr. Brodrick*

(3.8.) MR. E. HARRINGTON (Kerry, W.): I have no personal acquaintance with the officers of the Kerry Militia Regiment; but I know that the men are a very excellently conducted body of men. The officers are puppies and cads drawn from various parts of the country. I must say that they have made for themselves a nice name by the nightly scenes of disorder in the streets of Tralee. This has been going on for twelve years, and I hope a stop will soon be put to it. A few of them amuse themselves by wrenching our door-knockers off. Some of my friends joined with me in putting a stop to that practice, and we were successful. The next act of these young officers was, when they had left the County Club one night, to go down a particular street and break every pane of glass which they could reach with their sticks. We hear great protests sometimes about cruelty to animals, yet these officers on one occasion took it into their heads to tar a goat, swamp it in oil, and then to set fire to it. These are the men who play at soldiers. I say that they are the merest ragtag and bobtail of landlordism. If they were wanted to fight for their country, they would either become Members of this House, or they would get some appointment which would relieve them of the necessity of endangering their precious lives. The officers mostly are young fellows whose fathers do not know what to do with them, and their rowdiness, I can assure the right hon. Gentleman, causes extreme dissatisfaction among the inhabitants of the town of Tralee, which is one of the few places where the old-fashioned night-watchman is still in existence. Many of the officers are Justices of the Peace, or sons of Magistrates, and it is most interesting on some morning after these scenes to hear the moral lectures delivered by the occupants of the Bench. One night the officers broke into the house of a Sub-Sheriff of the County and committed an indecent disfigurement on his person. Those who did this belonged to the County Club clique. These people are a distinct class from the inhabitants generally, and they prove that they are gentlemen by acting in a most blackguardly manner. I do not know whether the Minister for War has any control over them, but in order to try and get some assurance from him, I beg

to move that you do report Progress and ask leave to sit again.

THE CHAIRMAN, being of opinion that the Motion was an abuse of the Rules of the House, declined to propose the Question thereupon to the Committee.

MR. HARRINGTON: It is a legitimate grievance that the Minister at the head of the Department should not stay in the House while the Department for which he is responsible is being discussed. I regard this matter as one of real gravity—

\*MR. E. STANHOPE: I have not been out of the House.

MR. E. HARRINGTON: I have nothing further to say on that subject, but I would press on the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary for War that there ought to be greater care exercised in the control of the Militia. There was a time, last July, when there were some very disgraceful proceedings in connection with the Militia of Kerry. There is a certain individual who has a command in the Militia, and who has certainly managed to bring great disgrace upon the battalion with which he is connected. He goes there at the annual training, but he dares not show his face at any other part of the year, because he is so much in debt that nearly every bailiff in the county would be likely to take him in arrest. He can only show himself at such a time by reason of the protection afforded him by his uniform. I am sorry any attack has been made by my hon. Friend on the militiamen themselves, because, whether they come from the farms or from the workhouse, they are a much more decent body than their officers. Indeed, I do not know that there is a more contemptible set than the tag-rag and bob-tail of the officers of the Militia. I hope they will in future exercise a little more control over themselves, and that they will not avail themselves of a temporary opportunity during the training season of annoying and outraging the feelings of the people, as has hitherto too often been the case. There ought to be some control on the part of the Authorities, whereby they can be prevented from exercising the offensive functions they indulge; because the Irish people ought not to be wantonly annoyed and insulted.

(3.18.) DR. TANNER: I had no intention to make any attack on the Militia. All I desired to do was to point out certain disgraceful scenes that have occurred at certain annual trainings; and I think the committee will have understood that what I referred to as the cause of all this trouble in the Militia was the conduct of certain persons, such as have been alluded to by my hon. Friend—men of the landlord or well-to-do class, who go into the Militia for the purpose of gaining a sort of spurious reputation, and of taking a false position in society. I pointed out that the drunken habits of these officers were a source of serious danger to the men, as I am sure must be obvious to every one who reflects upon the matter. There is another point in regard to which I think the Committee ought to have some explanation. It is not, in point of fact, an Irish question—I allude to the Yeomanry Corps. I do not know that we have many of these Yeomanry Cavalry in Ireland; but surely in this nineteenth century some attempt ought to be made to do away with the absurd system whereby that force is organised and carried on. I admit that the uniform is a very gorgeous one, and there are some splendid specimens of it at the Military Exhibition; but I should think that that uniform is far more costly than it should be in the case of men who do not belong to the wealthy class. At the present moment, the Yeomanry force is not an efficient force, and, in spite of its uniform, it is not even a showy force, because, as the men provide their own horses, they are badly mounted, at any rate as regards uniformity. On account of the shortness of the periods of service, they can never be completely trained, and, indeed, are, even at their best, but badly trained. What could any General—I do not care whether he be an officer possessing all the qualifications of General Roberts, Sir Evelyn Wood, and Lord Wolseley rolled into one—do with a body trained and mounted as this is? Why, Sir, they are mounted largely on cart-horses, and if you wanted them to gallop past, they would tail off like a body of Irish mares in a three-mile drag hunt. Such a force is simply ridiculous, and the question of maintaining it ought to command the serious attention of the House. Moreover, the point as to the sabres served

out to these men deserves consideration. If you want to make the Yeomanry efficient, instead of letting them provide their own horses, as they now do, why should they not be furnished with mounts from some of the regular cavalry regiments, so that for the period of their training they would at any rate have proper steeds, so that when called on to trot or gallop past they might do so in decent formation instead of presenting the ridiculous scenes we constantly witness now. Besides this, it is not satisfactory that these men should, as at present, have to ride so many miles to parade, where at wet seasons they appear in a really filthy condition; with horses and uniforms splashed all over with the mud of dirty roads and lanes. Is that the sort of thing the authorities like to see? And does it tend in any way to increase the efficiency of the men? I have only seen the Yeomanry out on two or three occasions, and I have also seen some of their officers decorated in gorgeous uniforms, on the bench behind Her Majesty's Ministers when they have been called on to move or second the Address to the Throne. I think that if any inquiry is necessary in regard to the Yeomanry Force, the means might easily be afforded by hon. and right hon. Gentlemen opposite who are conversant with cavalry matters. This would be of some practical purpose, and would be much better than talking here more or less at random, as must be the case in continuing such a Debate as this. I now beg to move the reduction of this Vote by the sum of £1,000 in connection with the Yeomanry Cavalry, in order that we may be enabled to obtain the assurance of the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary for War that some useful reforms are intended in regard to this force.

Motion made, and Question, "That Item H, Yeomanry, be reduced by £1,000,"—(*Dr. Tanner*,)—put, and negatived.

Original Question put, and agreed to. (3.30).

3. £655,000, for Transport and Remounts.

\*(3.50) *SIR W. BARTTELOT*: I believe I may congratulate my right hon. Friend, but especially General Ravenhill, on having supplied the Army

*Dr. Tanner*

with such an efficient lot of remounts, and also on having got as many as 16,000 horses registered which can be used in case of necessity. But there is a question that I wish to put to him, and it is this—whether there are not to be some Cavalry Manœuvres at Aldershot, and, if so, whether the Inspecting General of Cavalry is not to be in command of these troops. It is an important question, and I have no doubt that there is some very good reason why he should not be asked to command these troops on this particular occasion. Still as Inspecting General of Cavalry, he ought, on an occasion of that kind, to have the opportunity of being able to state whether these troops are or are not in good order and condition.

\**MR. E. STANHOPE*: I have to say in reply to my hon. and gallant Friend that the manœuvres of this year are not general manœuvres; they are mainly to exercise the Cavalry Brigade at Aldershot under the command of Sir Baker Russell, and of course under the supervision of Sir Evelyn Wood, the General Officer who at this time is absolutely Chief General.

(3.53.) *DR. TANNER*: In the public Press recently there have been several complaints in connection with the purchase of horses. Certainly the horses of Ireland, if I am rightly informed, have been boycotted in this matter. Anybody who will take the trouble to inquire will find that the cream of the French cavalry horses, and a great number of German cavalry horses, are drawn from Ireland. If that is so, why are they not bought by the English Government? As good mounts are so difficult to obtain, notably in the present day, a satisfactory move might be made in this matter by the Home Secretary. I congratulate the right hon. Gentleman on what has just been said by the right hon. Baronet, that he has 16,000 horses. But what I should like to call attention to in this Vote is the payment for the conveyance of horses and men—charges which would be more conveniently shown in the Army Vote. I think it would be much more advisable to sub-divide the matter, and show what is for the Army and what for the Navy.

;(3.55.) *MR. E. STANHOPE*: I have to say, in reply to the complaint about sea transport appearing in these Estimates,

that it is a system which has been adopted after careful consideration, with a view to truly showing what the Army costs. With regard to the purchase of horses, we have experienced no difficulty. I do not think the hon. Member desires us to buy horses in Canada when we can purchase them in the South of Ireland. I think it is best to let well alone.

(3.56.) DR. TANNER: I should not like to see any country boycotted, and I wish to see Canada fairly treated, especially after the farmers have spent such a large amount of money in stocking their farms. But I think there ought to be fair play all round.

Vote agreed to.

4. £3,049,100, for Warlike and other Stores—Supply and Repair.

\*(4.0.) SIR W. BARTELOT: I should like to make a few remarks upon this most important Vote. I must, however, first congratulate my right hon. Friend on the statement he made the other night that the manufacture of guns had now overtaken the demand, and that guns were now ready for every ship and every fort, and, I presume, he included all the coaling stations also. That is, indeed, a very great statement to be able to make. I should like, however, to ask this one question: Are these very large guns to be still manufactured? I do not think, so far as can be judged, that they have been a great success. In the case of war, if these enormous guns once got out of order, there would be a difficulty in dealing with them which I believe would prove insuperable, and in consequence they would be of little or no use. But, be that as it may, the question is a very important one, because the smaller guns are much more easy to make, much more easy to handle, and much more efficient in service. Then I come to another question—as to the new rifle. I am very anxious to hear from my right hon. Friend what is his own belief as to the new rifle. I have had a very large number of communications from various people with regard to it, and many of these people do not believe it to be the best arm that can be found. They may be prejudiced, but, at the same time, when we look at the enormous amount we have spent on this new arm, we

ought, at any rate, to know that we have got an efficient weapon—as efficient a one as can be found in the world. It is like going back to ancient history, I am afraid, to speak of the Martini-Henry rifle, but on its first introduction, when Mr. Cardwell, afterwards Lord Cardwell, was Secretary for War, I brought forward a Motion to have a Committee granted, which I much wish had been granted, because the alterations in the Martini-Henry were so great that it was almost a different weapon from the original one. I should like to know, therefore, what was the date on which the Select Committee was formed to inquire into this new magazine rifle, whether they altered the plans or not, how long they were in considering the plans, and whether the Committee consisted of the best and most practical persons to consider and judge the weapon. I should like to know on what date the pattern was sealed, because after the pattern was sealed I presume the making of the rifle was commenced, and I should like also a return of the expense incurred up to the present time with respect to it; because there is no doubt the rifle has cost a great deal. I have always contended that it is an unwise thing to have a Committee to deal with these matters, instead of leaving it to the profession or trade to manufacture the articles in competition, and then giving a large order to the firm which has succeeded in perfecting the weapon. We should also know whether the pattern of the cartridge is finally decided upon, and whether the complete pattern has been sealed. I believe there has been some difficulty with regard to smokeless powder, and that very lately the sample had not been sealed. There are many opinions on the question of smokeless power, but I do not wish to go into them, and I am quite sure my right hon. Friend will give us all the information it is in his power to give, both as regard the weapon and the ammunition. He may say it is not desirable that foreigners should know the number of our arms, and that is a question I will not ask him; but I will ask how many of these rifles are being manufactured per week throughout the country, for both the Government factories and the trade are turning out large numbers. They are very costly weapons, and though if they are the



best there is nothing to be said, yet if they are not we ought to know the real state of the case. My right hon. Friend had, I know, to decide a very difficult question, but I have information from Bisley that this arm was withdrawn from the prize competition for which it had been entered. Whether that is correct or not I am not going now to inquire, but that and other damaging statements are being made by people who ought to know whether the arm is a good one or a bad one. I want to know, then, whether the right hon. Gentleman is satisfied that the arm is the best that can be procured, whether he is prepared to supply it to all the troops, and whether it can be relied on with confidence by the soldier in time of war. It is a great advantage in the case of these weapons when the soldier can take them to pieces and put them together again without being compelled to have recourse to the armourer, should anything go wrong. This Vote in connection with the Navy Vote amounts to £3,512,000. That is an enormous sum, and we ought to take care that we expend it wisely and well. In conclusion, I would only observe, having sat upon the Royal Commission on Warlike Stores, that it is a matter for serious consideration whether there ought not to be an independent Ordnance Department to deal, not only with the Army, but also with the Navy. A grave responsibility would be taken from my right hon. Friend, and would be put into the hands of the highest Authorities you could find.

\*MR. E. STANHOPE: My hon. Friend will observe that this question does not arise on this Vote, and I could not possibly answer him with regard to ordnance.

\*SIR W. BARTELOT: No, it does not exactly, but yet it is closely connected with this Vote, for the Ordnance Department has to deal with every item in this Vote. The question is of such vital importance that it deserves the most serious consideration. Therefore, I should like to know from my right hon. Friend what his intentions as to the future are.

\*(4.10.) MR. E. STANHOPE: In attempting to answer my hon. Friend before any further questions are asked, I cannot follow him with regard to the Ordnance Department, about which

*Sir W. Barttelot*

he has put questions. As regards guns for the Army, we have only ordered one gun for the defence of any fort of above ten inches diameter, and most of the guns are of smaller calibre and capable of being worked by hand. The hon. Gentleman asked me a great number of questions with regard to the new rifle. He wants to know, first of all the manner in which the pattern was chosen, the date of the appointment of the Committee, and when the pattern was sealed. I suppose he is aware that whenever any new rifle is to be adopted, it is prudent to see whether it answers expectations, and, therefore, it was that when the Martini-Henry rifle was under consideration, a Committee sat a considerable time for the purpose of seeing of what the Martini-Henry rifle was capable, before the pattern was sealed. It was not until 1887 that a Committee was specifically instructed to consider the Magazine rifle, and it was in my room, on November 1st, 1888, that the pattern of the rifle was sealed. The pattern was chosen by a Committee of experts, whose Report was given to the War Office, and at a meeting in my room everybody in any way connected with the War Office was called upon for a personal expression of his opinion about the manufacture, and one and all decided unanimously that the rifle was satisfactory. The manufacture of it was at once proceeded with. Then as to the expenses incurred in the manufacture of the Magazine rifle, I am unable to give the hon. Gentleman the information which he asks for. Nor am I prepared to admit anything about the sum which is likely to be paid. Then my hon. Friend asks me about the numbers of the new rifles now being manufactured. He knows quite well that it is now being tried on a very large scale. It has been tried experimentally in Egypt; it has been tried in India, where a large number has been issued and where there has been full opportunity of testing it under the most useful conditions. The reports that come to me I think prove beyond any doubt that it is an excellent rifle, and that, even if some small improvements are necessary after an experience of a year and a half, it is believed to be one of the best, if not the best rifle in the hands of any Army in Europe. The other

day there was a remark in the papers with regard to the failure of this rifle at Bisley. I would like to tell the Committee what did happen. It is quite true that when a number of these rifles were fired on the 26th, five of them were rendered useless. But that was not due to any defect in the rifle. The rifles were perfect. What happened really was that the nickel case in which the bullet stood stripped off and remained in the chamber, making it difficult to subsequently load the rifle. We knew that existed in the first ammunition made for the rifle. Since then we have tried to remedy the nickel coating, and we have reason to believe that this difficulty, which has been experienced in all foreign countries, has been overcome. This question of ammunition for rifles has all along been a great difficulty both here and abroad. In foreign countries you find millions of rounds have to be sacrificed as unsatisfactory. If we have found a difficulty in providing ammunition there need be no surprise. The difficulty about the composition of the bullet I hope we have surmounted. We are now issuing a black powder which does not charge under heat or cold, and is therefore satisfactory for this country and for India. We hope before long to be able to issue a smokeless powder, but this is still in the stage of experiment. We have such a powder, which we hope may be suitable for our purpose, but it is impossible to definitely approve it until it has been tested for a considerable time in all climates. We are applying these tests, and not until we find it stands these tests shall we be justified in relying upon this powder alone. Experience teaches us that many powders that have been submitted to us are unsuitable because they are susceptible to variations of climate. As to the supply of Magazine rifles, I may say that already there are large numbers in the hands of our troops; but when I am asked to say the rate of manufacture, that, I think, is information it is desirable to reserve; but I hope hon. Members will take it from me that, at the present moment, the rate of progress is extremely satisfactory, and private firms are providing machinery which will in time to come add considerably to their powers of supply. I think I have answered all the

questions put to me, but I shall be glad to supply any omissions I may have made. I am able to say that, having given full consideration to the subject, having taken the best opinions available, having read carefully the reports made, the new rifle is admirably adapted for our purposes, and likely to serve the wants of the Army in every respect.

(4.19.) COLONEL NOLAN (Galway, N.): I do not think the right hon. Gentleman had a very difficult task, and I do not think he could go very far wrong, or make any very great mistake. I do not attach much importance to the soldier not being able to take his rifle to pieces. I have heard of sportsmen doing such things, and not being able to put the parts together again. It is better that the soldier should be content with cleaning his rifle, and not fiddle about with the mechanism. I think myself it is an extremely good rifle, but I confess I should like to hear a little more about the ammunition and the experiments made. There has sprung up at the War Office a policy not of avowed secrecy but of partial secrecy, and the suppression of returns that formerly used to be issued. This policy has its good side, of course, and there are matters upon which the War Office should be reticent; but it has its bad side, too; it greatly increases the responsibility of the Minister, and deprives him of open discussion which is often extremely valuable. As to this refusal to say how many rifles can be manufactured in a given time, why, I can recollect Secretaries for War giving us an estimate of how many could be produced annually or weekly, and there seemed to be Departmental returns issued, which latterly did not give us much information, but they did give us some, but now these have been suppressed, and the War Office has now taken upon itself the responsibility of working entirely in the dark so far as the engineering and public opinion of the country is concerned. There must be some secrets I know, but let them be as few as possible, because I think that more harm may be done by the suppression of free criticism than by information given to foreign nations. As regards such matters as the Brennan torpedo, for instance, it is as well to preserve secrecy, for we paid much for it, and there is reasonable probability that for some

years no other country will get it. But, in the case of the rifle, I doubt whether the criticism of the outside world is not much more valuable than any advantage that can be gained by secrecy. Besides, I do not believe that there is the secrecy there is supposed to be, and I have known officers reproached by military attachés because they have not sent the latter information almost as soon as it has been before the War Office, and this was not done in a surreptitious manner, but under the sanction of the Secretary of State. There is no doubt most facts are communicated to foreign countries upon which our own engineers do not have an opportunity of expressing an opinion. There is no need, I think, for secrecy with reference to experiments with ammunition, tables of trajectories and elevations, for instance, as to which I made an inquiry a little time ago. We have not had that amount of use of the new rifle by the troops which will enable officers of the Army to form an opinion of its capabilities, and I think we ought to have from the right hon. Gentleman some more complete statement as to the black powder cartridges; he only tells us cheerily that he has got over his difficulty. I think we ought to have information that will give us a fair idea of what the new rifle will do, and I do not see there will be any advantage in keeping this information secret. I do not ask the right hon. Gentleman to publish the secret of the manufacture of the smokeless powder; but I think he might tell us, if not more about the smokeless powder, whether the black powder cartridges are available in sufficient quantities and adapted for the new rifle.

\*(4.24.) MR. E. STANHOPE: I am able to assure the hon. and gallant Member that we are keeping up a fair and reasonable supply of black powder cartridges, although, of course, in view of the issue of the new rifle to all the troops, it will be necessary to build up a very considerable reserve of ammunition. I do not think I can tell the hon. and gallant Gentleman anything about the smokeless powder, and under the circumstances I do not think it is unreasonable secrecy. As soon as we feel justified in doing so, we shall make the matter public.

COLONEL NOLAN: And as to the publication of the trajectories?

*Colonel Nolan*

\*MR. E. STANHOPE: I have no knowledge. I will consider whether or not they can be published.

(4.28.) MR. MUNRO FERGUSON (Leith, &c.): I desire to ask the right hon. Gentleman if he can give us any information as to the progress of arrangements for defending the Firth of Forth? It is an important question—the defence of the most important estuary north of the Thames.

(4.29.) MR. BRODRICK: The defence of Edinburgh and the Firth of Forth has been taken up very vigorously, and we are in hope shortly to be in possession of land on the Island of Inchkeith, upon which to mount heavy guns of long range, which will be provided from the funds at our disposal from the Imperial Defence Loan. I may mention in reference to this question of the defence of ports that do not occupy a strategical position, localities might come forward and help us by providing the land, if we provide guns, labour to mount them, and ammunition. I do not know whether the hon. Member can use any influence in that direction. Inchkeith is in the middle of the Forth, and there we hope we have secured land, but as to further land defences in that part of the country, land is not easy of acquisition, and any help from localities we should be grateful for.

(4.30.) MR. MUNRO FERGUSON: There is a very influential Local Defence Committee in the district, and the Secretary has represented to me that he has been in communication with the Fortifications Department, and inquired as to the manner in which the Committee might be of use in forwarding provision for armaments. There is every desire to assist, and if a statement is furnished to the Local Committee, showing exactly what is required, I will not vouch for the land being found, but I am sure the statement will receive full consideration.

MR. BRODRICK: I am obliged to the hon. Gentleman, and will forward him a Memorandum.

(4.31.) MR. BUCHANAN (Edinburgh, W.): I do not think the War Office can expect that localities will contribute towards matters of Imperial defence. I do not think the War Office should delude itself with the hope of monetary or other contributions from

the community of Edinburgh in a matter which is of supreme Imperial importance for Great Britain, the protection of the Firth of Forth from attack by sea. Short of that, however, I am sure the Department will have every assistance from the Local Committee in the carrying out of the defensive policy of the Government.

(4.32.) **SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL** (Kirkcaldy, &c.): As representing the other side of the Forth, I am bound to say I think the present scheme of defence is totally inadequate. Kirkcaldy is outside the scheme for the protection of the Channel between Kinghorn and Inchkeith. Upon this subject of coast defence I cannot but be surprised that it has never occurred to the Government to organise a force from among the 30,000 Scotch fishermen, the finest men in the world, to man the new batteries when sufficient guns are provided—

**THE CHAIRMAN:** Order, order!

**SIR G. CAMPBELL:** I should be trenching upon the rules of order if I were to carry out the suggestion in detail.

Vote agreed to.

5. £665,200, for Works, Buildings, and Repairs: Cost, including Superintending Staff.

6. £104,800, for Miscellaneous Effective Services.

(4.38.) **MAJOR RASCH:** In connection with this Vote, may I mention the claims of the Association for the Assistance of Discharged Soldiers? It is an institution which is in receipt of Government support to the extent of £200 a year; the chairman is Sir Donald Stewart, and the manager Colonel Boyes; the head quarters are in London, with outlying quarters in other large towns. The Association has had very considerable success hitherto, and through its agency something like 5,000 men have been provided with occupation, and wages amounting to about £250,000 have been paid. At the present moment the Society is in want of support, which I think the War Office might readily give, monetary support and the assistance which would be afforded if officers or half-pay men desired to afford assistance in the management of outlying barracks of the Society in provincial districts.

**THE CHAIRMAN:** I do not quite gather the reference to this Vote.

**MAJOR RASCH:** I am referring to the item of £200 for the assistance of the Society for Assisting Discharged and Retired Soldiers included in the grants and certain institutions.

**THE CHAIRMAN:** The particulars are given on page 80; but I do not find the particular Institution mentioned there.

**MAJOR RASCH:** It is not specifically named, but the item is included under that head. All I venture to urge upon the Government is that they might well increase the amount of monetary assistance, and also that they might get officers on half-pay, or who hold the position of adjutant in the Militia, Yeomanry, or Volunteers, in manufacturing districts, to take upon themselves the management of outlying offices of the Society. Also, I think the War Office might allow in the Department a desk or bureau for the promotion of the objects of the Society. I may mention that the Government contribute £200 towards the Society for Assisting Discharged Prisoners, and surely somewhat more help might be given in aid of discharged soldiers. When five years ago the Association was started the gentlemen who formed the Committee were informed by the First Lord of the Treasury that the Government Department would do their utmost to find employment for the men through the Society, but I believe there have been no applications of the kind. It seems to me that for an institution of this kind the Government should increase the amount of support if they think it is worthy their assistance at all. I need only mention the Report of the Inspector General of Recruiting, and his remarks on the deterrent effect upon recruiting there is in the fact that discharged soldiers, unable to find employment, go to swell the crowd of tramps who wander all over the country. I trust the right hon. Gentleman will consider favourably the suggestions I have made.

(4.45.) **COLONEL NOLAN:** I think this is the proper opportunity to ask what the Government intend to do in reference to the premises of the Royal United Service Institution. The Government have given notice that the premises will be required, and the Institution has

been under this notice for the past five years. But meantime the buildings are being allowed to get into a state of disrepair, and the appearance brings a certain amount of discredit to a valuable institution. I understand that the Government have some hopes of providing another hall, and perhaps the right hon. Gentleman can give us some information. I do not in any way ask as representing the Institution, of which I am only an ordinary member.

\*(4.46.) MR. E. STANHOPE: The hon. and gallant Gentleman is quite right, this matter has been for a long time in suspense, and the Government are under some undertaking to endeavour, if possible, to provide a site. Both my noble Friend (Lord G. Hamilton) and I take great interest in the Institution, and for a long time we have been endeavouring to bring about an arrangement with the Treasury. Although I am unable to announce any decision, yet I hope to be able to do so at no distant date. As to the question of my hon. and gallant Friend behind me, I may say that I recognise the good object of the society he refers to, and it may well be considered whether we ought to be more liberal towards it. The War Office is quite ready to give all encouragement and assistance, and, as my hon. and gallant Friend is aware, our messengers at the War Office are selected from old soldiers. I wish that other Departments were ready to do as the Lord Chancellor has done in the case of the Royal Courts of Justice, and give preference in Public Departments to the claims of old soldiers who desire civil employment. The hon. Member does well to refer to the Report of the Inspector General of Recruiting, and the remarks there have not escaped attention. I will see if anything can be done in further assistance of an object which has my strong sympathy.

Vote agreed to.

7. £1,562,900, for Retired Pay, Half-Pay, and other Non-Effective Charges for Officers, &c.

\*(4.56.) GENERAL FRASER (Lambeth, N.): I desire to speak in the interests of the purchase officers of Her Majesty's Army, whose interests have been most deeply affected by ever-changing warrants promulgated by the War Department, in  
*Colonel Nolan*

consequence of which no officer can look forward to the position he may be placed in at any moment. This uncertainty—compulsory retirement, the loss of prospects of promotion, the retention of the purchase officer's money by the Government of the country—all combine to cause deep disappointment and dissatisfaction amongst the purchase officers. These officers, under the old purchase system, were obliged to invest large sums of money in their commissions, a system enforced as regards regulation money, and unavoidable and fully recognised as regards over-regulation money. They served virtually gratuitously—the amount of their purchase-money being in the hands of the Government—the actual pay they received being not more than the interest of the money invested. When purchase was abolished by warrant in 1871, the purchase officers continued to serve on the faith of warrants; they were told, authoritatively, that they would not suffer in purse or prospects; but new rules and warrants, enforced since that promise was made, have acted most injuriously upon the prospects and incomes of certain of them, and they now seek just compensation for that loss or injury. These officers—many highly distinguished—after their life-long gratuitous service, are now suddenly deprived from being appointed to be on the general officers' list. The reduction of the generals' list from 275, at which number it was fixed by Royal Commission, to the proposed number of 100, was a total reversal of the recommendation of that Royal Commission, which was appointed, chiefly, to report upon the best means of carrying out the promise made when purchase was abolished—

"That the flow of promotion should be kept at the same standard as it was before the abolition of purchase."

I beg to call attention to the statement of the Commissioners in fixing that number—namely, that promotion to the rank of Major General was intended not only to provide a list from which officers fitted for command could be taken, but also as a reward for good and faithful service. High commands have always been given from the general's list by selection. If the State had, in 1871, paid down all purchase-money it might fairly enough have introduced new rules. Officers,

many of whom have large sums in the hands of the Government, such as £3,000 and £4,500 regulation money, do not argue whether these rules are necessary or not, but they contend that they should not have been applied to purchase officers whose money was retained by the State. I hold in my hand the claims of two officers who have been compulsorily placed on temporary half-pay on the reduction of the *dépôt* battalions, and were caught in this position on abolition of purchase, and consequently were most unjustly deprived of some £5,300 over-regulation money, on the pretext that the warrant prohibited the Purchase Commissioners from considering any claim of over-regulation for half-pay officers, the total value of these two officers' commissions amounting to £12,000; and also of 12 colonels who have been compulsorily retired from the Service, and whose money the public retains, amounting to £37,040; yet these officers were solemnly informed by succeeding Secretaries of War that their vested interests should in no case suffer. I merely mention these 12 as examples. Many of these officers would most undoubtedly have been promoted to Major General, and have received the retiring allowance of between £600 and £700 per annum, instead of £420, had not, subsequent to 1881, a system been introduced of selecting one-half of the colonels for promotion to Major General. This selection deprived these colonels of half the steps they would otherwise have been entitled to, consequently they have been caught by the age clause, and have each lost some £280 per annum for the remainder of their lives. Are these unfortunate officers not to receive the compensation which Mr. Childers solemnly declared, in 1881, should be awarded to any sufferer by the alterations in the warrant? I would further mention the case of an officer serving in India who was ordered by the authorities at the Horse Guards to send in his papers. He complied with the order, and some weeks afterwards he died; then the authorities refused to pay his relatives the over-regulation value of his commission—£3,200—although they were fully entitled thereto by regulation. The regulation is that an officer who volun-

tarily retires must live for six weeks after applying to retire, for his family to claim from Government his purchase-money. This officer did not voluntarily retire, and lived beyond the six weeks. Can anything further be wanting to prove the tyranny of the War Office? That any Government should take upon itself to wipe away warrants made by its predecessors—ignoring authoritative promises—and to retain the fortunes of officers whose lifelong services have been gratuitous; to debar them from the rank for which they have served to obtain, will surely be recognised by every Member of the House as unjustifiable. The Courts of Law in England do not recognise the claims or rights of officers; I therefore appeal to a Court of Honour—the House of Commons—and I urge that an immediate inquiry into the present unfortunate position of the purchase officers be made through a Royal Commission.

\*(5.5.) MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton): Last year the right hon. Gentleman undertook to look into the question of the rate of commutation of pensions to be allowed the men, and its unequal proportion as against the rates and facilities enjoyed by officers; perhaps now he can make some statement on the subject?

(5.5.) GENERAL GOLDSWORTHY (Hammersmith): I would support the appeal made by my hon. and gallant Friend (General Fraser). There can be no doubt whatever that the present regulations affect very injuriously many of the old purchase officers. Personally, I am in favour of a reduction of the number of Generals, and do not think that individual claims should stand in the way of the good of the State, but, at the same time, when the State gains an advantage the individual claims should receive consideration. I appeal to the right hon. Gentleman to give the matter his careful consideration. Here I may state my opinion that the action of the Secretary for War in the conduct of the affairs of the Army generally has been very beneficial and of great advantage to the country. Still, in the exercise of the great power of the prerogative there should be exercised the utmost consideration in favour of individuals, and a straining of that power rather in

that direction than against individual interests.

\*(5.7.) MR. BROOKFIELD (Sussex, Rye): I desire to call attention to a point, not, perhaps, of very great importance to the country or to the Department, but of vital importance to certain individuals. I refer to the question which has been raised with regard to the right of officers who retire, but are eligible for employment, to commute portions of their pensions. The twofold underlying principle which regulates the commutation of pensions I believe to be a sound one, namely, that officers who are not usually experienced in matters of business and civil life should be discouraged from risking the whole of the sums they receive in commutation of their pensions in various speculations, while, on the other hand, the State should have some tangible security that it will be able to insure the services of those officers in cases of emergency. But this, I think, only applies to the right to commute the whole of a pension; it does not apply to the commutation of a small portion, say a sixth. Has the Secretary for War ever considered the position of an officer temporarily stranded for want of a little ready money? Take the case of an officer who leaves Her Majesty's Service, and finds himself face to face with all the realities of civil life, and obliged to make provision for all those matters to which he hitherto has not had to give a thought. I have in mind the case of an officer who was recently compelled to retire with the rank of Major and a pension of £300, but eligible for re-employment. His case in many respects was a singular one. He served as a purchase officer for some time in an infantry regiment, until for private reasons, for which he was not responsible, he sold out. He afterwards enlisted in a cavalry regiment, received a commission for the second time, and retired, as I say, with the rank of Major. I mention this case as that of an officer who had shown the utmost zeal and desire to advance in his profession. Meanwhile he had encumbered himself with a wife and the usual complement of children. The result is he finds himself now entirely dependent on his pension, and in very straitened circumstances, obliged to take his children

*General Goldsworthy*

from school, and oppressed with the danger of bankruptcy proceedings. Now, in order to meet present needs he desires to commute a sixth of his pension; he requires a sum of £300 or £400 to place him in financial comfort, and then he has every reason to expect a colonial appointment. I ask the right hon. Gentleman to consider such cases of which this is an example, and, in the interests of common sense and humanity, to allow some relaxation of a regulation which presses with undue severity upon a very deserving class of officers.

(5.10.) MR. A. O'CONNOR: Some time ago, I called the attention of the Secretary for War to the case of an old soldier discharged 40 years ago, and now living at Perth, in Western Australia, in the tenth decade of his life. The decision arrived at after inquiry is that this man is to receive a pension of a shilling a day. By some extraordinary mistake, as I think it must be, this man has been directed to apply for payment to the paymaster at Ashton-under-Lyne. Why a centenarian in Western Australia should send to Ashton-under-Lyne I cannot understand. Perhaps if there is a mistake the right hon. Gentleman will have it rectified. At the same time, I would appeal for some better recognition of this man's claim than a shilling a day for the small remnant of his life, seeing that he has been deprived of his pension for nearly half a century.

(5.12.) SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL: Several hon. Members have advocated in the interest of the Militia Service that officers retired from the Regular Army should serve with the Militia, and I, from the point of view of the ratepayers, would support that suggestion. By leaps and bounds the expenditure under this head is increasing, and surely it is not too much to ask that the officers to whom we make these liberal payments should render their assistance to the Auxiliary Forces. I was disappointed to hear the right hon. Gentleman say that the inducements held out to retiring officers to join the Militia had not been successful in their object. But he did not indicate any remedy. May I suggest to him the desirability of making service with the Auxiliary Forces for a certain period a condition of retirement?

(5.13.) MR. BRODRICK: With regard to the last point, I may remind the hon. Gentleman that during the last few years retired regular officers have been largely employed in the Auxiliary Forces, though not to the extent we could wish. As regards the position of purchase officers, 20 years have now elapsed since the abolition of purchase, and, though I do not say that is a length of time that should preclude consideration of any case of hardship, it must be recollected that whatever injury was thereby done to proposals of promotion, the Treasury are bound, by rules and regulations then laid down, to carry out the recommendations of the Commission. My right hon. Friend is desirous of looking at every case with the strongest wish to do justice to the officers; but, on the other hand, we are bound by rules and regulations on this extremely intricate subject. Touching on another point, namely, the loss of the prospect of promotion by colonels, such as has been felt owing to the recent proposed reduction in the general officers' list, I think that, in considering that reduction, my hon. and gallant Friend should in that connection also consider the improvement which was made in the position of the colonels. They are allowed to remain on full pay up to 57 years of age, two years additional, and every colonel employed as such, under the warrant which will come into operation on the 1st January next, will have his pay raised to £500 a year. We desire to do full justice to the claims of retired officers, and the reduction of the general officers' list is taking place by a most gradual process. Only one vacancy in three will at first be absorbed. Indeed, we have been subjected to a very great deal of attack from economists for creating a system which will come into such gradual operation, and because we shall not be able to reduce the list to its normal limits for many years to come. During 1889, 25 colonels were promoted

to the rank of major general, and during the present year the promotion has been even more rapid. Fourteen colonels during the first half of the present year have been promoted to the rank of major general. Considering the size of the British Army, I do not think it can be urged that that shows great stagnation of promotion. I think the whole matter should be looked at from the point of view very ably put forward by the hon. and gallant Member for Hammersmith, when he said that the Secretary of State ought to see that no hardship is done to individuals, and that he should look at cases on their merits, and if it should be found that there is a very great stagnation of promotion after the warrant comes into operation, and that a number of purchase officers who have got very nearly to the top of the list lose by it, their case should be fairly considered and dealt with. An hon. and gallant Member has asked that we should not put an absolute bar to commutation of pensions. He put the case of an officer of the 3rd Dragoon Guards retiring on £300 a year, who, having married and got a family, might desire to commute a part of his pension. We must remember that an officer who has so retired is liable to serve again up to the age of 55, and the view which is held by the Treasury is that so long as an officer is liable to serve Her Majesty again, the retired pay is a retaining fee which he accepts for that purpose. It is impossible to commute his liability and let him go, as it were, absolutely free. It is obvious that it would be unwise that a man in the position of an officer with a wife and family, and who has only £300 a year, should be allowed to fritter away portions of his pension. The experience of the War Office was that officer after officer, under the old system, came forward and commuted one slice of his pension to pay a few debts, and then another slice, and so on, until the pension was entirely swept away. Only the other day an officer, who has won the Victoria Cross, and has a highly distinguished record, inquired whether there was any fund from which he could receive £5, £10, or £15 to keep him out of the workhouse. We must consider cases of that kind. After the age of 55 years we force every officer to keep



as much as £80, so that he may have 30s. a week to prevent him from starving. No further claim for commutation beyond that is entertained, that rule having been laid down after most careful consideration, and with a full desire to do the best for the officers in question. I hope my hon. and gallant Friend the Member for Lambeth will rest satisfied that everything we can do to mitigate the difficulties of purchase officers will be done, but we cannot go beyond the limit I have stated. I am sure the appointment of a Royal Commission would merely excite the falsest hopes and expectations. I do not think any Commission would be able to persuade the House of Commons to make the drastic changes the hon. and gallant Member proposes. With regard to the commutation of the pensions of the men, to which the hon. Member for Northampton has referred, I have pressed that matter very strenuously on the Treasury, and I trust that before Parliament meets again in November they will have arrived at a decision on the subject, and that I shall be able to inform the hon. Member exactly what are the number of years' commutation which can be allowed the private soldier. I regret extremely that the numerous calculations which have to be made render it difficult to arrive at a scale, based on past experience, which would be satisfactory, but I promise to do all in my power in the matter before we meet again.

\*(5.14.) COLONEL BLUNDELL (Lancashire, S.W., Ince): I would urge on the War Office a re-consideration of the case of General White. All the facts are before the Department, and a letter written by General White when he made his election proves that he was misled—benevolently, no doubt, but still misled—by the Military Secretary's Department.

(5.24.) MR. BRODRICK: The case has been reviewed over and over again, and I can only say that we have every desire, if we could, to allow General White to make a fresh selection. There were two courses open to him, and he has, unfortunately, chosen the one which  
*Mr. Brodrick*

has turned out not to be most to his advantage. The case was put before the Treasury, and was carefully considered by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who came to the conclusion that it would be impossible to allow the election to be made over again. I do not know that I can say anything more. My hon. and gallant Friend is aware that the Government have carefully considered the case, and have come to the conclusion that it is impossible to go back on the decision already arrived at.

\*(5.25.) MR. BROOKFIELD: I must express my disappointment at the statement the hon. Member has made. I am afraid he did not do me the compliment to follow my argument closely. I do not see the consistency of saying that the general policy of the War Office is to give attention to every individual case of hardship as it arises, and to deal with it on its merits, and at the same time to generalise when a specific case does come under his notice. The hon. Gentleman delivered a homily against the evil of allowing officers to fritter away all their pensions bit by bit. But I had expressed my own concurrence with that view, and only asked him in a specific case to sanction the commutation of one-sixth of the pension.

(5.26.) MR. BRODRICK: The hon. Member advocates the commutation in one instance of a sixth, but there would be no finality in sanctioning that or anything else. One officer informed me that one-sixth would be enough, but another said one-fourth is not too much, and another said that it should be one-half. If any limit which would be considered satisfactory could be adopted we should be glad to consider it.

(5.27.) SIR G. CAMPBELL: May I ask what is the youngest age at which an officer can voluntarily retire on a pension for life. Is it 48? I know there has been some attempt to put a restriction upon voluntary retirement. There was a great revolt against that attempt, and I do not know how the thing stands.

(5.28.) MR. BRODRICK: They can retire after 12 years' service, say, at 32

years of age, at 35, 38, and 40, but each scale is less valuable to the officers and more favourable to the State than if they remain until 48 years of age.

\*(5.29.) GENERAL FRASER: How is it that an officer, who has been wounded and who has been rewarded for meritorious conduct, can have that reward taken away? I can mention the case of a very distinguished General Officer who, in 1878, received a letter from the Adjutant General, saying that Her Majesty had been graciously pleased, on the recommendation of the Commander-in-Chief, to nominate him as one of the officers to receive reward for distinguished service. In 1881 he received notice that under the Warrant that reward would be done away with.

\*(5.30.) MR. E. STANHOPE: I shall be very happy to look into the case if the hon. and gallant Member will give me the particulars.

Vote agreed to.

8. £10,000, for Ordnance Factories, &c.

(5.33.) MR. J. W. SIDEBOTHAM (Cheshire, Hyde): I wish to call attention to the short lives of the boilers at Woolwich. They are made by a renowned Lancashire firm, but whilst, in other parts of the country, the average life of a boiler is 20 years, at Woolwich it is only six or seven years. There can be only one cause. The water must be bad. I should think a saving would be effected by laying down pipes and bringing good water from a distance.

\*MR. E. STANHOPE: I am much obliged to my hon. Friend for his suggestion. My attention has never been called to the matter, but I shall be very glad to look into it.

Vote agreed to.

Resolutions to be reported.

#### CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES.

##### CLASS II.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £46,326, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come

in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1891, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Department of Her Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs."

\*(5.34.) MR. MUNRO FERGUSON: I think this Vote ought not to be allowed to pass without some reference to affairs in Africa. Lord Salisbury has said we think of nothing but Africa. A few weeks ago it was "curiously enough" the centre of our interests, although a little earlier it required the efforts of Major Serpa Pinto, Consul Johnson, and the Scotch missionaries to make our Foreign Minister think we had any interest in those regions at all. A step is now being taken in the right direction in regard to the recognition of our African interests. At the same time, it is not Africa alone we think of. I should like to hear something about the progress of affairs in connection with the Behring Sea seal fisheries, about which there has been a very remarkable correspondence. There is also the unhappy conditions of the relations between Great Britain and France in Newfoundland to be considered. There have been some disquieting rumours in regard to matters in Samoa, where America was recently able to effect a settlement which promised some hopes of stability. Great disposition has been shown to treat the Government magnanimously with regard to the Anglo-German Agreement, but it is desirable, now that Heligoland has been finally ceded, that there should be no further reticence. I have never been opposed to the cession of Heligoland, which I considered a fit subject for barter. The only consideration was, seeing the Germans wanted it, that we should get our *quid pro quo*. What we contend is, that there has been no such *quid pro quo*. We cede a European territory to Germany, while Germany flings us back the most worthless part of Zanzibar, a country over which, until

a few years ago, we had supreme influence, and which nobody, except perhaps the Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs, believes will retain the trade it has had in the past. It is somewhat remarkable that the first paragraph in the German *exposé des motifs* is to the effect that the first object of their policy has been to obtain a good Customs system. It would be interesting to hear what motive Her Majesty's Government was actuated with in concluding these arrangements. The disadvantageous terms of our occupation, as compared with those of the German occupation, have been shown. I wish to compare the position of German trade with that of ours on the Zanzibar coast. Germany takes the mainland Sultanate which lies outside the Congo zone. She can bring this territory within the zone of free trade if she desires to do so; but she is likely to retain the mainland strip of the Sultanate outside the free zone, and to hold it under the Treaties of Trade by which the Sultan of Zanzibar was bound. Hitherto there has been free trade between the Sultan's subjects on the island and the mainland of Zanzibar, but now that Germany has assumed the suzerain rights of the Sultan on the mainland, the subjects of the German Emperor will in future have the power of free trade as between the free ports and the mainland of Zanzibar which was formerly enjoyed by the Sultan's subjects in the island with the mainland strip, while goods which enter by the island of Zanzibar will be subjected to the tariff by which the Sultan levies his duties. If German goods, therefore, enter the mainland strip free, our goods entering *via* Zanzibar will enter under the tariff. Unless this has been strictly guarded against in the Agreement, it will, I think, be so, and without an internal system of Customs duties it will become applicable to the whole of the German Protectorate. There will, therefore, be a differential duty against British goods. If so, I do not see how it can be contended that free trade with Zanzibar is not a thing of the past. As to the area handed over to Germany behind the Sultanate, I have very little to say. I would only ask whether, if we are to influence the Sultan of Zanzibar to cede his territory to Germany, we are to

*Mr. Munro Ferguson*

influence Germany, if necessary, to give fair compensation to the Sultan for what she takes from him? It is also a matter of regret to many in Scotland that the sanatoriums of the Scotch missions have not been retained under the protectorate of this country. When we remember the fate of the Baptist missions in the Cameroons, which were supposed to be perfectly sacred when the Germans entered that district, there is some ground for alarm, to which the Scotch missionaries have given expression, in regard to this district. Since the discussion on the Anglo-German Agreement, a protest has been signed by the Cape Government, against that portion of it affecting Southern Africa, as to which the Cape Government was not consulted. The Under Secretary said the African arrangement was no business of the Cape's. That answer reminded me of the action of Lord Derby in regard to New Guinea—an action which has imperilled the feeling of Australia towards the Mother Country to a material degree. As a former Australia Governor, the right hon. Gentleman will, I hope, to some extent, appreciate the analogy. I think the Cape's protest was perfectly justifiable. The Cape knew very well that European territory was being ceded for nothing in particular, and it could very reasonably suppose that Damaraland might have been restored to British protection. The protest was partly based on the subject of Walfisch Bay. The hinterland doctrine was applied vigorously by the Germans in the case of Zanzibar, but they forgot that the doctrine was equally applicable to the case of Walfisch Bay and also to the northern boundary of Bechuanaland. In the discussion of this subject considerable attention was given to what was called the "Wasp's nest" between Uganda and Lake Tanganyika. If this was within the Congo free zone, and there was no necessity for negotiation, why was there a special clause in the Agreement specifying that the passage of goods should be free from all Customs dues between Uganda and Lake Tanganyika? I maintain that such a clause could also have been inserted in the Damaraland Agreement. I am afraid this question of Walfisch Bay and the Zambesi belt will be full of trouble in the future. Walfisch Bay is the only

point where imports can be brought into the country, and the Zambesi belt may form a very serious obstacle in the way of a future South African dominion. Successive British Governments have been excessively careless in regard to African affairs. For years we remained without a policy, whilst other nations were pursuing the even tenour of their way. When the Foreign Secretary was forced into action by Major Serpa Pinto, we had France and Germany upon us at the same time. Germany, as usual, came very well out of it. She has, indeed, done marvellously in the position she occupies. We hear a good deal of the value of German support, but I believe our support is very much more essential to Germany in all matters outside her own borders. Germany sometimes appeals to force, which indeed she sometimes exercises in a somewhat brutal manner, but taking her at her own valuation, her position in Africa is much less strong than that of England. Many of us believe that procrastination and indecision have ended as usual in concession and loss, which has generally been regarded as unnecessary, and for which the Foreign Office can alone be held responsible.

\*(5.50.) MR. S. SMITH (Flintshire): I think it may be convenient for me at this stage to bring before the Committee our Treaties with France regarding Madagascar. The Anglo-German Agreement has been followed by an Anglo-French, and then an Anglo-Portuguese Agreement. I think we have some reason to complain that during the discussion on the Anglo-German Agreement the arrangement with France with regard to Madagascar was kept entirely secret. Many of us have a very strong opinion about it, and if we had expressed that opinion at the time the decision of Parliament on the Heligoland Treaty might possibly have been different. I was one of those who, in the main, supported the Government in regard to Heligoland. With me the only question was whether we got a sufficient equivalent for Heligoland. Knowing nothing about the arrangements with France I thought it was a tolerably fair agreement. But I am bound to say the case appears very different now, when we hear that the

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Government have virtually consented to hand over Madagascar to the mercies of France. I have attempted on several occasions to extract from the Government some information with regard to France and Madagascar. The answers of the right hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs were ambiguous, and I may almost say misleading. I make no charge against the right hon. Gentleman personally. Of course he was acting upon the instructions he received from his chief, but I do think he was throwing dust in our eyes. Within the last few days the French claim that they have received from us a complete acknowledgment of their rights over Madagascar. Some of the French papers are going so far as to declare that they will soon get a happy riddance of these Congregational Ministers in Madagascar, who have been giving them so much trouble. The people of this country take a great interest in Madagascar, and I feel sure that when the arrangement we have made with France comes to be generally known throughout the country it will excite great dissatisfaction. Madagascar presents one of the most remarkable examples of a savage and heathen race becoming a civilised and Christian nation. Everyone who is acquainted with the history of the island knows that at the beginning of the century it was under a horrible despotism, and that the early efforts to introduce Christianity were met by most relentless persecution. The spread of Christianity through the exertions of British missionaries was not carried on without much bloodshed. The country now, however, is in a most flourishing and progressive state, with over 1,200 churches and 1,200 schools. No country in the world, with the exception possibly of Japan, has shown such a progressive character during recent years. It forms the most beautiful spectacle of missionary effort in modern times. The success of British missionaries excited the envy of France, and in 1883 certain frivolous claims were set up on the part of France. An invasion took place, and for about two years a state of hostility existed between France and Madagascar. France bombarded the sea-port towns of the island, and insulted our missionaries, for which in one case—that of Mr. Shaw-

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she had to pay an indemnity. The Malagasy people repelled the French at every point, and apparently the French invasion was a complete failure, but for some inscrutable reason the Malagasy Government signed a Treaty with France in 1885, one of the Articles of which required that the foreign relations of Madagascar should be placed under the charge of France. This was a very unfortunate concession on the part of Madagascar. I ought first to have mentioned that Madagascar sent an Embassy to Europe, and it travelled to England, Germany, and the United States.

SIR HENRY TYLER (Great Yarmouth): Is the hon. Member in order in going into the whole of the history of the French connection with Madagascar?

THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member is questioning the conduct of the Foreign Office.

\*MR. S. SMITH: I consider that these facts are essential, as showing the relations in which we stand to Madagascar, and the obligations we lie under to the people. This Embassy was received with open arms by England, Germany, and the United States, and the sovereign rights of the Queen of Madagascar was acknowledged by these countries. Nevertheless, Madagascar was compelled to acknowledge French control over her foreign relations, while she retained control over her own domestic concerns. Her Majesty's Government did not recognise the Article whereby the foreign relations of Madagascar were handed over to France. That is proved by the fact that an exequatur was obtained for our Consul direct from the Government of Madagascar. However, the ignominious concession which was made has at last been ratified by the present Government. And now I wish to call the attention of the Committee to this most important fact. Whenever France has obtained ascendancy, as, for example, in the South Sea Islands, which had been civilised by the British, her first action has been to exclude our missionaries. It is only two years since France expelled from one of the Society Islands a well-

*Mr. S. Smith*

known missionary of the name of Mr. Jones, and she has done this sort of thing times without number. She has expelled the missionaries, and brought pressure to bear upon the natives for the purpose of compelling them to give up their faith, and so keen has the feeling of this country been as to the action of France, that 50 years ago we were brought to the verge of war on the question of Tahiti. Mr. Jones was expelled from an island in the Pacific under circumstances of indignity, and the representations which we made to France on the subject were treated with indifference, if not with contempt. We know from this what we are to expect for the Christian community in Madagascar, and the 1,200 churches and 1,200 schools there, and this splendid machinery of civilisation, which we are virtually handing over to France. We know what to expect, for all the past history of France has shown how she acts under such circumstances. I am glad to hear from the right hon. Gentleman opposite, the Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs, that in the Treaty Her Majesty's Government have entered into with France, we have taken guarantees for religious liberty and protection of the missions.

\*THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Sir J. FERGUSON, Manchester, N.E.): I have stated that no consent will be given to the exclusive French claims over Madagascar which do not provide for the complete freedom of religion.

\*MR. S. SMITH: I am quite convinced it is the intention of the Government to provide that, but I maintain that if we are obliged to treat with France as an intermediary, we practically lose all efficient control over Madagascar. We may begin with a certain plausible right of making representations regarding the native Christians; but as the French become more and more supreme, the time will come when they will snap their fingers at us, as they did in the case of Mr. Jones and the South Sea Islands. That is the general belief of the Madagascar missionaries. They know the hostility



with which France has followed British Protestant missionaries all over the world. France has been hostile, as we know, to all forms of Christianity at home. We know that its action towards the Catholic schools at home has been unjust and cruel. It has absolutely secularised education at home. In no school-book issued under the control of the French Government does the name of God appear, or any allusion to religion at all, whilst the publication of atheistical books—even for children—goes on in that country very extensively. But, strange to say, whenever France comes into possession of a country where there is a form of Protestant Christianity practised she attacks and damages it as much as she can. Every person familiar with the policy of France will agree with me that the reason is not that the French Government cares more for one form of Christianity than another, but because she knows that whenever the natives of any of these islands have received from British Missions their first attachment to Christianity they have a kindly feeling towards this country. Her object is to supplant the kindly feeling of the natives towards this country by drawing them to another form of religion. It is a question of political ascendancy. Looking at what France has done in the past, have we any reason to doubt that she will do the same in the case of Madagascar, and it would not be a most melancholy result if this large island of signal promise—which exhibits one of the most remarkable instances since the days of the Apostles of the acceptance of Christianity—should be thrown back because this country has, in a somewhat base and cowardly way, refused to stand up for her missionaries? One effect of the French control of Madagascar may be a revival of the coolie trade, which is a kind of white slavery. Some of the accounts I have recently read of coolie labour in the South Seas are enough to make one's blood run cold. These are the prospects we have in handing Madagascar over to the French. We have plenty of national sins to confess and atone for, but we try to follow a higher moral standard. The French, however, wherever they have the control of a lower race, sink down to the level of that race. This had been their experience every-

where. The conscience of the British nation at home is always in favour of justice and fair play in dealing with inferior nations. It is not so in France. Moreover, questions can be raised in Parliament about any case of harsh treatment in the administration of British government, but such questions are not raised in the French Legislature. I look with misgiving on handing over that beautiful island, with its growing civilisation, to a country which is entirely unsympathetic, and which will much rather see that Protestant Reformation abolished than advanced. The people are perfectly capable of looking after themselves. There is a kind of excuse for parcelling out savage regions like the continent of Africa among civilised nations, civilised, but in a country on the same level as Japan European countries have no right to interfere. I hold the interests of Madagascar a hundredfold more important than those of Zanzibar. I am afraid it is too late to make any effective appeal, so far as the alteration of the terms of the Treaty is concerned. I will, however, urge that the Government should take care that this country has an Agent at the Madagascar capital, with ample power to keep his eyes upon all events in progress in that country; that he should be accessible to complaints either by natives or missionaries; and that these complaints should be duly inquired into, and France bound to give reparation for any wrongs done. The Treaty should give this country the right of interfering on behalf of the natives in all such cases of hardship and oppression. Any attempt at persecution or at stamping out religion in Madagascar would raise such a storm of indignation in this country as would bring us to the verge of war with France. I beg to move the reduction of the Vote by £100.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That Item A, Salaries, be reduced by £100, part of the Salary of the Secretary of State."—  
(*Mr. Samuel Smith.*)

(6.26.) MR. BUCHANAN: It is, I think, most unsatisfactory that we should be called upon to discuss this Vote on a Saturday afternoon, so near to the end of the Session. I desire to call attention to the question of Madagascar. What do we know of the terms of the Treaty

which has been concluded in regard to that island? Hon. Members probably observed in to-day's morning papers—the *Morning Post* and the *Times*—that the French Foreign Office were just going to issue a Memorandum on the subject. The Anglo-German Treaty came under the notice of the French Ministry, who called Lord Salisbury's attention to the fact that the Agreement of 1862, between France and England, with respect to the independence of Zanzibar, had—

THE CHAIRMAN: Order, order! The hon. Member for Flintshire has moved a reduction of the Vote with special reference to Madagascar, and that must be disposed of before any general discussion can proceed.

MR. BUCHANAN: My intention was to call attention to the conduct of the Government in connection with the Anglo-French Agreement, and I think you will find that my observations are germane to that. Lord Salisbury said he had forgotten all about the 1862 Agreement.

THE CHAIRMAN: The special question before the Committee is the Protectorate of Madagascar.

MR. BUCHANAN: But surely, Sir, we have to consider the conduct of the Foreign Office in relation to Madagascar and the Anglo-French Agreement. We have derived our sole information in regard to it from the newspapers. Have we no right to ask the right hon. Gentleman for information with regard to the Agreement and the terms made, particularly with reference to Madagascar? The Committee must know how deeply this country is interested in that part of the world, and yet we are apparently giving France a free Protectorate over the island. This, no doubt, is one of the consequences of the negotiations carried on with other Powers. However, I will not pursue that subject. But I must impress upon the Government the unfairness of asking this Committee to pass this Vote before we have been officially informed of the terms of the Agreement, one of which terms is, no doubt, the cession of Madagascar to France. Then, again, what terms have

*Mr. Buchanan*

been arranged with regard to the trade of Madagascar? I certainly shall support the reduction of the Vote.

(6.33.) MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.): It is impossible to discuss this Vote to-night. I am reluctant to interpose, but I would suggest to the Government whether, in view of the many important questions raised, it is not expedient to postpone the Vote, and take a few non-contentious ones?

\*(6.34.) SIR J. FERGUSSON: It is impossible now to concentrate the discussion on this Vote, which has been taken in the order in which it stands on the Estimates. I would suggest that the hon. Member for Flintshire should withdraw his Amendment, and then I could reply on some subsidiary questions which could thus be disposed of.

\*MR. S. SMITH: I cannot do that until I receive a satisfactory reply from the right hon. Gentleman.

\*(6.35.) THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (MR. RITCHIE, Tower Hamlets, St. George's): If the the Foreign Office Vote is allowed to stand over until Monday, perhaps the Committee will dispose of some non-contentious Votes in Class II.

(6.36.) SIR G. CAMPBELL: I should be glad to go on with a few more Votes, but for the solemn pledge of the First Lord of the Treasury that the Votes will be taken in their order. On that assurance many hon. Members have already left the House for the day. As to proceeding with other business, the question is, which are the non-contentious Votes? As to Madagascar, I think my hon. Friend the Member for Flintshire has made an admirable speech; it has convinced me that the French have the least possible right to Madagascar. But, unfortunately for his argument, he is a subject of a country which has seized Egypt and Bechuanaland, and other places, and, therefore, we do not approach this question with clean hands. On the whole, however, I am glad that an amicable arrangement has been made with France, so that she will get her share in the dividing up of the world by the Great Powers, to which the Prime

Minister referred the other evening. I entirely agree with my hon. Friend that it is absurd to set Madagascar against Zanzibar. One is a small island and the other a great one. It must be remembered, however, that France has long exercised some rights in Madagascar. I can only say, in conclusion, I hope that France will act in a liberal spirit towards the missionaries, and give them free scope for their labours.

\*(6.41.) **SIR J. FERGUSSON**: I appeal to the Committee whether the discussion at this time is not a fruitless one? I may remind hon. Members that the Government cannot state the terms of the Agreement made with France until Monday, and it must be evident that there is an understanding to that effect with France. If accounts creep into newspapers as to what is supposed to be the nature of the Agreement, of course the Government cannot be blamed for that. The statements I have seen in the Press regarding this subject considerably differ. They, therefore, cannot all be correct, and seeing that it is impossible to discuss the question on its merits, I suggest that hon. Members should abstain from doing so until Monday.

(6.43.) **MR. SEXTON** (Belfast, W.): It is evident the discussion on this Vote cannot be closed to-night. My hon. Friend the Member for North Longford has suggested that the Vote should be withdrawn, and I will just indicate what we think are non-contentious Votes. They are the Votes for the Privy Council Office, the Exchequer and Audit Department, the Lunacy Commission, the Registrar General's Office, and the Stationery Office.

\*(6.44.) **MR. RITCHIE**: If the hon. Member for Flintshire will be good enough to withdraw his Amendment I will propose, on behalf of the Government, to withdraw the Foreign Office Vote and take some non-contentious Votes.

(6.45.) **MR. CHANNING** (Northampton): Before the Vote is withdrawn we ought to have a full assurance that we shall not be precluded from challenging the action of the Government on Monday. If that is forthcoming I do not think hon. Members will object to the taking of non-contentious Votes.

(6.46.) **MR. A. O'CONNOR**: I think that anyone who has noticed the way in which Supply has been dealt with this year, and the conduct of the Government during the last 48 hours, will agree that nothing more unseemly and unworthy the House of Commons could be conceived. Anything more improper on the part of the House of Commons as regards the public purse could scarcely be imagined. I had representation made to me earlier in the day that it was not intended to proceed with the Foreign Office Vote this afternoon. Sometimes these communications are not made with the personal knowledge of those sitting on the Front Bench, but I submit that these partial communications and semi-understandings with individuals, made by pre-arrangement, are altogether unsatisfactory, and never can be satisfactory. I shall make a stand against them, even if I am alone.

**THE CHAIRMAN**: Order, order! This discussion is altogether irregular.

**MR. A. O'CONNOR**: I intend to put myself in order by moving that the Chairman do now report Progress. It is admitted by the Government that they cannot give a satisfactory answer to the questions put to them in the course of the discussion. It is asked that the discussion be adjourned until Monday. Well, let it be so. If we are to wait until Monday for more information, I do not object to the adjournment of the Debate. But what I want to know is why are we to pick and choose among the other Votes, seeing that a good many Members have already left the House on the understanding that the Votes will be taken in the order in which they stand. I do not see why we should play a game of "blind hookey" with the Votes. The Government have intimated that Parliament is to meet again in November. What is the use of having a prorogation? Why should we not merely move the adjournment of the House, and bring the financial questions on again in November.

**THE CHAIRMAN**: Order, order! This discussion is altogether out of order.

**MR. A. O'CONNOR**: All I desire, Sir, is to enter my protest against playing fast



and loose with the Estimates, and, in order to emphasise that protest I beg to move, Sir, that you report Progress, and ask leave to sit again.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Mr. Arthur O'Connor.*)

(6.50.) **MR. SEXTON:** My hon. and learned Friend has suggested that the proposals made across the floor of the House, both by myself and the hon. Member for North Longford, were made by pre-arrangement. I do not really know what the hon. Member was referring to, or to whom he referred, but I believe any hon. Member who heard the observations, or who will read the report in the newspapers, will infer that they had reference to myself and the hon. Member for North Longford. My hon. Friend the Member for North Longford having just entered the House suggested, in order to avoid the inconvenience of further proceeding with the Debate which was then going on, that it would be better to take a number of Votes which were practically non-contentious. I wish it to be clearly understood that I had not, a moment before, the slightest intention of intervening in the Debate, and I deny that there was anything whatever in the nature of pre-arrangement in the matter. Unless the hon. Member intends to impute pre-arrangement either to me or to the hon. Member for North Longford, I am at a loss to understand what meaning is to be attributed to the words of the hon. Member.

\*(6.52.) **MR. RITCHIE:** I am not cognisant of any pre-arrangement whatever. I regard the suggestion of the hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for North Longford as a perfectly reasonable one, and I may remind the House that at the end of the Session there is nothing unusual in adopting such suggestions.

(6.55.) **SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL:** I think the suggestion was aimed at some other hon. Member. As to the course which it is now proposed to take, I am afraid it will be necessary to hold the Government to the performance of  
*Mr. A. O'Connor*

the pledge which they gave to take the Votes in their order. It was a pledge given to the House, and, as many hon. Members have since left, I must protest against its being broken. Personally, I should be very glad if the hon. Member for Flintshire could withdraw his Amendment, as there are other important subjects to be raised on the Vote, including the question of Sir Lintorn Simmons's Mission. If the House is willing we might go on and dispose of other subjects connected with the Vote.

\*(6.57.) **MR. BRADLAUGH:** I appeal to the Government to assent to the Motion for reporting Progress. There was a distinct promise that the Votes should be taken in their order, and while I favour the suggestion of my hon. Friend the Member for North Longford, I think there might be a squabble as to what Votes are non-contentious. There is the strongest objection to Votes on Supply being forced through at such a late period of the Session and scamped. I do not think the Government will gain anything by keeping us here any later.

\***THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE** (*Sir M. Hicks Beach, Bristol, W.*): Inasmuch as we are now wasting time by discussing whether we shall report Progress or not, I will assent to the Motion for reporting Progress. There is no doubt that the First Lord of the Treasury agreed that the Votes should be taken in their due order, but I may point out it is often arranged that when the debate on a given Vote cannot be concluded other Votes are taken out of their order.

**MR. A. O'CONNOR:** I regret that my hon. Friend the Member for West Belfast should have imagined that my observations were in any way personally directed against anybody on these Benches. They were observations of a general character. With regard to the non-contentious Votes, it is obvious that if they are non-contentious they cannot take very long at the next sitting, and therefore there is no reason for pressing them forward.

MR. SEXTON: I think the observations of my hon. and learned Friend do not dispose of this question, and that he still owes an explanation to my hon. and learned Friend the Member for North Longford.

Question put, and agreed to.

Resolutions to be reported upon Monday next.

Committee also report Progress; to sit again upon Monday next.

#### SUPPLY—REPORT.

Resolutions [8th August] reported.

Resolutions read a second time.

First Three Resolutions (see pages 281, 322, and 349) agreed to.

Fourth Resolution (see page 349) postponed.

Fifth and Sixth Resolutions (see pages 353 and 360) agreed to.

Seventh Resolution (see page 361) postponed.

Eighth Resolution (see page 363) agreed to.

Postponed Resolution 4 to be considered upon Tuesday next.

Postponed Resolution 7 to be considered upon Monday next.

#### BILLS OF SALE BILL [LORDS]. (No. 384)

Considered in Committee, and reported, with Amendments; as amended, to be considered upon Monday next.

#### ALDERSHOT ROADS BILL.—(No. 379.)

Lords Amendments to be considered forthwith; considered and agreed to.

#### NAVY AND ARMY EXPENDITURE, 1888-9.

Accounts considered in Committee.  
(In the Committee.)

(1.) *Resolved*, That it appears by the Navy Appropriation Account for the year ended the 31st

day of March 1889, and the statement appended thereto, as follows, viz.:—

(a.) That the gross expenditure for certain Navy Services exceeded the estimate of such expenditure by a total sum of £106,996 4s. 7d., as shown in Column No. 1 of the Schedule hereto appended; while the gross expenditure for other Navy Services fell short of the estimate of such expenditure by a total sum of £320,455 16s. 6d., as shown in Column No. 2 of the said appended Schedule, so that the gross actual expenditure for the whole of the Navy Services fell short of the gross estimated expenditure by the net sum of £213,459 11s. 11d.;

(b.) That the receipts in aid of certain Navy Services fell short of the estimate of such receipts by a total sum of £32,946 7s. 6d., as shown in Column No. 3 of the said appended Schedule; while the receipts in aid of other Navy Services exceeded the estimate of such receipts by a total sum of £12,645 10s. 3d., as shown in Column No. 4 of the said appended Schedule; so that the total actual receipts in aid of the Grants for Navy Services fell short of the total estimated receipts by the net sum of £20,300 17s. 3d.;

(c.) That the resulting differences between the Exchequer Grants for Navy Services and the net expenditure are as follows, viz.:—

	£	s.	d.
Total Surpluses ...	310,890	1	6
Total Deficits .....	117,731	6	10

(2.) *Resolved*, That the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury have temporarily authorised the application, in reduction of the net charge on Exchequer Grants for certain Navy Services, of the whole of the sums received in excess of the estimated Appropriations in Aid, in respect of the same Services; and have also temporarily authorised the application of so much of the said total surpluses on certain Grants for Navy Services as is necessary to cover the said total deficits on other Grants for Navy Services.

(3.) *Resolved*, That the application of such sums be sanctioned.

## SCHEDULE.

Number of Vote.	Navy Services, 1888-9, Votes.	Gross Expenditure.		Appropriations in Aid.	
		Excesses of Actual over Estimated Gross Expenditure.	Surpluses of Estimated over Actual Gross Expenditure.	Deficiencies of Actual as comprd. with Estimated Receipts.	Surpluses of Actual as comprd. with Estimated Receipts.
		1.	2.	3.	4.
		£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
1	.. Wages, &c. of Officers, Seamen, and Boys, Coast Guard, and Royal Marines ..	15,487 16 7	..	662 16 4	
2	.. Victualling and Clothing for the Navy ..	..	35,825 14 4	16,541 8 2	
3	.. Medical Establishments and Services ..	..	7,222 5 9	2,461 19 1	
4	.. Martial Law ..	..	1,825 8 11	6 14 11	
5	.. Educational Services ..	..	4,430 12 7	..	510 4 9
6	.. Divine Service ..	..	2,182 1 0	..	45 5 0
7	.. Royal Naval Reserves ..	..	9,485 15 0	2 5 0	
8	.. Shipbuilding, Repairs, Maintenance, &c. ..	..	..	..	
Sec. 1	.. Personnel ..	..	11,590 17 4	1,298 9 6	
Sec. 2	.. Materiel... ..	74,269 5 2	..	10,218 11 8	
Sec. 3	.. Contract Work ..	..	137,405 10 1	..	208 16 11
9	.. Naval Armaments ..	..	85,405 9 6	..	9,149 0 4
10	.. Works, Buildings, and Repairs, at Home and Abroad ..	..	18,490 11 9	..	893 18 0
11	.. Miscellaneous Effective Services ..	..	1,889 8 1	1,409 9 8	
12	.. Scientific Services ..	363 3 3	..	..	1,757 13 1
13	.. Admiralty Office ..	370 8 11	..	277 14 10	
14	.. Reserved and Retired Pay ..	..	1,417 6 11	59 4 4	
15	.. Naval Pensions.. ..	7,001 19 7	..	..	68 11 4
16	.. Widows' Pensions and Compassionate Allow- ances ..	..	3,284 15 3	..	12 0 10
17	.. Civil Pensions and Gra- tuities ..	8,662 14 0	..	7 14 0	
	Amount written off as irrecoverable ..	840 17 1			
		106,996 4 7	320,455 16 6	32,946 7 6	12,045 10 3
Net Surplus, £213,459 11 11				Net Deficit, £20,300 17 3	
Sum to be surrendered to the Exchequer, £193,158 14 8					

(4.) *Resolved*, That it appears by the Army Appropriation Account for the year ended the 31st day of March 1889, and the statement appended thereto, as follows, viz. :—

(a.) That the gross expenditure for certain Army Services exceeded the estimate of such expenditure by a total sum of £90,827 6s. 5d., as shown in Column No. 1 of the Schedule hereto appended; while the gross expenditure for other Army Services fell short of the Estimate of such expenditure by a total sum of £169,877 4s. 3d. as shown in Column No. 2 of the said appended Schedule; so that the gross actual expenditure for the whole of the Army Services fell short of the gross estimated expenditure by the net sum of £79,049 18s. 10d.;

(b.) That the receipts in aid of certain Army Services fell short of the estimate of such receipts by a total sum of £78,344 6s. 1d., as shown in Column No. 3 of the said appended Schedule; while the receipts in aid of other Army Services exceeded the estimate of such receipts by a total sum of £144,029 15s. 11d. as shown in Column No. 4 of the

said appended Schedule; so that the total actual receipts in aid of the Grants for Army Services exceeded the total estimated receipts by the net sum of £67,638 10s. 10d.;

(c.) That the resulting differences between the Exchequer Grants for Army Services and the net expenditure are as follows, viz. :—

	£	s.	d.
Total Surpluses ..	271,459	7	7
Total Deficits ....	124,770	17	11

(5.) *Resolved*, That the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury have temporarily authorised the application, in reduction of the net charge on Exchequer Grants for certain Army Services, of the whole of the sums received in excess of the estimated appropriations in aid, in respect of the same Services, and have also temporarily authorised the application of so much of the said total surpluses on certain Grants for Army Services as is necessary to cover the said total deficits on other Grants for Army Services.

(6.) *Resolved*, That the application of such sums be sanctioned.

### SCHEDULE.

No. of Vote.	Army Services, 1888-9, Votes.	Gross Expenditure.		Appropriations in Aid.	
		Excesses of Actual over Estimated Gross Expenditure.	Surpluses of Estimated over Actual Gross Expenditure.	Deficiencies of Actual as compared with Estimated Receipts.	Surpluses of Actual as compared with Estimated Receipts.
		1.	2.	3.	4.
		£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
1	General Staff, Pay Regimental Pay, &c. ..	..	10,347 0 3	..	77,170 8 11
2	Chaplain's Department Pay, &c. ..	1,716 2 8	..	9 0 0	
3	Staff of Military Prisons, &c., Pay, &c. ..	..	121 11 9	..	136 7 8
4	Medical Establishments Pay, &c. ..	..	16,996 5 8	803 19 7	
5	Militia Pay and Allowances ..	..	39,095 17 10	..	159 16 1
6	Yeomanry Cavalry Pay and Allowances ..	..	1,783 3 0	..	34 13 0
7	Volunteer Corps Pay and Allowances ..	3,687 11 11	..	..	100 13 7
8	Army Reserve Force Pay, &c. ...	19,743 17 7	..	1,585 6 6	
9	Transport and Remounts	..	7,772 14 2	..	12,040 7 3
10	Provisions, Forage, Fuel, and other Commissariat Services ..	12,035 9 8	..	1,955 16 10	
11	Clothing Establishments, Services, and Supplies..	..	56,862 7 6	40,966 7 9	
	Carried forward	37,183 1 10	132,979 0 2	45,310 10 8	89,642 6 6

## SCHEDULE—continued.

No. of Vote.	Army Services, 1888-9, Votes.	Gross Expenditure.		Appropriations in Aid.	
		Excesses of Actual over Estimated Gross Expenditure.	Surpluses of Estimated over Actual Gross Expenditure.	Deficiencies of Actual as compared with Estimated Receipts.	Surpluses of Actual as compared with Estimated Receipts.
		1.	2.	3.	4.
		£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
	Brought forward ..	37,183 1 10	132,979 0 2	45,310 10 8	89,842 6 6
12	Warlike and other Stores, Supply and Repair ..	..	25,288 11 2	..	47,744 5 0
13	Works, Buildings, and Repairs, Cost, including Superintending Estab- lishment ..	10,205 18 6	..	27,198 7 3	
14	Military Educational Estab- lishments Pay, &c. ..	..	449 15 4	..	6,563 19 8
15	Miscellaneous Effective Services ..	..	2,714 1 5	472 6 8	
16	War Office Salaries and Miscellaneous Charges ..	1,196 6 0	..	13 17 9	
17	Rewards for Distinguished Services, &c. ..	885 3 3	..	84 0 0	
18	Half Pay ..	..	2,508 18 4	71 5 0	
19	Retired Pay, Gratuities, &c.	21,887 7 2	..	3,063 0 0	
20	Widows' Pensions and Compassionate Allow- ances ..	679 17 2	..	21 13 0	
21	Pensions for Wounds ..	..	580 15 10	36 0 0	
22	Chelsea and Kilmainham Hospitals (In-Pensions)	..	2,151 1 4	..	37 7 8
23	Out-Pensions ..	13,552 1 9	..	113 4 9	
24	Superannuation Compensa- tion and Compassionate Allowances ..	..	3,205 0 8	..	34 17 1
25	Retired Allowances, Mil- litia, Yeomanry, and Volunteer Forces ..	446 2 1			
	Amount written off as irrecoverable ..	4,791 7 8			
		90,827 5 5	169,877 4 3	76,384 5 1	144,022 15 11
Net Surplus, £79,049 18 10			Net Deficit £67,638 10 10		
Sum to be surrendered to the Exchequer, £146,688 9 8					

—(Mr. Jackson.)

Resolution to be reported upon *Monday* next.

In pursuance of the Order of the House of 8th August, Mr. Speaker Adjourned the House without Question put.

House adjourned at twenty minutes  
after Seven o'clock till  
*Monday* next.

## HOUSE OF LORDS,

*Monday, 11th August, 1890.*

## LONDON COUNTY COUNCIL BILL.

## THIRD READING.

Order of the Day for the Third Reading, read.

\***LORD STANLEY OF ALDERLEY:** The Amendment which I wish to move will have the effect of restoring the Bill to the form in which it was originally put forward by the London County Council, and as it was passed by the House of Commons in regard to that part of the Bill which proposes that the maximum height of houses should be 70 feet and one storey in the roof. The Select Committee have increased that height to 90 feet and two storeys in the roof. That will be the height allowed if the Bill, as altered by the Select Committee of your Lordships' House, is permitted to stand. That is an addition of 35 feet, for with the additional storey it will raise the height of buildings to 105 feet or more, and there is also an allowance for architectural adornments. There is the less reason for giving this general permission to build houses upwards of 100 feet high, since another provision, which is a very good one, has been added by the Select Committee, which allows of new houses being built up to the height of existing houses in streets such as Victoria Street, Westminster, where there are several gaps still remaining in the buildings along the street. The clause, moreover, allows a greater height where the consent of the County Council has been obtained. The Bill also provides a very good tribunal in the shape of surveyors and architects. In all new streets which are constantly being made in the outskirts of London the sanitary scale of the height of houses not exceeding the width of the street is already made obligatory by statute, but considerable doubts have been expressed whether this power possessed by the County Council might not override the Statute, and permit houses of a height of over 100 feet even in new streets. No provision has been made for narrow streets existing in London, such as may be found at the back of

Victoria Street, where houses of great height would be excessively prejudicial to health, and would shut out both light and air from the neighbouring houses. Even buildings 70 feet high will do that in narrow streets, but to allow houses to be built to a height of over 100 feet would be far worse. The additional storey in the roof, that is the two storeys instead of one granted by the Select Committee, would add to the unhealthiness of these houses, and also to the danger from fire. Your Lordships are, no doubt, aware in regard to the unhealthiness of these houses, that from the character of the outer walls they are like ovens in summer and very cold in winter, but that point was not gone into. Neither did the Select Committee take any evidence as to the danger from fire and the means of meeting that danger. If they had done so, I believe they would have been told that it was proposed to place cisterns in the roofs of these houses accompanied by hydrants, which it is supposed might be easily set to work; but whether such appliances will be effective or not depends upon having persons at hand who would understand how to use the hydrants, and having sufficient presence of mind to use them. Houses of this size would also require to be provided with other means of meeting danger; such precautions as balconies passing from one part of the building to the other, and fire-proof galleries inside. The excuse given for asking for this increased height of 30 feet or more is the cost of the ground in certain parts of London, but it would be very inconsistent to make sacrifices to procure open spaces to provide air in the Metropolis, and at the same time to impede light and air by such monstrous buildings, excluding the access of any light and air except perpendicularly. This enormous height is not required for artisans' dwellings. Artisans' dwellings could not without too much increase of rent be provided with lifts and persons to work them. The Ecclesiastical Commissioners, who have a large amount of property in London, who are very competent judges on the subject, and who were appealed to on the subject before this Bill of the London County Council was brought in, had agreed to the 70 feet maximum limit, and they would not stir or raise their little finger



to obtain any increase of that height. But if your Lordships should think the 70 feet too low a limit, and that there is some reason for raising it, I would still urge that an increase of 35 feet is too much, especially when even in exceptional cases that limit cannot be exceeded without application to the County Council. So that if your Lordships should think that, as a compromise, 80 feet would be better than 70, I would accept that, and move for the insertion of 80 feet.

Amendment moved, to leave out "90," and insert "70."—(*Lord Stanley of Alderley*.)

LORD HOUGHTON: I hope your Lordships will not agree to the Amendment which has been moved by my noble Friend. This question of the height of houses came before the Select Committee upon which I had the honour of sitting, and received very careful consideration; in fact, I believe we devoted more than a day to the consideration of this one clause. I do not understand that my noble Friend brings forward this matter exactly as representing the London County Council. There are other noble Lords who are in the habit of speaking for the London County Council; and as they are not present, I think it is only fair to assume that the County Council are prepared to bow to the decision of the Select Committee. I do not understand that my noble Friend does more than take an amateur interest in the beauty of London. He takes an entirely different line to that which was taken by the County Council before the Select Committee. It was stated by the County Council, with great frankness, that their only object in introducing this clause was to prevent the erection of monstrous buildings, of which, perhaps, the best known example now is the large residential mansions at Queen Anne's Gate. But the noble Lord seems to want to confer upon them general powers over buildings in London, and, in fact, to constitute them a kind of Committee of Taste for London, an office which they themselves expressly disclaim. Perhaps I might call to your Lordships' attention, as it is rather difficult to judge from a single building, the figures of the heights of some well-known buildings in London. The Queen Anne's Mansion

*Lord Stanley of Alderley*

building is 145 feet high to the top of the wall. That has a flat roof, and therefore the question of extra stories does not arise. But to come to buildings which I think your Lordships will all agree are not exceedingly high placed in the position in which they are, I may mention that the public building which includes the Foreign Office and other public offices is 89 feet high, and I do not think anybody will say that is an excessive height for a building fronting an open space. Then the buildings in Northumberland Avenue greatly exceed the proposed height, and so do a good many new buildings in Piccadilly, to which I think no particular exception has been taken. I am bound to say the instance which guided us most in our decision was Grosvenor Place. The houses there are 82 feet high, and they have in some places three stories in the roof. I cannot think that houses of that height can be looked upon as monstrosities, although in certain places they might very possibly be found to be too high. Then there is the case of the building known as Albert Mansions at Albert Gate. The history of that building is very well known. It was originally intended to build it to an extreme height, but the First Commissioner of Works, Mr. Plunket, with great adroitness was able to check that by threatening to build a wall between it and the Park, and to carry the wall up to the height of the building. As the building stands it is over 100 feet. I think your Lordships will agree it is far from being unornamental, and as a matter of fact it has been, I should say, generally much admired. On the Committee it was our unanimous opinion that the London County Council ought to have powers to check the excessive height of buildings, but that it should not be continually called upon to revise plans or to decrease the elevations of buildings of which the height is more a matter of taste than I may say of symmetry. Because I must remind your Lordships there is a very great extent of frontage in London. There is especially the river frontage, and the whole of the frontage on the parks, as well as the frontage in the larger squares. In those positions very high buildings may be very properly allowed, and I think your Lordships will all agree that

up to quite a recent time the buildings in London had been too low for any ornamental effect. I should also remind your Lordships that this is really a new power. As my noble Friend said, at present there is a power for dealing with new streets, but there is no power whatever of interfering with the heights of buildings in other localities. It seemed to us that, this being a new power, it ought to be used with great caution, and we did not wish to confer upon the Council a power of using it indiscriminately. Your Lordships will remember that in one of the other Bills dealing with property in London which we have had before us, dealing with St. Pancras, it seemed to a great many of your Lordships that we had hardly been tender enough of the rights of property. In this instance my noble Friend seems to think that we have treated the rights of property with too great deference. But I do not believe your Lordships will be of that opinion, and I cannot help thinking that at this period of the Session your Lordships will not interfere in the manner suggested by my noble Friend. I must appeal to your Lordships not to overturn the decision of the Committee, which was arrived at after very careful deliberation and after hearing a great deal of evidence.

\*THE EARL OF WEMYSS: There was a time when I used to glory in the Hankey Buildings. I used to point to them as showing what complete liberty we enjoyed in this Metropolis and in this country. But now we are fast losing our liberty and have got Hankey Buildings. I think, then, if a check can be put upon the erection of such buildings, it is certainly desirable. A 90 feet limit did certainly appear rather high, but from what has fallen from my noble Friend now, when he says that the buildings in Grosvenor Place are more than that, 90 feet does not seem an unreasonable height. But I think it depends very much upon the width of the street and where the buildings are erected. A building which on the bank of the river or fronting upon a broad street might reasonably be 90 feet in height would be utterly unreasonable and would produce utter darkness in a very narrow street. I should like to know from my noble Friend who has just spoken whether powers are taken

to regulate buildings according to the width of the street, for if no such powers are given the result may be somewhat serious.

LORD HOUGHTON: I may say at once, in reply to my noble Friend, that there was no clause of that kind in the Bill as it was originally brought before us. I understood that it was not found possible to draw a clause which would give the County Council the power of dealing with houses in narrow streets, though I am bound to say I quite agree with my noble Friend on the Cross Benches that if such power could be conferred as is given in the case of new streets it would be extremely desirable.

On Question, "That the word 'ninety' stand part of the Bill," disagreed to.

\*THE EARL OF WEMYSS: Before this Bill passes there is one clause to which I wish to direct your Lordships' attention. It is Clause 26, which exempts members of the London County Council from service on juries. This has been done in a sort of surreptitious manner, as there is no such provision in the Act which constituted the County Council, and no such provision was contained in the Act of 1855, which constituted the Metropolitan Board of Works. Usually the present London County Council are supposed to be the successors of the Metropolitan Board of Works in regard to their powers and duties, and I am at a loss to know on what principle an exemption is to be allowed in the case of members of that Council, which did not exist in regard to the duties of the members of the late Metropolitan Board. If the County Councillors are to be thus exempted why should not Vestrymen have the same exemption, and I speak as a Vestryman myself? Vestries comprise many tradesmen, and all tradesmen are anxious to attend to their own business and not to serve on juries. They have a great deal of hard work to do on committees as well as the ordinary vestry work, and why should not they be exempted. Why also should not County Councillors in the country be exempted? When once you open such a door as this, you cannot tell how far the matter will go, and I therefore have to move that Clause 26, exempting members of the County Council from service on juries, be struck out of the Bill.



Amendment moved, "To omit Clause 26."—(*The Earl of Wemyss*.)

THE PRIME MINISTER AND SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (*The Marquess of Salisbury*): I think it is very unusual to make so very large an alteration in a Bill on Third Reading without notice given. I do not know why my noble Friend did not take the point he now urges at an earlier stage.

\*THE EARL OF WEMYSS: I was not aware of it.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: I think this is a considerable invasion of our ordinary rule.

THE EARL OF MORLEY: I would point out to my noble Friend that the question was fully discussed in another place, and that it certainly is an unusual course, on Motion that the Bill do pass, that so important an Amendment should be moved without any notice having been given of it.

On Question, "That Clause 26 stand part of the Bill," agreed to.

Bill passed, and returned to the Commons.

ALDERSHOT ROADS BILL.—(No. 219.)

Returned from the Commons with the Amendments agreed to.

#### THE ANGLO-FRENCH AGREEMENT.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: My Lords, before proceeding with the other public business on the Paper, I have merely to say a word or two with reference to the Agreement which I have laid on the Table. I am sorry we have lost even the scanty attendance of those Members of the Opposition whose presence we previously enjoyed; but I do not think that the attendance in the House, though it is not large, is insufficient for the consideration of the few remarks I have to make upon this Agreement, the importance of which has, I think, been a good deal overrated. The Paper which I have laid on the Table consists of an Agreement which has been signed by the French Ambassador and myself with respect to three matters in which we are concerned in Africa. The first point with which it deals is the question of the Agreement of 1862, which was entered into between

France and England, and which was subsequently assented to by Germany. The meaning of that Agreement was open to considerable contest. The French Government were of opinion that it gave them a veto upon the establishment of any protectorate over Zanzibar. That was not the opinion of the German Government or of ourselves; but as the terms of the Agreement seemed to lend themselves to an ambiguity of interpretation in consequence of their departure from the form it has been usual to employ in dealing with questions of protectorate, we thought it desirable to ask the French Government to modify the form of this Agreement, and that they have consented to do. It so happened that while our position was, owing to the difference of construction put upon this Instrument, to some extent ambiguous in Zanzibar, the position of the French Government was also ambiguous with respect to the island of Madagascar. Many years ago, in the time of Lord Malmesbury, a verbal agreement had been made by the two Governments not to establish any protectorate in Madagascar. The result of the operations which took place a few years ago in Madagascar was that, to all intents and purposes, a protectorate was established, and in 1886 the French Government concluded an Agreement with the Queen of Madagascar, under which, while the Queen of Madagascar retained to herself entire independence with respect to the internal government of the country, the management of all the foreign relations of the island was passed over to the French Resident. This Agreement between France and Madagascar has never up to this time been recognised by this country; that is to say, that neither we nor, I think, any other countries have accepted *exequaturs* from the French Resident. The result has been some impediment to the conduct of diplomatic business. By the Paper which I have now laid on the Table we have agreed to recognise the Madagascar Treaty of 1886, or, at least, to recognise the protectorate to which the Madagascar Government consented by that Instrument, and to accept the *exequaturs* of Consuls and Ministers through the medium of the French Resident. I need not say that these two acts regularising the positions of the two Governments in Zanzibar and

Madagascar will not have much practical effect one way or the other. Practically, our influence in Zanzibar would have remained the same if the Treaty of 1862 had not been modified, and practically the position of the French in Madagascar would have been unchanged if the Treaty of 1886 had not been recognised by us. But the result of the mutual exchange of the declarations which have taken place is to put the situation of both Governments on a more regular footing. We have taken the opportunity on both sides, not only to reserve all rights and privileges which subjects of either country might have in either island, but also to give the most explicit guarantee to missionaries and missions, and to the freedom of religious practice and religious teaching. Besides this question affecting the two islands, we have dealt with another matter in which we were both interested. The country to the south of the Mediterranean possessions of France is, of course, open to the action of the French Government, and according to the modern doctrine of Hinterland the French Government would have a certain claim upon it; certainly, so far as I know, no other person has any claim. On the other hand, at the other end of the Continent the British Niger Company, which acts under a Royal Charter, has established a very flourishing dominion over a very fertile land, and its commercial enterprise is advancing with considerable rapidity. It has established relations with the native Potentates of that country, and the Treaties which it has concluded give to it rights extending much further inland—that is to say, much further north—than the actual range of its commercial operations. It was obvious that if this process went on the two Powers would meet—the French Government and the Royal Niger Company—and, indeed, there was nothing to prevent the French Government from advancing as far as it liked to the south at the present moment. There was no Treaty or international right in its way, but it seemed to us very desirable that some effort should be made to draw a line separating the two spheres of activity. It is consequently provided that a line should be drawn from a place called Say, which is at present the ultimate point of the influence of the Niger Company, on

the River Niger, to another place north-west of Lake Tchad called Barruwa. But as the Niger Company has made Treaties with the great Empire of Sokoto, it is expressly provided that the line shall be drawn so as to place not only Sokoto but all that fairly belongs to it within the zone of the Niger Company. That, of course, will necessitate the line being deflected somewhat to the north. In this arrangement I think the Niger Company has benefited considerably, for although it has made Treaties with Sokoto, it has made none with the Empire of Bornu, which lies along the western shore of Tchad, and that country was open to the operations of anyone who could persuade the Sultan of Bornu to enter into arrangements with him. It is therefore of advantage that a line should be drawn which gives the considerably larger part of the western shore of Lake Tchad to the Niger Company. I will not dwell upon the respective advantages of places which are utterly unknown not only to your Lordships, but to the rest of the white human race; I will only say that the noble Lord the Chairman of the Niger Company, with whom I have been in constant communication, expresses himself well content with the arrangement to which we have come. I think that it is a desirable arrangement as far as it has gone, but it will not escape your Lordships that it is a very inchoate arrangement, as we have only agreed on the two points from which the line is to start, and it will remain for a Commission to settle what the intermediate *locus* of the line will be, it being guided under the Instrument by no other consideration than this—that whatever fairly belongs to the Empire of Sokoto is to go to the zone of the British Niger Company. In conclusion, I have only to say that what we have done concerns solely the territory to the south of the French possessions on the Mediterranean. We have exchanged Notes by which both Powers recognise that nothing that we have done is intended to affect, or does, in fact, affect, any rights which the Sultan of Turkey may have with reference to the regions lying south of his Tripoli dominions. In addition, it has been agreed that a Commission is to consider the relations of the two countries in

other parts of the Niger, and to delimitate their respective spheres of influence. But with respect to that part of the subject we have come to no conclusion, but have left it entirely to the Commission. The Commission has, I believe, been named, and I have no doubt that it will work in the autumn, but of course the consent of both sides of the Commission is necessary to any determination to which we may come, and it is possible that the negotiations may take some time. I have nothing else to say; but I thought it necessary to say these few words, in order to remove some misconception which seems to have existed as to the character of our transactions with respect to the Algerian Hinterland. Anyone who looks at the map and merely measures the degrees will perhaps be of opinion that France has laid claim to a very considerable stretch of country. But it is necessary to judge land not merely by its extent but also by its value. This land is what agriculturists would call "very light" land; that is to say, it is the desert of Sahara, and, therefore, of course, the value of that part which France has asserted her dominion over is to that extent diminished. I believe, however, that the Agreement is a very fair one, and that both parties will find their profit in it. It certainly asserts dominion over countries which neither party has explored, and into which I suspect that many years, and possibly some generations, may pass away before either French or English civilisation penetrates.

HOP INDUSTRY,  
TOWN HOLDINGS,  
INFANT LIFE PROTECTION BILL.

Message to the House of Commons for copy of the Reports, &c., from the Select Committees.

PRIVATE BILLS.

Standing Orders considered and amended, and to be printed as amended. (No. 266.)

PARLIAMENTARY REGISTRATION EXPENSES (IRELAND) BILL—(No. 249).

SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading, read.

*The Marquess of Salisbury*

\*THE LORD PRIVY SEAL (EARL CADOGAN): This Bill has for its object to provide for the payment of clerks of Unions and collectors of poor rate in Ireland in respect of the additional duties imposed upon them by the change in the Parliamentary Franchise made in 1884, which duties are very onerous and important. At that time no provision was made for any payment to the poor rates collectors or clerks of Unions, and they were left without any remuneration for the work they had to do under the Parliamentary Franchise Act, although some Boards of Guardians have been in the habit of paying clerks of Unions for it. This Bill is for the purpose of making proper provision for payment to these officials. It has passed the other House without opposition, and I beg to move that it be read a second time.

Bill read 2<sup>a</sup> (according to order), and committed to a Committee of the Whole House to-morrow.

TRAMWAYS ORDER IN COUNCIL (IRELAND) (SOUTH CLARE RAILWAYS) BILL.—(No. 251).

SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

\*EARL CADOGAN: My Lords, this is a Bill introduced by the Government as regards the Tramways (Ireland) Act, 1860. Its object is simply to confirm an Order made by the Lord Lieutenant in Council authorising the construction of the tramway mentioned in the Order, and I move that the Bill be now read a second time.

Bill read 2<sup>a</sup> (according to order), and committed to a Committee of the Whole House to-morrow.

PUBLIC WORKS LOANS ACT, 1889.

QUESTIONS—OBSERVATIONS.

\*THE MARQUESS OF WATERFORD (who, by consent of the House, was heard sitting) in asking Her Majesty's Government (1) when a landlord becomes liable under the 5th and 6th sections of the Public Works Loans Act, 1889, for such a portion of a loan made to a tenant as may be found at the time of the determination of the tenancy to be equivalent to the improved value of the land resulting from the outlay of the loan,—(a.) From what date does the

rentcharge become due by the landlord?  
 (b.) For what period is it made payable?  
 (c.) At what rate of interest is it calculated? (2.) Whether they will lay on the Table of the House the rules made by the Commissioner of Valuation in Ireland under Section 6 of the Act in question? said: My Lords, before I put to the noble Lord the question which I have on the Paper, I should like to say a few words in explanation of the reason of it. Considerable interest is felt in this matter, because much uncertainty exists in connection with these loans. Certain points in the Public Works Loans Act are open to considerable doubt as to their precise force and meaning, and it is very desirable that some information should be given upon them. The Act was passed last year, and in it were two clauses which altogether altered the law in Ireland with regard to public loans. Up to that time, if a tenant had obtained a loan, he alone was liable. In fact, the question was tried over and over again from 1860 to 1884. In 1860 the Master of the Rolls in Ireland decided that the tenant alone was liable, and not the owner of the fee. In 1884 the Court of Appeal decided again in the same way; but in this Act the clauses I refer to make the landlord—the owner in fee,—liable for a loan contracted without his consent, and probably against his wish, by his tenant, provided that the tenancy had become determined and the owner in fee had come into possession. That was the proposition when the Bill first came into another place, but it was felt to be a little too strong, and the clause was watered down, so that now it runs that the owner in fee is only liable for such amount of money as would represent the actual improvement to the holding. In the first place, I will mention to my noble Friend that in Ireland I hear at this moment the Board of Works are making application for the arrears of rent or rent-charge due upon tenants' holdings that have determined. And as in this Bill it says "on the determination of the holding," surely the owners in fee are not liable to anything before the determination of the holding. I think the Board of Works in Ireland are rather of that opinion themselves, because a form of

letter has come before me which is very curiously worded, in which the Board of Works ask the owner of the fee whether he considers himself liable, the writer stating, "I shall be glad to hear whether you dispute the liability." That is a very curious way of wording their demand, and I think they must really mean that they believe they have no right to make such a claim, and therefore one of the questions which I put to my noble Friend is, when this rent-charge really becomes payable and from what time it is meant to run. I believe there is a question as to whether tenants are included in this Act. It was stated, I believe, at the time the Act was passed that the tenants' loans were not included, but on reading the Act I should say that they were. Now, I am told that any tenants could get loans up to the time of the passing of the Act of 1881 if they had leases of 40 years to run; but if the tenants are included it would be a great question what the interest is to be. I believe it was stated originally when the Act was brought forward that the tenants' interest was not to be reduced, but apparently it will be reduced; and I wish to put this question—it is under the fifth and sixth sections of the Act—from what time does the rent-charge become due with regard to the land, and when it begins to run? This Act says it begins to run from the determination of the tenancy; therefore, surely the arrears cannot be collected. Then I want to know at what period it becomes payable after it becomes due, and at what rate the interest is to be calculated, because the Act reduces the rate of interest from 6 to 5 per cent. and from 5 to 4 per cent. Therefore, I ask whether the interest now to be paid by the owner in fee is to be reduced at the same rate that it would have been reduced if he had contracted the loan himself. Then the last question I ask my noble Friend is whether he will lay upon the Table the Rules made by the Commissioners of Valuations with regard to this point under Section 6 of the Act? I hope my noble Friend will be able to answer these questions satisfactorily, because there is a good deal of feeling and uncertainty as to these matters in Ireland at the present time.



\***EARL CADOGAN**: I am not surprised at the feeling of uncertainty which the noble Marquess has described, for it certainly is not clear what is the exact interpretation to be placed on those sections of the Act to which he has referred. With regard to the question which the noble Marquess has asked upon sub-sections (a) and (b) on the Notice Paper, I have to say that they are questions which can only be answered by the interpretation of the law, which I am afraid it would not be competent or desirable for me to give in the shape of an answer in Parliament. I have, however, communicated with my right hon. Friend the Chief Secretary for Ireland, and with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and I will endeavour to obtain a legal opinion on the subject and give the noble Marquess an answer as soon as possible. With reference to sub-section (c) of the question, the answer to that is that the interest is calculated at the same rate as before.

\***THE MARQUESS OF WATERFORD**: That is, calculated at the same rate as the interest provided under the Bill, because it was higher before?

\***EARL CADOGAN**: The interest under the Bill is calculated at the same rate as before.

\***THE MARQUESS OF WATERFORD**: Then the interest to be calculated is at the rate under this Act of 1889?

\***EARL CADOGAN**: At the same rate as before the determination of the tenancy. Then with regard to Section 2, I have only to say that there would be no objection to lay on the Table of the House the Rules made by the Commissioner of Valuation in Ireland, and if the noble Marquess moves for them they will be granted.

\***THE MARQUESS OF WATERFORD**: Then I beg leave to move now for those Rules.

"Rules made by the Commissioner of Valuation in Ireland under Section 6 of the Act:" Ordered to be laid before the House—(The Lord Tyrone [*M. Waterford*]).

\***THE MARQUESS OF WATERFORD**: I would ask whether the noble Lord thinks he will be able to give me an answer to the Questions (a) and (b) before Parliament rises?

\***EARL CADOGAN**: I neither know when Parliament will rise, nor when the

lawyers will come to a decision. It was stated the other night that they do not always agree, but I will do my best to give my noble Friend the information he desires as soon as possible.

#### LOCAL TAXATION (CUSTOMS AND EXCISE) DUTIES BILL.—(No. 261.)

##### SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading, read.

\***THE PAYMASTER GENERAL** (The Earl of Jersey): This is a measure dealing with the distribution of any Customs and Excise Duties, and it will be received with considerable satisfaction by the County Councils. As I do not suppose it will give rise to any prolonged discussion in this House, I think a very few words only will be necessary to explain its provisions. In the first place, it provides that a sum of £300,000 shall be allotted for the purpose of police superannuation in England, of which £150,000 will be handed over to the Metropolitan Police, and the remainder to the County Police Forces; and that the residue shall, for the present, be distributed between the County and the County Borough Funds, and carried to the Exchequer contribution accounts of the different Councils. It gives power to these Councils to use this residue, or any portion of it, for the purpose of technical education in their respective districts. A Council may either contribute directly, or else it may give sums of money towards that object to Town Councils or Urban Authorities for them to deal with. These contributions will be in addition to, or over and above, any sum which, under the Technical Education Act of 1889, the different Town Councils and similar Authorities are authorised to levy by rate. In Wales the County Councils will be able, if they choose, to use their portion of the sum for the purpose of intermediate and technical education. This measure also deals with the Scotch and Irish grants in aid; but I do not think I need say anything further with regard to them. I beg leave to move the Second Reading of this Bill.

Bill read 2<sup>a</sup> (according to order), and committed to a Committee of the whole House to-morrow.

## POLICE BILL.—(No. 262.)

## SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

LORD DE RAMSEY: My Lords, this Bill applies to England, excluding the City of London, and to Wales, but not to Scotland or Ireland. The matter has been before Parliament for the last 13 years, and since the Committee which at that period sat under the Presidency of Sir H. Selwin-Ibbetson, Bills have, in 1880 and 1885, been brought in by various Members, but they have been successfully resisted by those who objected to any further charge on the local rates. The matter has been before the present Government for a considerable time, but it was delayed—intentionally delayed—until the Local Government Act of 1888 had passed. By that Act a new Financial Authority was created, and it was thought well to hear what that new authority had to say on the question before legislation was proceeded with. The Bill may be briefly divided into three parts, and I will briefly describe its provisions without wearying your Lordships with any figures or statistics whatever, but as it is a matter which, owing to many circumstances, has excited much interest, if any noble Lord desires further particulars I shall be happy to give them. The first part deals with pensions as of right; the second with pensions according to scale up to 25 years' service; and the third with pensions after 25 years' service, subject to age limit, if any. The new scale was a slight rise on the old metropolitan scale over the 25 years' service, and in the Metropolis it is not proposed to impose the limit of life service. The scale of ordinary pensions in the country is left to be fixed by each Police Authority within the limits of a maximum and a minimum laid down in the Bill. The duties and conditions of service in the various police forces differ so much that an amount of variation seems necessary. One uniform scale would not suit all police forces, but the scheme of the Bill is that there shall no longer be differences in the same district. Thus, although the ordinary scale of pensions may be different in the various rural and urban districts, there will no longer be differences between one man and another in the same district. After

25 years' service the constable is entitled without medical certificate to retire on pension. There are also provisions made for special pensions for men who are partially or wholly disabled from earning their livelihood by injuries received in the execution of their duty, either accidentally or not accidentally, and there is likewise provision made for gratuities to constables who have not earned a pension, and for allowances and gratuities to the widows and children of constables who die whilst in the service, or within 12 months after retiring on pension. Now, I will say just a few words about the Metropolitan Force. They have additional advantages on the old scale. The amount of their ordinary and special pensions will be substantially the same as at present, but as I have already said they will be as of right, and the forfeiture or refusal of a pension, even for misconduct, may be questioned by an appeal to a Court of Law. This will carry a right to 31-50ths of their pay after 25 years' service, without medical certificate and without question of age. If a constable has contributed by his own default to the inefficiency which compels him to retire, his pension may not be reduced by more than one-half, and gratuities may be given to the widows and children of constables who die from natural causes whilst serving in the Force. That, I think, is a general summary of this very important measure. It is founded largely on Mr. Fowler's Bill, and has been thoroughly discussed for several days before a Select Committee of the other House. I beg to move the Second Reading.

Bill read 2<sup>a</sup> (according to order) and committed to a Committee of the whole House to-morrow.

## POLICE (SCOTLAND) BILL.—(No. 263.)

## SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

\*THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR SCOTLAND (The Marquess of LOTHIAN): I find some difficulty in asking your Lordships' attention to this Bill, because the state of the Benches on the other side of the House is not such as to induce one to give a very long explanation of any Bill which may be brought

before your Lordships. At the same time, I am gratified to see that both the Members of your Lordships' House present, one on the Cross and the other on the Opposition Benches, are interested in Scotland. Your Lordships have just given your assent to a Bill providing for police superannuation in England, and the Bill to which I have now to ask your assent is a similar measure for Scotland. I should explain that although in England and other parts of the United Kingdom there have been schemes for the superannuation of police no such system has been in existence in Scotland, with the exception of one small instance in the borough of Greenock. It is true that the County Police Act, 1857, and the Borough Police Act, 1862, did give powers to the Commissioners of Supply and to the Police Authorities to make certain provisions for constables worn out in their service, but no proper scheme of superannuation has ever been in existence in Scotland up to this moment. Last year, under the Bills of 1857 and 1862, a sum of £4,000 was expended in Scotland in gratuities and in making provision for superannuating constables. This question has interested the people in Scotland for some time, and on more than one occasion Bills have been introduced into Parliament by private Members, but no Act has been passed dealing with this question. However, as long ago as 1868 a Committee of your Lordships' House was appointed to consider this question, and they after having done so reported to this effect: that in the Army and Navy, in the Police Services in England and Ireland, and in the Civil Service, a system of pensions exists; that a long and regular course of instruction and training are necessary for making efficient constables, and that, as in the absence of any pension system for Scotland, men frequently retire from the Service to follow other occupations, the Committee are of opinion that a well-considered scheme of pensions and gratuities would tend to prevent men leaving the Police Service, and would conduce to its efficiency. That Committee reported in 1868, but up to this time, as I have stated, nothing has been done. Under the provisions of the Local Taxation Bill, to which your Lordships have

*The Marquess of Lothian*

just given a Second Reading (although my noble Friend Lord Jersey did not refer to the point), a sum of £40,000 is provided for the purpose of police superannuation in Scotland. That sum of £40,000 is to be contributed from the Exchequer, and it is in consequence of that provision that this Bill has been introduced by Government. It was introduced into the other House of Parliament, but the Bill as introduced by Her Majesty's Government is not quite the measure to which I have now to ask your Lordships to give a Second Reading. It was referred in the House of Commons to a Committee, which took evidence upon the administrative and financial provisions in the Bill. The evidence upon that point was almost entirely given by Mr. Finlaison of the National Debt Commission, to whom I take this opportunity of making the fullest recognition of the valuable services he has rendered in connection with this Bill. The result of that evidence was, that the Committee came to the conclusion that if such arrangements were carried out with impartiality and prudence no charge would fall on the local rates for about 27 years, and even after that time there are provisions in the Bill which would probably prevent them arising. Now, the provisions in this measure are not exactly the same as those in the Bill which your Lordships just now heard detailed in the English Bill. The circumstances of Scotland are somewhat different, and therefore the Committee of the House of Commons which sat to consider the matter made some alterations, but they will not, I think, require any very lengthened explanation. In the first place, to establish a pension fund there will be deductions made from the rate of pay of the police to the amount of 2½ per cent.; the fines imposed on constables by Courts of Summary Jurisdiction; proceeds from sale of constables' worn clothing; sums received for services rendered by constables for payment; and sums received for pedlars' certificates. Then there will be contributions from the Exchequer, according to the charges of the previous year. Careful provision has been made as to the allocation of these sums for the investment of the fund, and for the use of the interest as

income. I think the calculations have gone to show that with good management at the end of the 27 years such an amount of capital will have accumulated that sufficient provision will be made for meeting all liabilities. It will then be in the power of the Secretary for Scotland, having regard to the accumulation of a sufficient fund, to submit to Parliament Provisional Orders for the discontinuance of investments, if it appears to the Police Authority that the pension fund is sufficient to meet the annual charges. I think I had better now state the nature of the superannuation arrangements under this Bill. I do not propose to go into the details as to the subsidiary arrangements; but the principal proposals are these: that every constable and sergeant who has completed 25 years of approved service, and who is not less than 55, is entitled to a pension without medical certificate. In the case of superior officers the age limit is 60 years. That is the main provision of the Bill. There are other provisions with regard to gratuities or pensions to officers who may have received injuries accidental or non-accidental in discharge of their duties, and there are also provisions made for the benefit of the widows and children of officers who may have died within a very short time after they have become entitled to a pension, or who may have lost their lives or received serious injuries in the performance of their duties. But as all those provisions are detailed in the Bill, I do not think it is necessary for me to trouble your Lordships with them. The scale of pensions and gratuities is contained in the schedule. It is sufficient, I think, to state that the ordinary pension which a constable who becomes entitled will receive is 20-60ths of his annual pay, that is if he has completed 20 years' approved service; if he has completed 21 years, but less than 28, he will get in addition to the 20-60th, 1-60th of his annual pay for every year of approved service above 20 years, and if he has completed 28 years' service he will receive a pension equal to 28-60ths of his annual pay, and an addition of 2-60th for each year above 28 of approved service, so that the pension of a constable will never exceed two-thirds of his annual pay. The provisions with regard to

Scotland are not quite so favourable as those with regard to the Police Force in England in the Bill which your Lordships have just assented to. In England and Wales there have been schemes in operation for this purpose in different parts of the country, that is providing for superannuation in the various Police Forces in the country, but, as I have said, in Scotland there has been no such provision or scheme. This Bill will therefore confer a new benefit upon the Police Force in Scotland. It is a proposal which I have long desired to see carried out, because it will place the Police Force in Scotland upon a more equal footing in this matter with the Police Forces in the other parts of the United Kingdom. I think it is desirable that this benefit should be conferred on a very deserving class of public servants, so long as it can be done without an undue charge upon the rates; and I believe under this Bill this can be carried into effect. I need not trouble your Lordships with any further remarks, and I move that the Bill be now read a second time.

Bill read 2<sup>a</sup> (according to order), and committed to a Committee of the Whole House to-morrow.

#### PUBLIC HEALTH ACTS AMENDMENT BILL.—(No. 260.)

##### SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading, read.

\*THE EARL OF JERSEY: This Bill is an amalgamation of two Bills which were brought into the other House of Parliament, and has been carefully considered by a Committee of that House. It has long been felt desirable that there should be a general law passed including the various police and sanitary provisions. The majority of the clauses in this Bill are those inserted in many local Acts which have been passed by Parliament. I do not think there is anything in the Bill to give rise to controversy, and I beg to move that it be read a second time.

Bill read 2<sup>a</sup> (according to order), and committed to a Committee of the Whole House to-morrow.



LONDON COUNTY COUNCIL (MONEY)  
BILL.—(No. 248.)

SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading, read.

\*THE EARL OF JERSEY: This is a Bill which will require very few words. It is really to enable the London County Council to borrow money with which to carry out the various works they have been authorised by Parliament to execute. The Bill is an annual one, and the figures mentioned in the amounts to be borrowed have been approved by the Treasury. The other provisions with regard to the Sinking Funds, &c., are upon the lines of the former Bills, and I hope your Lordships will give a Second Reading to this one.

Bill read 2<sup>a</sup> (according to order), and committed to a Committee of the Whole House to-morrow.

RESERVE FORCES BILL.—(No. 250.)

House in Committee (according to order); Bill reported without Amendment; and to be read 3<sup>a</sup> to-morrow.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

Standing Orders Nos. XXXIX. and XLV. to be considered in order to their being dispensed with for the remainder of the Session.

DUBLIN CORPORATION BILL.

Returned from the Commons with the Amendments agreed to, with consequential Amendments; The said consequential Amendments to be considered to-morrow; and to be printed. (No. 267.)

House adjourned at half past Five  
o'clock, till To-morrow, half  
past Five o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Monday, 11th August, 1890.

PRIVATE BUSINESS.

DUBLIN CORPORATION BILL—  
(by Order.)

Order for further Proceedings read on Question [9th August],

"That, in the case of the Dublin Corporation Bill, returned by the House of Lords with Amendments, the Standing Orders be suspended, and that the Lords Amendments be now considered."—(Mr. Arthur Balfour.)

Question again proposed.

(3.11.) MR. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.): I wish to raise a point of order in connection with this Bill. It is a Private Bill, and it is proposed to add to it clauses which cover more than three pages of the Order Book, converting it practically into a new Bill, which unsettles the provisions of a Public Act passed in 1849. It has never been under the consideration of the rate-payers of Dublin, and I want to ask you, Sir, if it is in order to proceed with it?

(3.12.) MR. SEXTON (Belfast, W.): Upon the point of order I have to say that the point was raised by the counsel for the opponents of the Bill before a Select Committee of this House, and on that occasion the Speaker's counsel and other authorities were consulted. It was unanimously decided that it was a matter entirely within the discretion of Parliament, whether the question should be dealt with by a public or a private Bill.

\*MR. SPEAKER: If the suspension of the Standing Orders covers anything it will cover everything that is proposed to be taken into consideration to-day, as well as the Amendments which the Lords have made in the Bill.

Question put, and agreed to.

Lords Amendments considered, and agreed to.

\*(3.16.) THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.): Moved in page 2, after line 19, insert—

"And whereas it is expedient that a separate department should be formed in the office of the Collector General of Rates for the supervision of the applotting and levying all municipal rates, and that the power of collecting such rates should be vested in and exercised by the Corporation."

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

(3.18.) MR. T. W. RUSSELL: I think it would have been more convenient if the right hon. Gentleman, in moving the Amendment, had taken the opportunity of letting the House know

what he is doing. What he is virtually proposing to do, is to unsettle the settlement of 1849. That settlement was arrived at after a great deal of difficulty had been experienced in the collection of the rates. Previous to 1849, they had been collected by various bodies at great inconvenience to the citizens, and at considerable cost. The settlement of 1849 was arrived at after public conferences had been held, and a Collector General was appointed to collect the rates. He was authorised by the Act to collect the municipal rates within the City of Dublin, the Metropolitan Police Rate, which is leviable within the city and also in the extra municipal districts, the West Quay Wharf Rates, the Poor Rates within the city, and, lastly, the Bridges Rate. The Collector General is a Government officer; his staff are Government officers; and the citizens of Dublin have had the advantage of having the rates collected by a perfectly independent and non-political authority ever since 1849. That is of great advantage in a city like Dublin, and no complaint has ever been made of the system, or of the Collector General. I have lived in Dublin for the last 25 years, I am a large rate-payer, and I never heard the Collector General charged with partisanship. Yet the Chief Secretary now proposes to unsettle the settlement of 1849, without a word of complaint from the citizens, or a word of evidence having been taken in either House in favour of the present proposal.

MR. SEXTON: It was proposed in the Lords.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL: And thrown out, no evidence being given in its favour. The Corporation of Dublin appeared before the Committee, but they were opposed by the Dock Board, the Chamber of Commerce, and various other bodies, all of whom dread the interference of the City of Dublin in this matter. It is entirely in opposition to their wishes that the present proposal is made by the Chief Secretary. Their contention is that the existing system of collecting the rates has worked well and economically, and the Corporation is the sole body opposed to it. The proposal is now made by the Government themselves, but they do not suggest that the Corporation should collect the Police Rate, because they know that at some

critical moment the Corporation might not levy it. As I have said, the proposal to allow the Corporation to collect the rates was opposed by a Committee of the citizens, by the Dock Board, by the Dublin Chamber of Commerce, by the townships of Rathmines, Pembroke, and Blackrock, and by all the townships immediately surrounding Dublin. The Select Committee came to the conclusion that the Corporation ought to be allowed to collect their own rate. I gave evidence in favour of that proposal, and after hearing the evidence the Committee cut out the clauses which sought to take over the Collector General's powers bodily. They decided that the Corporation should have power to collect their own rate, but no other, and they framed a clause which was totally unworkable, and which, when it went up to the House of Lords, was rejected on general grounds, and on the ground that it would take away two-thirds of the Collector General's duties. That clause having been struck out, the Government now propose to insert fresh clauses. In the first place, they moved the re-committal of the Bill, and it was sent back to the House of Lords; but the Lords threw out the clauses submitted to them because they held that such action on the part of the Government was totally unprecedented, and that it amounted to an unsettlement by a Private Bill of a settlement arrived at in regard to the rates of Dublin by a Public Act in 1849. You, Sir, have ruled that the Standing Orders may be suspended, and that these clauses can be proposed. I do not dispute your ruling, but if it is in order, all I have to say is that at the close of the Session, when most Members have left London, it is most unfair to adopt so singular a proceeding, having regard to the important interests involved. In the year 1870 a Parliamentary Paper was presented to this House on the Motion of the late Mr. E. D. Gray, who was then Member for the County of Tipperary, which was signed by 37 members of the Corporation of the City of Dublin, protesting against the appointment of Mr. John Bryne as Collector General, and stating that the rate collectors of Dublin had almost everything in their power as regards the franchise. They protested against the rate collectors being ap-

pointed by the Collector General, because they thought the rate collectors might use their influence in a manner that might be hostile to the Corporation. These clauses give the Corporation power to appoint two-thirds of the rate collectors who, by leaving the rates of the Unionists uncollected, can deliberately disfranchise that Party.

MR. SEXTON: Although two-thirds of the rate collectors may be appointed by the Corporation they may be removed by the Lord Lieutenant.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL: No doubt; but experience proves that it is very difficult to remove officers after they have been once appointed. The proposal of the Chief Secretary is simply to give the Dublin Corporation the power of disfranchising every Unionist in the city. They are creating an *imperium in imperio*, and are setting up a dual control in the Collector General's office. They are creating an impossible and impracticable situation which they know will not work, and the end will be that the whole power of the Collector General's office will be taken over by the Corporation. The hon. Member for West Belfast (Mr. Sexton) asked the other day what steps the Government were going to take in order to keep good faith. Who is the good faith to be kept with?

MR. SEXTON: Good faith with the promoters of the Bill—the Dublin Corporation—to whom the Government had bound themselves to propose these clauses.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL: The sum and substance of all of this is that the Government, in order to bring the Session to a close, have sold the Unionist Party in Dublin, and, in my opinion, the Unionist Party deserved a better fate at the hands of the Chief Secretary and the Attorney General for Ireland.

\*(3.33.) MR. HASTINGS (Worcester, E.): I had the honour of serving as Chairman of the Committee of this House to which the Bill was referred, and I wish to explain that the position was somewhat different from that which has been laid down by the hon. Gentleman who has just spoken. In the first place, the question was fully considered by us whether the promoters of a private Bill would be justified in proposing to the House, and whether the House would be

*Mr. T. W. Russell*

justified in passing provisions in a private Bill which would do away with the provisions of a public Bill. We came to the conclusion that it all depended upon the circumstances of the case. If the public Bill related to wide matters of public policy, no doubt the Committee would not have entertained the idea of altering them by a private Bill. But in this case that was not so. The provisions of the Act of 1849 were purely local relating to the City of Dublin, and I was supported in the view I took not only by the learned counsel who advises you, Sir, in the discharge of your duties, but also by the highest authorities upon private Bill legislation. The decision arrived at was that there is nothing to prevent a private Bill from doing away with the provisions of a public Bill which are purely private and local in their nature. That was the case in regard to the question affecting the position of the Collector General of Rates. But, further, the Committee did not propose to do away with the office of Collector General. What we did propose was that some of the functions of that official should be handed over to the Corporation, or some one whom the Corporation might nominate, while he should be left undisturbed in the exercise of his other functions. The hon. Member says that the outside townships object to be brought under the Corporation, but I can assure the House that we did nothing that could affect the interests of the out districts. It was originally proposed by the Corporation to do so, but the Committee threw out those provisions, and said at once that they did not intend to allow the Dublin Corporation to collect rates or exercise any jurisdiction outside their own area. Within their own area we thought they ought to occupy the same position as other Municipal Authorities in the United Kingdom, and be able to collect their own rates. The hon. Gentleman says that these clauses will enable the Corporation to disfranchise certain voters.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL: What I said was that the clause creates an impracticable position which might lead to the Corporation having the ultimate control of the franchise, by having the control of all the functions of the Collector General in their hands.

\***MR. HASTINGS:** Upon that point what I have to say is that whether in England or in Ireland, it is on the poor rate that the qualification for voting depends, and the Committee particularly excluded from the Bill all provisions which would enable the Corporation to collect the poor rates. That duty was retained in the hands of the Collector General, while the collection of the municipal rates was relegated to the Corporation. I am quite aware that there are many Corporations in England who do not collect all their rates, as, for instance, the Police and Sanitary Committee have been in the habit of passing local Acts to enable municipal Corporations to collect all the rates within their own jurisdiction. We did not go as far as that, but we simply gave the Corporation of Dublin the municipal rates. Forty years ago, whatever the reason for it might be, an Act was passed which took away from Dublin the power which other Corporations possess, and we failed to see why we should continue that injustice. The Committee sat for about a week on this clause. We examined a number of witnesses, and we endeavoured, in the most painstaking way, to arrive at what we believed to be a correct conclusion. We believe that we did arrive at a correct conclusion, and that the best way of settling the question would have been for the Lords to accept our clause. They threw it out, and I have no doubt they were actuated by the highest motives in what they did. But I think that a more full and impartial consideration of the facts of the case would lead them to the conclusion that the Corporation of Dublin ought to have the power of collecting their own municipal rates. On behalf of the Committee I may add that we accept the clauses now proposed by the Chief Secretary as a fair compromise. The House has always been rightly jealous as to the taxing of the people in any way other than the House approves; and if, consequently, there is a division of opinion—as I fear there is—between the two Houses on this matter, surely it is not for the Commons to give way.

(3.41.) **MR. COURTNEY** (Cornwall, Bodmin): May I ask the hon. Member for Worcestershire (Mr. Hastings) to supplement what he has stated, by pointing out in what way the proposals

of the Chief Secretary differ in form or substance from those approved by the Committee?

\*(3.42.) **MR. HASTINGS:** Both of them propose to give the Corporation of Dublin the power of collecting the municipal rates. That is the principle upon which the Committee passed their clauses, and it is the principle of the clauses now submitted. I look upon all the rest as nothing more nor less than the machinery of the Bill, and I am willing to take any machinery that may be devised by the Government, rather than let the principle go. We propose to give to the Corporation the power of appointing an independent officer to collect the municipal rates. I threw out the suggestion that they should appoint the Collector General, if possible, and I believe that would be the best arrangement that could be come to. Under the clauses now proposed I understand that the Corporation would have the power of appointing an officer subordinate to the Collector General, and acting under him, in a sort of sub-office. The two things do not differ in principle, although they may in mechanism. Both aim at the same object, namely, to relieve the Corporation of Dublin from the stigma that they are not fit to collect their own rates. The right hon. Gentleman proposes also, as we proposed, that there shall be power on either side to give notice of the termination of the arrangement.

(3.45.) **MR. MACARTNEY** (Antrim, S.): It will not be necessary for me to detain the House at any length in replying to the observations of the hon. Gentleman opposite, who acted as Chairman of the Select Committee. I would point out that we are not discussing the settlement of that Committee, a settlement in favour of which a good deal might be said, but a proposal which takes away all force from the petition of the Corporation of Dublin, and it would tend to secure economy and convenience to have a consolidated rate. Passing from that point, I wish to recall the attention of the House and of the Chief Secretary to the position of affairs as far as this House is concerned. The hon. Member for South Tyrone (Mr. T. W. Russell) has pointed out that the present settlement was arrived at in 1849. But I want to remind the House how the set-

tlement was arrived at. In that year there were three Bills before the House relating to the Corporation of Dublin, one by the Chamber of Commerce, one by the Corporation, and one by a Solicitor, who was supposed to be animated by a considerable amount of hostility to the Corporation. The result of the discussion which took place upon the Bills was a compromise which was agreed to by the then Chief Secretary. The three Bills were all withdrawn, but the Chief Secretary introduced as a Government measure the present Act, along with two other Acts, which were passed without opposition in the two Houses. It was admitted at the time that the question of the power of collecting the rates by the Corporation was the one that aroused party passions, and it was considered advisable to settle the question by appointing as collector some one who would be free from party influence, and who should be positively precluded from taking any part in party politics whatever. The question of the collection of the rates in Dublin has since 1849 been before the House from time to time, and in 1885 the Chief Secretary promised Mr. Gray to bring in a Bill to deal with the subject. In the meantime the appointment of Collector General was to be provisional. The Corporation of Dublin have now introduced a Bill privately. Its early initiation in the City of Dublin was somewhat peculiar. The Corporation appear to have accepted the Report of their Committee without discussion.

MR. SEXTON: Not at all. The Corporation were bound by statute to hold two meetings, between which a meeting of the burgesses was to be held. It was therefore considered inexpedient to enter into a full description at the first meeting, but to reserve it until after the burgesses had had an opportunity of expressing their views.

MR. MACARTNEY: The Bill was not adopted by the Corporation until after the meeting of the burgesses had been held.

MR. SEXTON: That is the invariable rule in all Corporations.

MR. MACARTNEY: I am afraid that I cannot accept that statement, because I believe it to be at variance with the proceedings of public bodies generally. The clauses the House is now asked to agree to practically give all that the

*Mr. Macartney*

Corporation of Dublin demanded in their original Bill, and I would prefer that the Government should restore the original clauses, because they, at all events, are perfectly clear and distinct instead of giving what is asked for in confused language, and by cumbrous machinery. The course taken by the Government has been somewhat extraordinary. They had the opportunity of proposing these clauses in the House of Lords, but they refrained from doing so. On the contrary, they allowed the Bill to pass the House of Lords without a murmur. There were only two witnesses called before the Committee of the House of Lords—one of them, an Alderman of the City of Dublin, who confessed that he knew very little of the matter, and the other, the Collector General, who said that the plan proposed would be extravagant and unworkable, and would lead to unnecessary expenditure. I do not believe that the safeguard of the Lord Lieutenant will protect the interests that he is anxious to protect, and I am of opinion that nothing would create more disagreement than the clauses as now drafted. I hope the House will not consent to the clauses, because they would be countenancing an almost unprecedented procedure with regard to Private Bill legislation, and would not be promoting the interests concerned.

\*(3.55.) MR. A. J. BALFOUR: It would be idle to deny that the controversy in which we are now engaged has created in Dublin an amount of interest and almost of excitement which, though I accept the fact of its existence, I find it very difficult to understand. My hon. Friend the Member for South Tyrone, who spoke first, used language which can only be interpreted as expressing the conviction that in bringing forward these Amendments I am betraying the Union. I was gratified when the hon. Member who sits next to him came to the rescue, because, if my opinions with regard to the Union are open to doubt, those of the hon. Member for Worcester-shire have fallen under no such dark suspicion. Now, Sir, I hope to be able to convince the House that there is no justification whatever for the feeling of hostility which our proposals have excited. The clauses may be workable or unworkable, wise or unwise, but, at all events, they have been conceived in the interests of the

Dublin ratepayers, and there is nothing in them to arouse the suspicion of even the most suspicious Unionist in the City. The existing arrangement was made in 1849, when a consolidated rate was established, and the collection of it confided to a Collector General. I believe that system has worked fairly and economically, and that no system which could be substituted for it would be likely to work more fairly or more economically. So far, I am in entire agreement with my hon. Friends the Members for South Tyrone and South Antrim, and I should have been glad to see the existing system go on without alteration. But I think the House will agree with me that when a great Municipal Authority like the Dublin Corporation make a demand to be allowed to collect its own rates, this House, in the year 1890, cannot refuse to accede to the demand.

Mr. T. W. RUSSELL: The demand is to collect the whole rate—the consolidated rate.

\*Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: They asked to collect the whole rate; but that, as far as I am concerned, I have never been prepared to give them. My argument, as the House will see, has brought us to this position, that the system of a consolidated rate collected by the Collector General is the most economical; and that if the Dublin Corporation desire to have the responsibility of collecting their own rates, their request ought to be granted. As a corollary from these two apparently irreconcilable propositions, I claim that the House should assent to these clauses. Our compromise, and our compromise, perhaps, alone, reconciles the two conflicting claims of municipal economy and municipal autonomy! It has, however, been violently objected to; and what is the character of the objection? The objection raised is this: that by the power given to the Corporation under these clauses, they would obtain such a control over the collection of that part of the consolidated rate, the payment of which confers the right to vote, that they would be able to use their power, if they wished, to manipulate the register in the interests of the Political Party to which the majority of the Corporation might happen to belong. I traverse that contention absolutely. No such power is conferred by the clauses on the Paper. What do we do by

these clauses? The Government introduce into the Collector General's Department what I may describe as a Sub-Department, consisting of one or two, or perhaps three gentlemen. What are the powers of this Sub-Department? It will have no right to collect the rates, or to manipulate the register, or to control the Collector General.

Mr. T. W. RUSSELL: Who is to appoint the rate collectors?

\*Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: I am dealing now not with the collectors, but with the Sub-Department of the Collector's Office, and I ask what are the powers given to this Sub-Department? Will it have the right to control the Collector General to collect the rates or to manipulate the register? It will have none of those things. It will simply have the right to supervise the levying of the rate. The Dublin Corporation at present have no means of inspecting the books or of knowing how efficiently that part of the functions of the Collector General in which they are interested is carried out. They ask, therefore, for some power of supervision, and, so far as the Sub-Department is concerned, what is given by the clause could not be described as conferring any power which could be misused by the Corporation in the direction suspected by the hon. Members for South Tyrone and South Antrim. Let me come now to the collectors. According to these clauses, two-thirds of the collectors are, as vacancies occur, to be appointed by the Corporation, but these, together with the remaining third, will remain what they are now, servants of the Collector General and the Lord Lieutenant. The Corporation of Dublin, in short, will obtain certain rights of patronage, but of nothing more than patronage. This, my hon. Friend opposite says, will give them absolute control over the rates and the franchise. I say that it will do nothing of the kind. The speeches of the two hon. Gentlemen against those clauses have not contained any argument to show that the arrangement hands over a substantial power to the Corporation of manipulating the rate in any way whatever. All the collectors, whether appointed by the Corporation or not, will be the servants of the Collector General and, through the Collector General, of the Lord Lieutenant, and of nobody else.

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Mr. MACARTNEY: My assertion was based on actual experience in the Revision Courts in Ireland.

\*Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: Is there any case in Ireland in which the collectors of the consolidated rate have been the servants of any officers at all like the Collector General? My hon. Friend is speaking of a case in which the collectors of the poor rates are the servants of the Union; and possibly it may happen that where the Guardians have a strong political bias their servants may violate their duty to the public by manipulating the register in the interests of a preponderating Political Party. That may possibly occur; but if it does, I maintain that no argument can possibly be drawn from it affecting this case, because here the master of the collector is not a political body at all; he is a permanent official who, it is admitted, has been in the past and may be in the future kept entirely apart from any Party influences whatever.

Mr. J. O'CONNOR (Tipperary, S.): The valuers are Government officers in Ireland.

\*Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: No doubt; but the theory of the objectors is that unless a man pays his poor rate before a certain date—the 1st of July, I believe—he is not qualified to vote during that year, and it is supposed that the collectors would deliberately decline to collect the poor rate of the Unionist voters, so as to prevent their being placed on the register.

Mr. T. W. RUSSELL: Hear, hear.

\*Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: I contend that the chief sufferers in this case would be the Corporation themselves, because they could not decline to collect the small fraction of the consolidated rate which is payable in respect of the poor without at the same time declining to collect the consolidated rate, of which two-thirds at least goes to the Corporation. The Corporation, therefore, would neither have the power nor the desire to carry out this manipulating of the register which is feared. Not the power, because the collectors would not be under their control. Not the desire, because they would be the chief losers by any default on the part of the ratepayers. But let me suppose the worst. Let me suppose that this economical arrangement will be impracticable; that the compromise will be

a worthless compromise, and that all the favourable anticipations I entertain are not fulfilled. The result will simply be that the arrangement will be brought to an end. My own conviction is that the Party most likely to bring them to an end would be the Corporation themselves. I do not believe that they cherish the dark designs attributed to them by my hon. Friend. If these collectors understand their own interests so little as to run the risk of dismissal at the hands of the Collector General by manipulating the register, of course the first thing would be to dismiss the offenders. The next thing to be done, if this proved insufficient, would be for the Government to step forward and say that the compromise suggested in the interests of the Dublin ratepayer was (contrary to their expectations) found to be unworkable; and, therefore, they would give the notice necessary to bring the arrangement to an end. When this was done, the mode of collecting rates in Dublin would be exactly that which my hon. Friend desires to have at present—

Mr. T. W. RUSSELL: What about the financial arrangements?

\*Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: By financial arrangements I presume my hon. Friend refers to superannuation, pensions, and matters of that kind. They were not provided for by the clauses agreed to by the House of Commons, but they are provided for in the clause now submitted, and this is another superiority which I think the plan of the Government has over the plan proposed by the Committee of the House of Commons. It possesses, indeed, two advantages over that plan. It gives a chance to the ratepayers of Dublin of being able to continue a system which makes the cost of collection exactly half what it would otherwise be; and, secondly, it secures to all the officials concerned the superannuation and pension which they have justly earned. Under these circumstances, I think it would be a great misfortune if this workable compromise were not carried out, and I should profoundly regret if either the House of Commons or the House of Lords were to decline to accept this settlement of a burning and most difficult controversy. A settlement which is favourable, as I believe, to the ratepayers of Dublin, and is certainly not



antagonistic to the interests of that Party, of which, in spite of the observations of my hon. Friend opposite, I still claim to be a Member.

(4.15.) MR. SEXTON: I think the Chief Secretary for Ireland has made it perfectly clear that neither the hon. Member for South Tyrone nor the hon. Member for South Antrim can have read the clauses which they are opposing to-day. If they have read them they have been unable to appreciate them. I am not surprised at the observations which have been directed by the hon. Member for South Tyrone against the Chief Secretary, although I do not think the public in general will believe in a conflict in which the hon. Member for South Tyrone appears as the defender of the Legislative Union against the Chief Secretary. Every Grand Jury in Ireland, every Board of Guardians, and the most insignificant village authority already possesses greater powers than are asked for by the Corporation of Dublin. The hon. Member for South Antrim told us that he is willing to accept the original clauses of the Bill.

MR. MACARTNEY: I said that I would have preferred them to the clauses now proposed.

MR. SEXTON: The original clauses made the Corporation the sole collectors of poor rates in the City of Dublin, and gave the Corporation the sole power of appointing and removing the rate collectors, so that they would have possessed the power of manipulating the rates without the Lord Lieutenant having any right to remove them. We are told that human nature in Dublin is the same as human nature anywhere else; but I would suggest that temptation is usually the prelude to offence, and I must scout the idea that the Bill would offer temptations to the Corporation of Dublin to manipulate the register of votes, seeing that at present three of the Dublin seats are never contested at all, while, with regard to the fourth, Mr. Robert Sexton, the Unionist candidate, is one of the members of the Corporation promoting the Bill. With reference to the main point in the argument of the hon. Member, that the Bill undoes the settlement of 1849, my reply is that the ideas of Local Government have considerably altered since that time. Under the settlement of 1849,

moreover, the Corporation of Dublin were in the position of serfs, being subjected to such indignity and loss as the Government have never dared attempt to apply to any other Corporation in the United Kingdom. The hon. Member for South Tyrone says that there has been no complaint. What would have been the use of a complaint? We are next told that we ought to proceed by Public Bill. We have introduced Public Bill after public Bill, and to tell us now that we ought to proceed by Public Bill is a mockery amounting to a denial of justice. I deny that the present system has worked well and economically. The Corporation of Dublin have no control over the collection of the rates. They can make no audit. The audit made takes no account of most important matters. Every year there is a great and growing sum—at present it is about £15,000—returned by the Collector General as an uncollectable arrear, and the Corporation have no means of ascertaining whether that arrear is collectable or not. There are altogether from £50,000 to £60,000 of outstanding arrears, but they have to take the word of the Collector General for it. He is under no obligation to render accounts. The Corporation cannot procure any account from the Collector General, and such account as he is willing to give they have to take whenever he likes to give it them. Three months ago the City Accountant, on asking for the annual account to enable the Corporation to complete their accounts for the year, was told that the chief clerk in the Collector General's office was away, and had left word that the account was not to be given till he returned. I cannot say whether he has returned yet; but the demand was made three months ago, and the account is not furnished yet. The hon. Member for South Tyrone says that the present system is economical. Let me appeal from his word to his oath. In giving evidence before the Committee in May last, the hon. Member was asked whether he looked upon the system as economical, and he declined to give any decided opinion. That was his oath in May. We have now heard his word to-day, that it is a plan that works well and economically. Elsewhere than in Dublin the average cost of collecting the municipal rates is from 1 to 2 per cent., but the cost in Dublin is nearly 3½ per



cent. The Department besides has been a perfect nest of jobbery. It costs the city £10,000 a year, although, economically managed, it ought not to cost more than £5,000. Not long ago an officer was pensioned at £300 a year, and his son was immediately taken into the office at £190 a year, showing how well and economically managed the Department is. We are told that the Corporation are the only persons who support the Bill; but at the first meeting of the Corporation three gentlemen who were knighted by a Conservative Government supported it. There was subsequently a meeting of the burgesses, and after that a poll, in which the citizens, by a majority of 4,000 to 1,300, approved the Bill. What, then, was the need of producing special evidence before the Committee as to the views of the ratepayers? The Corporation all through have been willing to accept any reasonable proposal. The first proposition was to make the Corporation the sole collectors of all the rates. That was objected to. The second proposal was made by the Commons Committee, namely, that there should be two separate collections—the Corporation collecting the municipal rates and the Collector General the rest. The Lords Committee objected to that proposition, and we have now before us the proposal of the Chief Secretary, which, if adopted, will undoubtedly save the money of the ratepayers by providing for only one collection. It is proposed to introduce a compound collection, and if it should fail, either the Corporation or the Lord Lieutenant can institute a separate collection. Why should we be denied the opportunity of endeavouring to ascertain whether the expense of a double collection cannot be saved?

MR. T. W. RUSSELL: Why make the collection independent of the Collector General's Office?

MR. SEXTON: The sweetness and the lightness of that observation must, I am sure, strike the sense of the House. At present the Collector General of Dublin collects the municipal rates, and the hon. Member objects to the proposal of the Government, because he does not wish the Corporation of Dublin, who are the representatives of the ratepayers, to be independent of the Collector General's Office. I can tell the hon. Member that the question about which he has grown

*Mr. Sexton*

so excited to-day will never become a practical question. When vacancies occur, two-thirds are to be filled by the Corporation and one-third by the Lord Lieutenant; but if the collector of rates is guilty of any act of misconduct, it will be in the power of the Lord Lieutenant to remove him; and, although a sentiment of gratitude may remain towards those by whom the appointment was made, the rate collector will naturally look not to the person who appointed him, but to the person who can remove him. The reason which was alleged by the Committee of the Lords, in the first instance, for rejecting the Commons clauses has now disappeared. Ample provision is made for the Staff. It is said that the proposal is unprecedented, but it should be remembered that the grievance is unprecedented also. When a Committee of this House have unanimously determined, and the House itself has unanimously ratified the decision, that a reform shall be made in a matter affecting the taxation of the people, it is unprecedented to reject the decision in another place. The Bill has cost the Corporation of Dublin 20 months' hard labour and a good many thousands of pounds; and if, by a prolonged conflict on its main provision, the Bill is lost, something may happen more significant than any argument in this House, for it will be regarded as significant of the reception which is likely to be given in the House of Lords to the remedial policy of the Tory Party for Ireland—a policy which for the last four years they have declared to consist in the giving of the powers and functions of Local Government, as they are understood in this country, to the elected bodies of Ireland.

(4.33.) MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.): I wish to point out that the powers so much deprecated by the hon. Member for South Tyrone have already been conferred on the town clerk of Dublin, Mr. Beveridge, against whom not one suggestion of a breach of duty has been made by the Dublin Unionist Party. The Collector General has no more to say to the franchise in Dublin than I have. [Mr. T. W. RUSSELL laughed.] The hon. Member laughs; but if he will not accept my authority, I hope he will accept that of Rogers on "Registration," and the Act of Parliament.

The provisions of the Representation of the People Act of 1867 were applied to Ireland for the first time in 1884, and they require that a demand note for the rates due must be served on every individual ratepayer; and if any officer wilfully withholds the presentation of the demand note, he is held to be guilty of a breach of duty rendering him liable to prosecution. He is further liable, under the same Act, to dismissal without notice. The official upon whom these duties are now imposed is the Parnellite town clerk of Dublin, and they were imposed upon him by this House when it contained not 16, but 40 Tory Members. In addition, it is the duty of the town clerk on or before the 15th of June to present a list of all persons whose rates are in arrear, so that they may not be unfairly disfranchised. No Unionist has ever complained of Mr. Beveridge. In fact, he served so many notices upon Nationalists last year that the four Revising Barrister's Courts were blocked for three weeks. Can it be suggested that Dublin alone, of all the constituencies, with its powerful majority, is going to perpetrate acts of corruption in order to retain a seat of which it is absolutely certain at the present moment? The law is entirely technical, and I assert without fear of contradiction that similar duties to those now proposed to be conferred are already exercised by the salaried officers of the Corporation, and that those duties have been fairly exercised and discharged.

(4.42.) MR. COURTNEY: I am afraid that at the present moment we are in a position of some embarrassment partly on account of the heated atmosphere in which we have been living during the last half-hour, and partly because there has been thrown before us a number of clauses which we are asked to adopt without the possibility of giving them the examination which is usually given to the clauses submitted to a Committee on a private Bill. In this case all the questions of principle were submitted to a Committee of this House, which came to certain conclusions and passed the Bill. It then went to the House of Lords, where it was also considered. Therefore, it is far too late now to raise the objection that matters contained in a public Bill ought not to be dealt with by a private measure, even if that

objection ever had any real significance. I asked my right hon. Friend the Chairman of the Police and Sanitary Committee to say exactly what the difference is between the new clauses proposed by the Chief Secretary and the scheme of the Bill, with reference to the collection of the rates, as agreed upon by the Committee; and he answered that the principle was precisely the same, only there was a difference in the machinery. Then there come the compensation clauses, to which my hon. Friend the Member for South Tyrone raises no objection; so that the whole difficulty, as I understand my hon. Friend the Member for South Tyrone, is this new clause, which deals with the appointment of collectors and gives the appointment to the Corporation of Dublin as well as to the Lord Lieutenant. That is the whole scope of the Bill. I find some difficulty in understanding how the proposal will work. I doubt whether it will achieve what I understand is the intention of the Chief Secretary. One collector will be appointed by the Lord Lieutenant and two by the Corporation. The Chief Secretary justifies it on the ground that it is desirable to retain one-third of the control in the hands of the Lord Lieutenant. Will that always be realised? Let there be three collectors—A, B, and C, appointed in that chronological order. A is appointed by the Corporation, B by the Lord Lieutenant, and C by the Corporation. Suppose B dies first—out of his turn so to speak. The appointment of his successor will fall in due rotation to the Corporation, who will so nominate all three. Under other circumstances, the Lord Lieutenant would have two nominees out of the three. These results are not intended, and I was led to consider them by asking myself what would happen. Supposing one of the collectors negligently left the rate uncollected, and the Lord Lieutenant dismissed him. It occurs to me that the Corporation of Dublin might re-appoint him. What becomes of your controlling power if the Corporation re-appoints the man?

MR. SEXTON: The Lord Lieutenant can dismiss him.

\*MR. COURTNEY: Then if the Lord Lieutenant dismisses him it will be the Lord Lieutenant's turn to appoint. These

are some of the conundrums that might have been worked out before a Committee, and it is hardly possible that they can be worked out by the whole House.

MR. SEXTON; I think the right hon. Gentleman will see that if anything like that state of affairs occurred, the Corporation would seek for an entirely separate collection.

\*MR. COURTNEY: You need not break up the whole machinery because of a difficulty over one man. To sum up:—Although it is extremely inconvenient that a number of clauses should be considered in this way, I do not think, considering the whole circumstances of the case, that the House will be justified in objecting, as there is no real danger to be apprehended from their operation.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL: I can only speak with the indulgence of the House. I just wish to say to the Chief Secretary that, having brought in these clauses in the absence of most of the Unionist Members, the Government must take the responsibility of them.

MR. MACARTNEY: I have also to state that I would have preferred the clauses in the original Bill to the clauses presented by the Government.

Question put, and agreed to.

Consequential Amendments made.

### QUESTIONS.

#### IRISH PRIMARY TRAINING COLLEGES.

MR. SEXTON (Belfast, W.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether, in equalising the position of the Irish Primary Training Colleges, account will be taken, in the case of the non-official colleges, of the special annual charges arising against their credit funds, owing to the disadvantage resulting from inequality of treatment up to the present time?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY OF IRELAND (MR. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.): Perhaps the right hon. Gentleman will allow me further time in which to make inquiry.

#### SHADOWING.

MR. P. O'BRIEN (Monaghan, N.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that Mr. Francis M'Kenna, *Mr. Courtney*

gunsmith, residing at Anagap, County Monaghan, was followed into the shops of Mr. Robert Graham, Monaghan, on Tuesday last, by Head Constable Montgomery, who prevented Mr. Graham selling to Mr. M'Kenna gun nipples, which he wanted for the purposes of his trade; whether Mr. M'Kenna has since been shadowed by two constables; and whether he can state the grounds upon which the police acted in this matter?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The Constabulary Authorities report that it is not the case that the head constable followed Mr. M'Kenna into the shop; neither did he prevent Mr. Graham from selling him the gun nipples, nor is it the case that he has since or at any time been shadowed by any policeman.

#### A LICENSING CASE.

MR. CRILLY (Mayo, N.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether his attention has been called to the fact that, at the Petty Sessions held in Belmullet, County Mayo, on the 12th of July, Mr. James Padden, the holder of a six days' licence, was fined by Mr. Dillon, R.M., 10s. and costs for having persons on his premises on Sunday, the only evidence being that of a police sergeant, who deposed that he saw two men going into the house; whether he is aware that it was proved that Mr. Padden's shop was locked; that he himself was not at home and that he had the keys with him; that the men whom the policemen saw only called to get change of a banknote; and that no drink at all was sold on the occasion; and whether, under these circumstances, the Law Officers of the Crown will advise the remission of the fine imposed on Mr. Padden?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I am informed that from the evidence adduced, the Court was satisfied that the men summoned had been on the premises in contravention of the Licensing Act. Mr. Padden had full power under the Act to appeal if he considered the decision wrong; but he did not do so. I am advised there is no ground for the course suggested in the last paragraph.

#### BALLINA UNION—THE DEATH OF BRIDGET HOBAN.

MR. O'KELLY (Roscommon, N.): I beg to Dr. FITZGERALD (Longford, S.): I beg to

ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland if his attention has been called to the death of Bridget Hoban, of Ballina Union, County Mayo; if he is aware that the death has been caused through the neglect of the officials of the union; that when the husband of the woman went to the doctor with an order to attend the wife on the 2nd of July, the doctor told him to go to hell; and if he will cause inquiry to be made into the circumstances of this case?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The Local Government Board are informed by the acting clerk of the Ballina Union and by the honorary secretary of the Ballina Dispensary Committee that no complaint has been made either to the Guardians or to the committee with reference to the alleged neglect referred to.

MR. JASPER TULLEY.

MR. O'KELLY (on behalf of Dr. FITZGERALD): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, with reference to the treatment of Mr. Jasper Tulley, editor of the *Roscommon Herald*, now a prisoner in Tullamore Gaol, if he can state what was the sentence imposed upon Mr. Jasper Tulley; is he aware that he is engaged in the labour of sack-making, and that his hands are full of sores; that he has lost two stone in weight during the two months he has been in prison; and that he is now suffering from an attack of diarrhoea; and, if so, why is he not placed under hospital treatment; and if the sentence did not include hard labour, why is the work of sack-making imposed upon the prisoner?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: As stated in reply to a question put by the hon. Member on 4th inst. the prisoner mentioned is undergoing concurrent sentences of 14 days' and three calendar months' imprisonment without hard labour. He was informed that he could be exempt from work by paying for his food. For four days, however, he did not take advantage of this, and was accordingly given some sacks to make. On the expiration of the four days he commenced payment for his food, and was forthwith relieved from all work. But at his special request he was allowed by the Governor to have a few sacks for his personal

occupation on the clear understanding that it was at his own desire. There are no sores on the hands of this prisoner. He has lost nine and a half pounds, not two stone, in weight, from his reception into prison on 10th June up to the 9th inst. He is not suffering from the complaint mentioned, which only lasted for a few days, and ceased on 30th ultimo. Sack-making is the chief form of industry in Tullamore Prison. It is engaged in by both hard labour and by such non-hard labour prisoners as do not pay for their food; but the latter class of prisoners receive a smaller quantity of this work to perform in a given time than the hard labour prisoners. I may add that I am informed that the *Freeman's Journal* of to-day contains a report from its Tullamore correspondent stating that Dr. Moorhead, J.P., had visited the prison on Saturday and found the prisoner in question in "excellent health and spirits," and that "there is no foundation for the prevailing rumours that he is in bad health."

MR. FRANCIS J. KELLY, J.P.

MR. JOHN KELLY (Camberwell, N.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that an attempt was made to assassinate Mr. Francis J. Kelly, J.P., as he was driving out of his grounds near Ennis on the 1st instant, and that the outrage was denounced by the Rev. Father Walsh, P.P., at Mass at Banfield on the 3rd instant; and whether, as the result of such demonstration or otherwise, any of the three persons known to have been concerned in the attempted assassination has as yet been arrested? In the latter part of the question there is the word "denounced" instead of "enunciation."

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The Constabulary Authorities report that it is the case an attempt was made to assassinate Mr. Francis J. Kelly, J.P., two of the bullets lodging in the horse conveying him. This outrage was denounced as stated in the question. No result has as yet followed.

LEVEL CROSSINGS.

MR. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camberne): I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board whether he has received from the clerk of the County

Council for Cornwall a copy of a resolution passed unanimously at the last meeting of that body to the following effect:—

"That a representation be made to the Board of Trade, urging that all level crossings in the County of Cornwall on public highways over main lines, and all others within the county that from their position or the amount of traffic are specially dangerous, should be abolished, and that in future no level crossings should be sanctioned ;"

and whether he proposes to take any, and what, action thereupon?

\*THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE (Sir M. HICKS BEACH, Bristol, W.): No, Sir; the resolution referred to by the hon. Member has not reached the Board of Trade. With regard to the first paragraph quoted, the Board of Trade frequently make representations to Railway Companies in regard to level crossings which appear to them to be at all dangerous, recommending their abolition; but they have, generally speaking, no power to enforce their views in the case of railways constructed before 1863. As regards future level crossings, no such crossing is permitted unless authorised by Parliament after report by an Inspecting Officer of the Board of Trade. Reports of the officer adverse to level crossings have in the past been often overruled by the Committees, and arrangements have been made since the beginning of this Session for the attendance of the officer before the Committees when required.

Dr. HAYES.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether the inquiry into the conduct of Dr. Hayes, dispensary doctor at Tralee, concerning his attendance on Charles Everett, deceased, promised on the 19th June last, has since been held; and, if so, with what result?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The Local Government Board have investigated the matter, and obtained an explanation from the medical officer concerned, from which it appears that the ticket in question was only delivered at his house after 6 o'clock on the evening of the 22nd May. Not being marked "urgent," he did not immediately attend to it, as he had another call to make in the country besides cases in the town, which occupied

*Mr. Conybears*

him until past 10 o'clock that night. Having regard to these facts, and considering that the medical officer had no intimation whatever as to the case being urgent, the Board do not think that he is to be blamed for deciding to postpone the visit till next morning.

MR. E. HARRINGTON (Kerry, W.): I wish to ask the right hon. Gentleman whether the Local Government Board will not give an instruction that these "urgent tickets" are filled up by the secretary? I believe the medical officers do not disregard the tickets when signed in that way.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL: Are these urgent tickets not of a different colour?

MR. E. HARRINGTON: They are.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I have made some recent modification, but perhaps the hon. Gentleman below the Gangway will put a question on the Paper.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL: The hon. Member says that the urgent tickets are, in fact, of a different colour to those presented to the doctor.

MR. E. HARRINGTON: The urgent tickets are red; but these, if distributed by the clerk, become an annoyance to the doctor. They should be given by the secretary.

#### COUNTY MAGISTRATES.

MR. COBB (Warwick, S.E., Rugby): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether he will be willing to grant a Return showing the names of the Magistrates on every County Bench, the number of days upon which each Bench has sat in each of the years 1887, 1888, and 1889, and the number of attendances of each Magistrate in each of such years; and whether the information can be collected in the Recess, so that the Return may be made at the beginning of next Session?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. MATTHEWS, Birmingham, E.): Part of the information sought for by the hon. Member will be found in Return 356 of 1888. That Return was obtained only at the cost of a great deal of labour and annoyance to many excellent Magistrates. I should not be prepared to continue it, or to seek to obtain the additional particulars asked for in the question.



## LICENCES TO CARRY ARMS.

MR. P. O'BRIEN: I beg to ask the Attorney General for Ireland whether it is the law that in all cases of application for licence to remove or carry arms in Ireland, the Inspector General for Constabulary must be satisfied by proof, other than the word of the applicant, as to the ownership of the arms which he claims; what sort of proof is required, and how is the inquiry conducted; what sort of proof had the Inspector General, other than the word of Mr. Brown as against that of Mr. Pollock, upon which he decided to refuse Mr. John H. Pollock, of 25, Polmadie Street, Glasgow, a licence to remove some old and useless arms from his house in Glenlough, County Monaghan, to his residence in Glasgow; and whether he will order the issue of the necessary licence for removal to Mr. Pollock, and leave the dispute as to ownership of the arms to be settled between Mr. Pollock and Mr. Brown?

MR. MADDEN (Dublin University): I am not aware of any enactment regulating the nature of the proof to be given in respect to the ownership of arms. The Constabulary Authorities report that the ground of refusal to issue a licence to Mr. Pollock was the fact that the arms were in the possession of Mr. Brown, who claimed them and refused to give them up. So soon as the arms are in the possession of Mr. Pollock the necessary licence will be issued to him.

\*MR. P. O'BRIEN: Does the right hon. Gentleman know that this house belongs to Mr. Pollock, and why did the authorities interfere with him when taking the arms out of his own house?

MR. MADDEN: No, Sir; obviously the proper person to whom the licence is to be granted is the owner of the arms.

\*MR. P. O'BRIEN: The arms might have been taken away without the matter being mentioned at all to the authorities.

MR. MADDEN: The position is that the arms were represented as lost.

MR. J. O'CONNOR (Tipperary): If a man has arms in Ireland without a licence, is he not liable to be prosecuted by the police?

\*MR. SPEAKER: Order, order!

## SCOTCH PAROCHIAL BOARDS—FEMALE ELECTORS.

MR. ANGUS SUTHERLAND (Sutherland): I beg to ask the Lord Advocate whether his attention has been called to the fact that, at the election of elected Members of the Parochial Board of Loth, Sutherlandshire, on the 2nd instant, two women voted for Messrs. Dudgeon and Rutherford, the successful candidates; whether women are entitled to vote at the election of members of Parochial Boards; whether the Receiving Officer acted within his powers in receiving such votes; and whether the election of the aforesaid gentleman is thereby invalidated?

\*THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. P. B. ROBERTSON, Bute): I am not acquainted with the case mentioned except through the question of the hon. Gentleman. As matter of practice, women frequently vote at the election of members of Parochial Boards in Scotland, and are sometimes elected and act as members of those Boards. Their right to do so has never, so far as I am aware, been questioned. The electors are described by Section 23 of the Poor Law Act as the persons from whom the assessments are levied. Women are certainly so assessed when owners or occupiers, and there is an express enactment in the first section that every word importing the masculine gender shall extend to a female as well as a male. Should, however, anyone concerned in the election referred to desire to have the question authoritatively settled, he can go to the Sheriff under the 27th section of the Act.

## CAB LICENCES IN ABERDEEN.

MR. HUNTER (Aberdeen, N.): I beg to ask the Lord Advocate what is the result of his inquiries into the neglect of the Police Authorities and Procurator Fiscal of Aberdeen to prosecute cabmen plying for hire in Aberdeen without licences?

\*MR. J. P. B. ROBERTSON: The facts of this case are as follows: A strike took place among the Aberdeen cabmen, and certain cabs were driven for a few days by men not holding licences. Information was lodged with the Burgh Fiscal against several of these men, and information was also lodged against several

of the men on strike for acts of intimidation. The strike came to an end, and the Authorities considered that the interests of the public and of all parties would be best served by no prosecutions being instituted. In abstaining from prosecuting the men for driving without licences, which is a contravention of a clause in a local statute, the Burgh Fiscal acted in accordance with his own discretion, and after consultation with the Magistrates, but I am informed that the course thus adopted has met with the approval of gentlemen representative of the Cabmen's Union.

#### CASE OF GEORGE BUCKLEY.

MR. P. O'BRIEN, on behalf of Dr. COMMINS (Roscommon, S.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether it is true that George Buckley, late 3rd Brigade Royal Artillery, who is in receipt of a pension of 1s. 2d. a day, is at present an inmate of Richmond Lunatic Asylum; whether he is aware that Buckley's wife, a native of England, is in receipt of out-door relief from the ratepayers of Roscommon Union, and that, in reply to a recent application, the Guardians were informed, in a communication from the War Office, that, after deducting the amount contributed by Parliament towards the maintenance of the lunatic, and the claims made by the Governors of the asylum for the additional cost of maintenance, only a balance of 2s. 7d. remained towards meeting the maintenance of Mrs. Buckley for the last three months; why has a different principle been adopted regarding the quarter ending 31st March, 1890, when a sum of only 2s. 7d. was available for Mrs. Buckley, and the quarter ending 31st December, 1889, when one-half the pension was remitted to the Guardians; and whether he will make some arrangement under which a portion of Buckley's pension may go towards relieving the ratepayers of Roscommon from the cost of maintaining his wife?

\*THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Mr. E. STANHOPE, Lincolnshire, Horncastle): The facts are as stated; and are the result of the Superannuation Act of 1887. I have already stated that the effect of that Act in this matter came upon me as a surprise; and I am

*Mr. J. P. B. Robertson*

pledged to consider with the Treasury whether any remedy can be brought about by legislation next Session.

#### ROYAL COMMISSIONS.

MR. CONYBEARE: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether the Government will grant the Return relating to Royal Commissions, standing in my name on this day's Orders?

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON, Leeds, N.): The hon. Member appears to have overlooked a Return of 1887, in which the greater part of the information he asks for is contained.

MR. CONYBEARE: I think the Return for which I ask is a Parliamentary Paper in 1888. Do I understand the right hon. Gentleman that there is a Return bringing up the information from 1875 down to the year 1887? because that would go a long way to satisfy me.

MR. JACKSON: I have not seen the Return, but I am informed that it is in existence.

MR. CONYBEARE: I feel assured that it does not correspond with what I ask. I will, however, make inquiry.

#### MINERS' DISEASE.

MR. CONYBEARE: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether he has taken any steps to obtain any reliable statistics as to the prevalence of, and the excessive mortality arising from, phthisis or miners' disease amongst the miners of Devon and Cornwall; whether he is aware that the majority of the Friendly and Benefit Societies in those counties refuse to accept the miners as members, owing to the excessive death rate arising from this cause; whether he is aware that the miners' clubs in the various mines, supported by contributions deducted from the men's wages, make provision only for accidents, and not for sickness resulting from the insanitary conditions under which they work; and whether he can furnish a Return, showing for each of the years 1880-90, the number and ages of the miners in the stannaries of Cornwall and Devon who have died from miners' disease or the diseases allied thereto.

MR. MATTHEWS: The Inspector having reported to me that the

causes which led to the high death-rate have been almost entirely eliminated, and that the next Report of the Registrar General will probably show a decreased mortality among Cornish miners, I have not considered it necessary to anticipate that Report by endeavouring to obtain statistics as to the prevalence of miners' disease in Cornwall.

MR. CONYBEARE: What I want the right hon. Gentleman to appreciate is that there is a difference of opinion in the country on the subject, and whether he does not see his way to prosecute further inquiry for the satisfaction of the country.

MR. MATTHEWS: I am afraid the hon. Gentleman has not yet read the Report of the Inspectors, which is in my office. I will send it to him.

#### THE DEATH OF MARY M'KEOWN.

MR. MACARTNEY (Antrim, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether his attention has been called to the evidence of Ellen M'Keown, at the inquest touching the death of her daughter Mary M'Keown, held before Dr. Thomas J. M'Grath, Coroner, to the effect that—

"Before the clergy condemned ether drinking, the deceased would take a teaspoonful of ether occasionally. I take ether myself, and the children buy a naggin or half-a-pint of it for me when they are in the market,"

and to the following Report of the summing up of the Coroner, published in the *Tyrone Constitution*, of 1st August—

"The Coroner, in summing up the evidence, said, ether drinking has obtained a terrible hold on the people of the locality, and is procurable, as appears from the evidence of the mother of the deceased, at any public house within a radius of 10 miles. During the progress of the case, the witness seemed to be greatly under the influence of ether, and I hope that every exertion will be made to assist the Rev. Mr. M'Namee to put a stop to ether drinking;"

and whether he will give instructions to the constabulary to collect evidence as to the traffic in ether in the County of Tyrone?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I am informed that at the inquest mentioned the witnesses and Coroner expressed themselves in the manner indicated in the question with regard to the practice of ether drinking. The Constabulary

Authorities are obtaining details as to the traffic in ether throughout the county.

SIR W. LAWSON (Cumberland, Cockermouth): Has the right hon. Gentleman any information in his possession as to the purchase of whisky?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I have the information in my possession that it prevails to a serious extent.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL: Will the right hon. Gentleman support a Private Bill on the subject?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I believe, according to my present information, that this evil is confined to a small district, but in that district I believe it to be very serious.

MR. T. M. HEALY: Is the chemical head of the Excise Department aware of the evidence given before a Select Committee of this House as to the strength of pure alcohol?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I do not know that.

#### THE REGULATION OF RAILWAYS ACT.

MR. AGG-GARDNER (Cheltenham): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether the 6th section of "The Regulation of Railways Act, 1889," has been brought into full operation; and, if not, what are the Railway Companies which are exempted from complying with its provisions, and what are the reasons for such exemptions, if any?

\*SIR M. HICKS BEACH: By 42 Railway Companies the provisions of the section referred to are already in operation. As regards some of the others, including the larger companies, whose stock of tickets amount to many millions, the 1st January, 1891, has been fixed by the Board of Trade as the date from and after which passenger tickets are to bear on their face the fare chargeable for the journey.

#### THE CASE OF JEREMIAH BROSAN.

MR. P. O'BRIEN: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether his attention has been directed to a Judgment delivered by Mr. Justice O'Brien on the 6th instant, in which the following occurs:—

"It would be a serious matter to lay down a rule that every person who sold a single copy of a newspaper could be sued for what it con-



tained. That might be so; but it would be a dangerous rule to lay down as affecting the liberty of the Press, and it would be a rule that would give rise to a great amount of litigation ;"

whether his attention has also been called to the case of a man named Jeremiah Brosnan, newsvendor, Killarney, who was sentenced in November, 1887, by Messrs. Cecil Roche and Captain Hutchinson, R.M.'s, to a month's hard labour, for publishing *United Ireland*, in which case the only connection with the "publishing" of the paper proved in evidence was that Brosnan sold a copy to a policeman in the ordinary way of trade; whether he is aware that Denis M'Namara, newsvendor, of Ennis, was several times imprisoned on a similar charge by Resident Magistrates; and whether, in view of the Judgment of Mr. Justice O'Brien, he will take steps to prevent similar prosecution in the future?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: My attention has been called to the Judgment of the learned Judge. I am advised that that Judgment has no bearing on the convictions referred to. Neither of the cases referred to was that of a sale of a single copy of a newspaper, but of continued sale after frequent warning and with full knowledge of the nature of this act.

\*MR. P. O'BRIEN: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that only the sale of one paper was proved?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I cannot answer that.

MR. E. HARRINGTON: Does the right hon. Gentleman remember the case where the policeman begged a single copy of *United Ireland*, and then got the man three months' imprisonment?

#### THE ATTACK ON CATHOLICS AT BELFAST.

MR. SEXTON: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland what were the circumstances of the attack on a number of Catholics at Queen's Island, Belfast, on Wednesday morning last; whether any arrests have been made; what inquiries have been instituted, and with what result; and whether, in pursuance of the recommendation of the Royal Commission on the Belfast riots, the Government will establish a police station at Queen's Island, as now requested by Petition to the Lord Lieutenant?

Mr. P. O'Brien

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The Constabulary Authorities report that the excursion party numbered about 800. The starting-point was opposite the Queen's Island, where over 5,000 workmen are employed. The band with the excursionists played in the hearing of the workmen what is regarded as a Party air, and commenced singing and cheering. Bolts or nuts were thrown by some of the workmen, but no injury was done to any person except a boy, who received a bruise from being struck on the forehead, but he received no serious injury. No injury was done to the vessel. Every effort has been made to identify the assailants by the local police, but so far without success. The manager of the works states that none of his foremen or responsible men knew what happened until all was over. The Petition referred to in the last paragraph has been received, and will have due consideration.

#### LARNE AND STRANRAER MAIL SERVICE.

MR. SEXTON: I beg to ask the Postmaster General whether application has yet been made to the Railway Companies in connection with the proposed acceleration of the Mail Service by the Larne and Stranraer route; and, if so, with what result; whether a time table has been produced by the companies, showing that the English mails now due in Belfast, *via* Holyhead, about noon, and often delayed in delivery, as on three occasions last week, till after 2 p.m., would be delivered in Belfast before 9 o'clock in the morning; and whether, as the case involves important commercial interests, it will be brought to an issue without delay?

A LORD OF THE TREASURY (Sir H. MAXWELL, Wigton): No application has been made to the companies owning the railways and steamboat associated with the Stranraer and Larne route, and the Postmaster General did not undertake to make such application. As I stated a few days ago, the Postmaster General is open to receive and consider any offer which may be made for the conveyance of mails by that route. A time table has been sketched out by one of the companies interested, but I have not heard in what light the other companies regard it.

**THE EDITORS OF THE WATERFORD NEWS AND WATERFORD CITIZEN.**

**MR. SEXTON:** I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland how the amount of £30, offered to the editors of the *Waterford News* and *Waterford Citizen* for one day's illegal detention in gaol, has been arrived at; has his attention been called to the case of Mr. Henry O'Connor, of the *Leinster Leader*, sentenced to a month's imprisonment with hard labour, on a conviction quashed as illegal by the Court of Exchequer after Mr. O'Connor had been four days in gaol; is he aware that Mr. Justice O'Brien decided that Mr. O'Connor has no legal remedy for the wrongful conviction and detention, and that his action for false imprisonment against the Resident Magistrates (Colonel Forbes and Sub-Inspector Mercer) must be non-suited; and, in view of the fact that Mr. O'Connor's solicitor proved that he incurred nearly £30 costs in procuring the mandamus from the Queen's Bench, compelling the "case stated," which procured his release, independent of the costs of his defence, and that it was on the argument of the Crown Lawyers that this gentleman was held to have no legal remedy, will the Government offer any compensation to Mr. O'Connor, following the principle on which the *Waterford* editors, without any judicial decision, have been compensated for a shorter confinement?

**MR. A. J. BALFOUR:** I have not the information necessary to enable me to answer.

**MR. SEXTON:** This question has been down three times, and last time it was postponed at the request of the Attorney General. The question is an important one, and, if it is not answered, we must raise a discussion on the Appropriation Bill.

**MR. A. J. BALFOUR:** I hope to be ready to-morrow.

**NON-COUNTY BOROUGHs AND COUNTY COUNCILS—FINANCIAL RELATIONS.**

**MR. ROWNTREE** (Scarborough): I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board if the Government would assent to a Return showing the financial relationship of the Non-County Boroughs and the County Councils of the counties

in which they are situate during the past year, including the amount of the local taxation licences and of the Probate Duty raised in the said boroughs respectively, and also showing the total amounts received by the said boroughs in aid of their local taxation during the two years 1887 and 1888?

**\*THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD** (Mr. RITCHIE, Tower Hamlets, St. George's): As regards the licences issued by the Inland Revenue officers, the difficulties of making such a Return as that suggested would be almost insuperable; and with respect to licences issued at post offices—amounting to nearly £900,000—it would be impossible to make the analysis which the Return would require. Neither would it be practicable to make any statement as to the Probate Duty raised in the different Non-County Boroughs.

**PARLIAMENTARY REGISTERS: NEWCASTLE-UNDER-LYME.**

**MR. BRADLAUGH** (Northampton): I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board whose duty it is to prepare the Register of Parliamentary and County Electors for the borough of Newcastle-under-Lyme, and who should sell copies of these Registers to the public?

**\*MR. RITCHIE:** It was the duty of the Town Clerk of the Borough of Newcastle-under-Lyme to prepare the Register of Parliamentary Electors and the Burgess Roll, and to sell copies thereof to the public. I have made inquiry, and regret to find that there has been great delay in the issue of the Parliamentary Register, but I understand that copies will be obtainable after Wednesday next. I am informed that the Burgess Lists for the Borough were ready in October last. The law imposes a penalty on any officer for wilful acts of omission contrary to the Registration of Electors Act. But I understand the Town Clerk, by whom the documents in question should have been prepared, died in April last.

**CIVIL SERVICE HOLIDAYS.**

**MR. BURDETT-COUTTS** (Westminster): I beg to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether he is aware that while in various offices of the Civil Service many Second Division clerks who entered the Service antecedent to

the recent Order in Council are entitled to 28, and in some instances to 32, days' leave, clerks of a similar grade in the Custom House are receiving only 21 days' leave; and whether he will in some measure rectify this irregularity by granting to those Second Division clerks in the Custom House, who have occupied that position continuously for 10 years and upwards, 28 days' leave of absence?

MR. JACKSON: Clause 8 of the Order in Council of the 21st of March, 1890, prescribes 21 week days (in addition to the usual public holidays) as the maximum of ordinary leave to be granted to Second Division clerks of more than five years' service, but saves existing rights. The Order in Council gives no power to extend the amount of annual holidays beyond 21 week days in the case of Second Division clerks who were not allowed longer holidays under Departmental Regulations before the Order in Council was issued.

#### MOONLIGHTERS AT SCARIFF.

MR. J. KELLY: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland if he has seen the statement in the *Dublin Express* newspaper of the 6th instant, that the house of a bog ranger named Donellan, near Scariff, was attacked by moonlighters on the 5th instant, and that some of the shots fired by them wounded Donellan's son; and whether any arrests have been made in connection with the outrage?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The Constabulary Authorities report that it is the case that at about 12 midnight on the 5th instant, John Donnellan's house was fired into, two revolver bullets entering and wounding his son. Donnellan is not a bog ranger, but works for a man who had taken part of a bog which some tenants expected to have kept for themselves. No arrests up to the present have been made.

MR. COX (Clare, E.): I wish to ask the right hon. Gentleman whether, in view of his own statement a short time ago that 168 extra police were employed in the county, at a cost for the year ending 31st March, of £5,603, he will now think well to remove these extra police, who are useless?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I do not think the extra police are useless.

*Mr. Burdett-Coutts*

MR. COX: They have not succeeded in making a single arrest.

#### SIR LINTORN SIMMONS.

MR. SUMMERS (Huddersfield): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether his attention has been called to the following statement of Sir Lintorn Simmons:—

"His Holiness expressed his desire that all Her Majesty's subjects should perform their duties to their Sovereign loyally, seeing that the Church in the Queen's dominions was free, and mentioned that during the Duke of Norfolk's Mission he had publicly spoken in this sense."

And whether any records of these observations exist; and, if so, whether they can be produced?

\*THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Sir J. FERGUSSON, Manchester, N.E.): In the Duke of Norfolk's Report of his reception by the Pope, on the 17th December, 1887, he says—

"I handed to the Pope my letter of credence. His Holiness then rose and delivered, without any notes, in French, the speech, copy of which I have the honour to transmit herewith."

In his Report of that speech, which extends only over 15 lines of print, occurs this passage, after expressing his appreciation of Her Majesty's letter and his thanks for her choice of an envoy—

"We wish the more on this particularly propitious day to attest publicly our great satisfaction for the liberty which the Catholic Religion enjoys in all the vast dominions of the British Empire and which permits it to prosper more and more."

The other words quoted by the hon. Member do not appear in the Report. But I must point out that the Despatch of Sir L. Simmons in no way bears out the hon. Member's allegation that they were used on the occasion of the Duke of Norfolk's reception, and I think that his having so represented it requires explanation. He has, in fact, not correctly quoted the published correspondence. Sir L. Simmons says, on December 10th, 1889 (No. 3)—

"His Holiness at a public audience at which I was received, replied in a speech which lasted more than 10 minutes, in which he expressed his desire that all Her Majesty's subjects should perform their duties loyally and faithfully and should respect the law seeing that the Church in the Queen's vast dominions was free and unfettered, and that liberty prevailed throughout in an admirable manner. In regard to this liberty he maintained during the Duke of

Norfolk's Mission he had publicly spoken in this sense, and he desired to repeat what he had then said upon the subject."

\*MR. SUMMERS: Perhaps I may be allowed to explain that I put down, *verbatim et literatim*, the words used by Sir Lintorn Simmons, but the question was mutilated by the clerks at the Table.

MR. T. M. HEALY: I find that a summary given in French of Sir Lintorn Simmons's speech to the Cardinal does not at all bear out the Despatch sent by Sir Lintorn Simmons to the Marquess of Salisbury.

\*SIR J. FERGUSSON: That is not a matter with which I am at present concerned. The passage which the hon. Member quotes is in Sir Lintorn Simmons's Despatch.

\*MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Member will remember that there were words omitted by arrangement with him.

MR. SUMMERS: I submitted my question with the words of Sir L. Simmons set out *verbatim*, but the clerk, with a view to brevity, thought certain words should be omitted, and I assented, preferring to have the question put in a mutilated shape to not being put at all.

#### THE IRISH JUDICIAL BENCH.

MR. T. M. HEALY: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant whether he adheres to his declaration that the Government are compelled by law to fill the vacancies on the Irish Judicial Bench as they arise?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I apprehend that unless some considerable modifications were made in the existing conditions of the Judicial Bench in Ireland it would be necessary to fill up the vacancies.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL: I wish to ask whether, seeing that on both sides of the House there is an opinion that the Irish Bench is overmanned, and that there is a desire that the vacancy at present existing should not be filled up, the right hon. Gentleman will promise that it shall not be filled up while Parliament is not sitting?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: It is very likely not to be filled up while Parliament is not sitting.

MR. T. M. HEALY: Then has the Government a suspensory power over the law?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Of course there is a suspensory power in the hands of the Government. The fact that there is a vacancy does not make it necessary to fill it up immediately.

MR. T. M. HEALY: This occurred three months ago.

MR. SEXTON: Is the Government aware of any person suitable to fill the vacancy?

#### THE NATIONAL GALLERY.

MR. CAVENDISH BENTINCK (Whitehaven): I beg to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether it is the fact, as stated in the *Times* newspaper of the 8th instant, that the Trustees of the National Gallery have contracted to purchase four or more pictures from the Earl of Darnley; and to what authors these pictures are attributed; and whether this purchase is to be effected out of moneys already voted by Parliament, or whether a Supplementary Estimate will be presented for the purpose?

\*THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (MR. GOSCHEN, St. George's, Hanover Square): It is true that the Board of the National Gallery have been negotiating the purchase from the Earl of Darnley of three pictures—namely, two by Paul Veronese and one by Tintoretto. The money will be provided out of the ordinary Parliamentary Vote for the National Gallery.

#### THE LATE CONSUL BARKER.

SIR RICHARD TEMPLE (Worcester, Evesham): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether, in the case of Mrs. Barker, widow of the late Consul Barker, regarding unlawful ejectment from the family house at Aleppo, he will cause a communication to be made to the Turkish Government on the subject, with a view to redress being afforded in the event of wrong being done, or to expedite the decision of the case by the Turkish Authorities?

\*SIR J. FERGUSSON: Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople has for some time past had this case under his notice, and has lost no opportunity of endeavouring to obtain a settlement. Inquiry will be made whether any denial of justice is taking place.

## BRITISH GUIANA.

SIR GEORGE BADEN-POWELL (Liverpool, Kirkdale): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies whether any conclusion has been come to as to the new form of Legislature for the Colony of British Guiana; and, if so, whether he can say, approximately, when the new Council will be constituted, and whether it is proposed to make provision that the new Council shall be presided over by some official other than the Governor?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Baron H. de Worms, Liverpool, East Toxteth): The Secretary of State has not yet come to any decision which can be communicated to the House.

## DALMUIR POSTAL DELIVERIES.

MR. P. O'BRIEN: I beg to ask the Postmaster General whether he is aware that great inconvenience is caused to a considerable number of the inhabitants of Dalmuir, near Glasgow, in consequence of the late delivery of English and Irish letters, which reach the local office about 8 a.m., and are not delivered for several hours; whether this delay is caused by the postman having to pass through Dalmuir in order to deliver first the letters at certain suburban residences, carrying with him the correspondence of the general public for delivery on his return journey, and whether he will cause prompt delivery to the greater number instead of the few?

SIR HERBERT MAXWELL: Unfortunately, the information for which I asked has not arrived; but I have given directions for it to be forwarded.

## FRIENDLY SOCIETIES.

MR. HOWELL (Bethnal Green, N.E.): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether he is now in a position to state to the House the total number of members in registered Friendly Societies, and the amount of funds belonging to such Societies, also the total income and expenditure of such Societies for the year 1888, the last year for which the Registrar of Friendly Societies has made any Return; and whether it is possible to get out these Returns annually at an earlier date?

MR. JACKSON: I am informed that the information asked for cannot be given until the Quinquennial Returns of the Friendly Societies Registrar are made.

MR. HOWELL: May I ask when these Returns are to be taken?

MR. JACKSON: I take it every five years.

MR. HOWELL: Yes; but it is more than four years since they were ordered.

## TRADE SOCIETIES AND THE POST OFFICE SAVINGS BANK.

MR. HOWELL: I beg to ask the Postmaster General whether he has refused certain Trade Societies, whose rules provide for sick, funeral, and other provident benefits for their members, the right of depositing in the Post Office Savings Bank, within the limit of £100 in any one year, or £300 in all, allowed to all Provident Societies by law; and, if so, on what grounds; whether the total deposits in the Post Office Savings Banks amount to about 64 millions sterling, and the total deposits standing to the credit of Trade Unions is less than one million sterling; whether in the entire history of the Savings Banks there has ever been any inconvenience, or loss, by reason of the withdrawal of such deposits, or anything to show that such is probable; and, if so, whether he will grant a Return showing such, together with the amount of the total deposits of Trade Societies to the close of the last year; and whether it is the intention of the Government to refuse deposits from Trade Unions on the same conditions that such deposits have been received for a quarter of a century, on account of any supposed danger alleged to be possible by the withdrawals of the funds of Trade Unions in a possible labour crisis?

\*MR. GOSCHEN: As I am responsible for what is suggested in this question, I will ask the hon. Gentleman to allow me to answer it. The hon. Member is aware that the Government recently undertook to consider further the matter referred to in his question, and I may state that on the 6th instant the Postmaster General caused letters to be addressed to the Secretaries of the Societies which had regulations containing the rules alluded to (and which had recently made application to him) intimating that he

accepted their deposits within the limits mentioned by the hon. Member. These letters have, doubtless, reached their respective destinations. The statement made in the second paragraph of the hon. Member's question is substantially correct. I do not know that there has been any loss attributable to the withdrawal of the deposits. With regard to the fourth paragraph, I should be glad, if possible, to put this matter on a more satisfactory footing.

MR. HOWELL: Does the right hon. Gentleman intend this to apply to Societies having benefit fees?

\*MR. GOSCHEN: No; I have no objection within the limit suggested in the first part of the question—£100 for one year.

#### THE IRISH CONSTABULARY FUND.

MR. SEXTON: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland what is the present condition of the Constabulary Force Fund, particularly as to the gross assets, the annual receipts, and the annual expenditure; by whom the account is kept, by whom it is audited, and whether any periodical statements are published or furnished to the contributors; what is the intention of the Irish Government in regard to the fund; and whether they are disposed to wind it up at the desire of the contributors?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The present capital of the Constabulary Force Fund amounts to £144,000, invested in Three per Cent. Local Loans Stock. The income from all sources for the year to March 31, 1890, amounted to over £19,000. The expenditure in that year amounted to over £14,000. The accounts of the fund are kept in the Royal Irish Constabulary office, and are audited by the Comptroller and Auditor General. No periodical statements have been published. The Constabulary Force Fund must be divided into two parts—namely: (1) a Reward Fund; and (2) an Insurance Fund. Hitherto these two funds have been administered as one, but it is now intended to separate them, and my answer must be understood to refer to the second, or Insurance Fund. This Insurance Fund is a fund established a long time ago for the benefit of widows and children of members of the Force. It was intended to be self-supporting,

being fed by deductions from the pay and pensions of subscribers. Under the Constabulary Act of 1883 no one entering the Force after June 18, 1883, can contribute to the fund or become entitled to its benefits. It is, therefore, in process of being wound up. I regret to say that although at the present time the annual income fully meets the annual expenditure, the fund itself is insolvent—that is to say, the assets of the fund will not suffice to meet the engagements of the fund by an amount probably not less at present value than £180,000. It is, of course, a grave matter for the Government in such a case to ask for aid from the Exchequer. The subject has been closely examined and discussed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer and myself, and we are glad to say that we have arrived at an agreement upon it. It is no doubt the fact that although the fund was intended to be self-supporting, and although the Exchequer has not been a contributor to, and has undertaken no liability towards the fund, yet the Government have promised benefits in excess of what the funds will bear, and disappointment would not unreasonably follow the non-fulfilment of such promise. Bearing these facts in mind, and highly appreciating the trustworthiness and efficiency of the Force, we hold it of great importance that no member of the Force should have legitimate cause for complaint, and although objection might not unfairly be taken to several of the conditions on which the fund is administered, we have decided not to alter those conditions on essential points. At the proper time, therefore, the Chancellor of the Exchequer will make to the House of Commons such proposals as will restore the fund to solvency, and contributors to the Constabulary Force Fund may rest assured that, so far as the Government is concerned, the benefits promised will be made good. The Reward Fund will consist of certain fines and penalties, out of which certain rewards, &c., will be paid, but the amount of these rewards will, of course, be limited by the amount of the fund.

MR. SEXTON: Has the right hon. Gentleman any objection to showing the progress of the fund? It is a public fund, and we really ought to have some account.

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MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I do not know that it is exactly a public fund, but I know of no objection, and I will see that it is done.

MR. A. O'CONNOR (Donegal, E.): Is it the case that £144,000 is at present divided between the Reward and Insurance Fund?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I am afraid I cannot answer that question. I shall be glad to answer it if the hon. Gentleman will put it down.

#### THE CASE OF WILLIAM CHENEY.

MR. CHANNING (Northampton, E.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether he is aware that up to the present no compensation has been awarded by the Treasury to William Cheney, of Rushden, Northants, who was illegally subjected to hard labour in Northampton Gaol while undergoing a short sentence for failure to comply with a vaccination order; whether he is aware that William Cheney was in bad health previous to imprisonment, and has suffered in health from being forced to work on the treadmill and has been unable to work; and whether he will make further representations to the Treasury as to the question of compensation for Cheney?

MR. MATTHEWS: Inquiries have been made by the Treasury Solicitor, and he cannot ascertain that either the Magistrates, or their clerk, or the Governor of the prison have received any complaint or application from Cheney. According to the information supplied to me by the Prison Authorities, Cheney was in good health on reception and on discharge. In the absence of any complaint or application from this man, I am not in a position to make any further representation to the Treasury on the subject.

\*MR. CHANNING: But am I not right in understanding the right hon. Gentleman to have stated that the man is entitled to compensation because he has suffered hard labour contrary to the law?

MR. MATTHEWS: If the man has suffered injury, the State will be perfectly prepared to consider his compensation.

\*MR. BRADLAUGH: Has not a similar case been decided where a man recovered compensation against the Magistrate?

\*MR. CHANNING: Apart from any physical injury he may have sustained, is not the man entitled to compensation for having been put to hard labour contrary to law?

[No answer.]

#### THE ARMENIAN CLERGY.

MR. CHANNING: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether a copy of the Memorial of the Ecclesiastical Assembly of the Armenians, addressed to the Patriarch, was received by the Foreign Office in March last, and communicated by the Foreign Office to Sir William White, complaining that the privileges of the Armenian clergy and the jurisdiction of the Ecclesiastical Courts, guaranteed in the 47th article of the Constitution, in relation to questions of marriage, legitimacy, and inheritance, have been set aside, and that the printing of the Armenian prayer and hymn books, and the Gospels, and of the historical books authorised by the Minister of Public Instruction has been prohibited, and asking for a remedy for these grievances; whether the Patriarch Achikian received an unfavourable reply to the prayer of the Memorial from Sureya Pacha; and whether Sir William White will be instructed to urge formally on the Porte the restitution and protection of these privileges?

SIR J. FERGUSSON: (1) Yes, from the Ex-Secretary General of the Armenian Patriarchate; (2) Her Majesty's Government have no information as to the reception which the Memorial has met with at the hands of the Porte; (3) Her Majesty's Ambassador, to whom a copy of the Memorial was sent, has not advised that any advantage would be gained by his supporting the demands of the memorialists, and Her Majesty's Government, therefore, do not propose to take any steps in the matter at present.

MR. CHANNING: In consequence of the reply, I beg to give notice that I will draw attention to the subject.

#### DISMISSED POSTMEN.

MR. CONYBEARE: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether he is aware that, according to statements published in the *Daily News*, the police have refused, to many of



the recently-dismissed Post Office *employés*, the licences necessary to enable them to take other employment, such as cab drivers and omnibus conductors; upon what ground and by whose authority have these measures been adopted; and whether he will issue instructions that the police shall not interfere with their attempts to gain fresh employment?

MR. MATTHEWS: I am informed by the Commissioner of Police that it is not the case that licences as cabdrivers and omnibus conductors have been refused by the police to ex-Post Office *employés* by reason of their having left that Department, and there is no reason for me to give any instructions on the subject.

MR. CONYBEARE: It was by reason of their having been dismissed that they were refused.

MR. MATTHEWS: I have given the hon. Member the information I received.

MR. CONYBEARE: I beg to ask the Postmaster General whether he is aware that some of the recently dismissed postmen who belonged to the Volunteers have been expelled from that Service, and that in other cases licences to take other employment, such as cab drivers and omnibus conductors, have been refused by the police; upon what grounds have the men been thus treated; and whether, in order to relieve the urgent necessities of a large number of the men who are still out of employment, and who, owing to the uncertainty as to their possible reinstatement, cannot find fresh employment, he will do his utmost to determine with all possible speed what is to be their fate?

SIR H. MAXWELL (for the POSTMASTER GENERAL): The first part of the hon. Member's question would perhaps have been more properly addressed to the Secretary of State for War, but I understand that under the terms of their enlistment those of the recently dismissed postmen who were in the 1st Class Army Reserve have been removed from the Reserve. Upon the case of the others, who were Volunteers, no decision has yet been arrived at by the Commanding Officer. I understand that upon the case of these unfortunate men a decision has been arrived at by the Postmaster General, and will be announced immediately.

#### SOUTH AFRICA.

SIR GEORGE BADEN-POWELL: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies whether Her Majesty's Government, when they approve, in Article 6 of the New Convention of the South African Republic, making Treaties to secure the right to construct a railway to and a harbour at or near Kosi Bay, have taken into consideration the rights for similar and other purposes acquired by British subjects by concessions from the Queen Zambili?

BARON H. DE WORMS: Various alleged concessions have been brought to the notice of Her Majesty's Government by different parties, each claiming to have acquired rights which conflict with the claims of others, and, as Her Majesty's Government have not recognised any of these concessions, I cannot admit the inference of fact on which my hon. Friend has based his question.

SIR R. FOWLER (London): On the same subject, I wish to ask my right hon. Friend whether his attention has been called to the statement of the Durban Correspondent of the *Times* that President Krüger has stated to the Volksraad that Her Majesty's Government have promised not to object to the annexation of Swaziland to the Transvaal whenever the affairs of the country are properly regulated?

BARON H. DE WORMS: I cannot believe that such a statement was made; there is no foundation for it.

#### ATHLONE WORKHOUSE MASTER.

MR. O'KELLY: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether the Athlone Board of Guardians have again elected Mr. Peter Keogh to be Master of the Workhouse, and by a majority of 25 to 9; whether it is true that no other candidate presented himself on this occasion; and whether, under these circumstances, the Local Government Board will withdraw their opposition to the election of Mr. Keogh?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The facts are substantially as stated in the first two paragraphs. Having regard to the previous character of Mr. Keogh, the Local Government Board deem him unfit for the position to which it was proposed to appoint him. They cannot assent to his election.



#### THE INEBRIATES ACTS.

MR. BUCHANAN (Edinburgh, W.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether his attention has been called to the limited operation of the Inebriates Acts; and whether he will consider the desirability of legislating, next Session, for their extension and amendment?

MR. MATTHEWS: I will take an opportunity of considering the question.

#### CYCLISTS IN CROWDED THOROUGHFARES.

MR. CONYBEARE: I beg to ask Mr. Attorney General whether his attention has been called to a recent case before Mr. Plowden, at Hammersmith, on Friday, 1st August, in which the driver of a trap, having been summoned for driving into a cyclist named W. G. Hatton and wrecking his machine and injuring the rider, the Magistrate dismissed the summons on the plea that the horse shied at the machine; and added that so long as cyclists used such crowded thoroughfares as High Street, Kensington, there were sure to be accidents; whether it was proved in evidence that Hatton was riding close into the curb and on his proper side, and that the driver of the trap was guilty of negligence and furious driving; whether cyclists are entitled to the same protection in the construction of the Law requiring riders and drivers in the public thoroughfares to keep to their proper side, and use due care and diligence in avoiding other people as all other citizens; and whether, if a horse shies at and injures another person, his owner is liable in damages to such injured person?

\*THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir R. WEBSTER, Isle of Wight): The Magistrate informs me that after careful consideration of the whole evidence he came to the distinct conclusion that the occurrence was the result of pure accident. Hatton was on his right side, but one of four other bicycles in the street at the time turned suddenly in front of the horse, causing it to shy badly, and so cause the accident. The Magistrate was of opinion that the driver was not guilty of negligence or furious driving. Cyclists using the streets are entitled to the same protection as other persons. Whether the owner is liable for injuries

occasioned when a horse shies, depends upon the question whether there has been negligence in the driving or use of the horse.

MR. CONYBEARE: With reference to the statement of the Magistrate that as long as cyclists used such crowded thoroughfares as High Street, Kensington, there were sure to be accidents, are we to understand by it that cyclists are not to use crowded thoroughfares?

SIR R. WEBSTER: Certainly not, Sir. The hon. Gentleman knows perfectly well that no such deduction ought to be drawn.

#### THE MALTESE CLERGY.

MR. T. M. HEALY: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury if he has been able to obtain a draft of the letter of Cardinal Rampolla to Monsignor Pace, relating to the ignorance of the Maltese clergy alleged by Sir Lintorn Simmons; and will it be laid before the House?

\*THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. H. SMITH, Strand, Westminster): This letter has not been communicated officially to Her Majesty's Government, and they have no authority to lay it before the House. It has, however, been published in Malta with the Bishop's Pastoral.

MR. T. M. HEALY: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware of the pledge given by Cardinal Rampolla, and recorded in the papers, about the communication of documents? I apprehend that the letter has already been communicated to the Foreign Office.

\*MR. W. H. SMITH: According to the information I have received it has not been communicated to the Foreign Office.

#### NATIONAL GALLERY.

MR. CAVENDISH BENTINCK: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury by whose authority, and upon what information, a picture, representing the "Head of Christ," which was lately purchased at a sale at Messrs. Christie's Auction Rooms, by the Trustees of the National Gallery, is now exhibited in the Gallery as the work of "Giovanni Bellini?"

MR. JACKSON: The picture in question is described as a work of Giovanni Bellini's by the authority of Sir Frederick Burton, Director of the National Gallery, and on his responsibility.

### TRAWLING ON THE SCOTCH AND IRISH COASTS.

**COLONEL NOLAN** (Galway, N.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland if his attention has been drawn to the late statement of the Lord Advocate, that the prohibition of trawling in certain Scotch bays has been on the whole highly beneficial, and if he will now take steps to prohibit trawling in some of the Irish bays, such as Galway, where a great majority of the fishermen have been long opposed to trawling; and if it is not legally in the power of the Lord Lieutenant to adopt this course, and if the late Lord Lieutenant refused to adopt it?

**MR. A. J. BALFOUR**: The Inspectors of Irish Fisheries do not contemplate at present the prohibition of trawling generally in any of the bays in Ireland. They have inquired into all applications received by them up to the present time, and have made their decisions thereon—namely, that there was nothing to justify them in prohibiting this mode of fishing. It is in the power of the Lord Lieutenant in Council to prohibit trawling where the Inspectors refuse to do so. In the case of Galway Bay, an appeal was brought against such a decision of the Inspectors, but the latter was upheld on the appeal being heard by a Committee of the Privy Council. Since that time no further application on the subject has been received. At inquiries recently held in reference to the fisheries of Donegal Bay, the evidence showed the total absence of flat fish in market since the English trawlers left the bay. The Inspectors have made a bye-law prohibiting steam trawling off a small part of the coast of Antrim, Derry, and Donegal, under the powers given them by the late Act, but they have not received complaints against steam trawling from Galway.

**COLONEL NOLAN**: I would ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether he will kindly consider during the recess the difference between the Irish and Scotch policy on the question of trawling, and whether he will have a Conference of the Irish and Scotch Commissioners, so as to try and find out the reason for the difference?

**MR. A. J. BALFOUR**: One of the great differences between the Scotch and

the Irish case is that the trawling prohibited in Scotland is sea trawling, while the kind of trawling which prevails in Galway Bay does not exist in Scotland at all.

**MR. T. M. HEALY**: Will the right hon. Gentleman look into the English law, whereby, as I understand, along the coast of Northumberland representative Committees have the power to put down this trawling?

### ATTACK ON EXCURSIONISTS AT BELFAST.

**MR. SEXTON**: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland what were the circumstances of the attack on a number of Catholics at Queen's Island, Belfast, on Wednesday morning last; whether any arrests have been made; what inquiries have been instituted, and with what result; and whether, in pursuance of the recommendation of the Royal Commission on the Belfast riots, the Government will establish a police station at Queen's Island, as now requested by petition to the Lord Lieutenant?

**MR. A. J. BALFOUR**: The Constabulary Authorities report that the excursion party numbered about 800. The starting point was opposite the Queen's Island, where over 5,000 workmen are employed. The band with the excursionists played in the hearing of the workmen what is regarded as a Party air, and commenced singing and cheering. Bolts or nuts were thrown by some of the workmen, but no injury was done to any person except a boy, who received a bruise from being struck on the forehead, but he received no serious injury. No injury was done to the vessel. Every effort has been made to identify the assailants by the local police, but so far without success. The manager of the works states that none of his foremen or responsible men knew what happened until all was over. The Petition referred to in the last paragraph has been received, and will have due consideration.

**MR. SEXTON**: Will the right hon. Gentleman bear in mind that the riots of 1886, which led to the loss of 30 lives, broke out at this very place, and that the Commissioners recommended the placing of a police station there? May I

hope that there will be no further delay in carrying out this suggestion?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: That will be further considered.

#### ALLOTMENTS BILL.

MR. COBB: Could the First Lord of the Treasury arrange that the Lords' Amendments to the Allotments Bill should be considered early one evening?

\*MR. W. H. SMITH: I am afraid I could hardly undertake that. I think it will be for the convenience of Members that progress should be made in Supply.

MR. COBB: I mean after Supply.

\*MR. W. H. SMITH: Oh, yes; certainly.

#### THREATENED FAMINE IN IRELAND.

MR. COX: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary for Ireland whether it is a fact, as stated in the *Freeman's Journal* to-day, that an agreement has been come to between the Treasury and the Great Western Railway of Ireland for the construction of a light railway, and whether, in view of the threatened potato famine, he will quickly introduce a Bill so that employment may be given to the people in the district?

MR. T. M. HEALY: On behalf of the hon. Member for South Cork I have to ask a similar question in regard to the condition of affairs in the neighbourhood of Skibbereen, and as to the intention of the Government to construct a line to Baltimore. I hear on the authority of the parish priest that on Achill Island the potato crop is entirely blighted.

MR. SEXTON: I would ask the right hon. Gentleman whether it is not stated that in Mayo, unless there are speedy measures of relief, there will be a partial, if not a general, famine?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: There is no doubt that disease does exist in great parts of the South and West of Ireland. Most unquestionably it would be desirable in view of possible eventualities that every effort should be made to push on the construction of the light railways in these districts. Certain difficulties, however, have arisen with regard to the Mayo and Galway line from the fact that the presentments at last Assize contained certain flaws which made it absolutely necessary for them to go to

*Mr. Sexton*

the Grand Jury again; but in ordinary course the Grand Jury does not meet until next Spring. Any railway which has to wait until the Grand Jury gives assent, cannot be constructed in time to do any good in case there should be any serious failure of the potato crop. There is no way of meeting this great difficulty except by bringing in a Bill to call a special and exceptional sitting of the Grand Jury for the purpose of dealing with it. If I had any hope that such a Bill would pass without opposition, I would bring it in in the course of the present Sitting.

MR. T. M. HEALY: I suppose the right hon. Gentleman knows that in the Act of 1880 there was an anticipatory provision by which the Lord Lieutenant was enabled in special and urgent cases to call special meetings of the Presentment Sessions for the purpose of providing relief for distress. I suppose the Government will adopt a similar provision with regard to the summoning of the Grand Juries.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I am obliged to the hon. and learned Gentleman for bringing the question to my notice, and for the assurance that such a measure will be hailed by him as of great advantage to Ireland.

COLONEL NOLAN: When will the Bill be brought in?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: To-morrow.

#### BLASKET ISLAND.

MR. E. HARRINGTON: Has the right hon. Gentleman had any Report from the Local Government Inspector on Blasket Island? I have received a telegram stating that fever has broken out there, and that the unfortunate people are abandoned by the Local Government Board. Will the right hon. Gentleman despatch a gunboat to the island for the relief of the people?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I will at once make inquiries on the subject.

#### SHIPPING BOUNTIES IN AMERICA.

MR. HENNIKER HEATON (Canterbury): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether he has received from the British Ambassador or British Consul in America copies of the Shipping Bounty Bills (providing large sailing bounties and mail subsidies, and designed to revive

American shipbuilding) which have just been passed by the United States Senate; and, if so, whether he has any objection to lay the copies in question upon the Table of the House?

\***SIR J. FERGUSSON**: We have not yet received copies.

#### INDIAN PAPERS.

**SIR W. PLOWDEN** (Wolverhampton, W.): When are we to have a Memorandum from the Under Secretary for India with reference to the Indian Accounts.

**MR. W. H. SMITH**: It has gone to the printer's.

**MR. BRADLAUGH**: There is a Statement which is required by Statute to be laid on the Table before the 14th of May, and it has not yet been presented. I refer to the Report on the moral and material progress of India?

**MR. W. H. SMITH**: I will consult with my right hon. Friend as to the Paper.

#### MR. SWINBURNE.

\***MR. P. O'BRIEN** (Monaghan, N.): May I ask the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury whether he has yet read the "Ode to Russia" in the current number of the *Fortnightly Review*, and whether the Government have any communication to make to the House respecting Mr. Swinburne's incitement to the assassination of the Czar?

\***MR. SPEAKER**: Order, order!

#### FOREIGN IMPORT DUTIES.

Copy ordered—

"Return of the rates of Import Duties levied in European Countries and the United States upon the Produce and Manufactures of the United Kingdom."—(*Sir Michael Hicks Beach.*)

Copy presented accordingly; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 376.]

#### MESSAGE FROM THE LORDS.

That they have agreed to Amendments to Partnership Bill [Lords].

#### VATICAN (MISSION OF THE DUKE OF NORFOLK).

Address for "Return of all Papers relating to the Mission of the Duke of Norfolk to the Vatican."—(*Mr. Sumners.*)

**MR. T. M. HEALY** (Longford, N.): Will it be competent for us to insert after "Duke of Norfolk" the words "and Sir George Errington"?

\***MR. W. H. SMITH**: The Government could not consent to that.

Return agreed to.

#### VATICAN (MISSION OF MONSIGNOR RUFFO-SCILLA).

Address for—

"Return of all Papers relating to the Mission of Monsignor Ruffo-Scilla from the Vatican to this country."—(*Mr. Sumners.*)

#### OCEMETRIES (PROVINCIAL TOWNS).

Address for Return showing—

- (1.) The names and situation of the Ocemeteries in Birmingham, Bradford, Bristol, Leeds, Manchester, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Norwich, Salford, Sheffield, and York, to which the Act 16 and 17 Vic., c. 134; 17 and 18 Vic., c. 87, 18 and 19 Vic., c. 128; and 20 and 21 Vic., c. 81, apply;
- (2.) The number of bodies buried in each;
- (3.) The extent of each ground;
- (4.) How much has been appropriated for burial purposes;
- (5.) The date of the first interment in each;
- (6.) How much surface space is allowed for a grave;
- (7.) If burials still take place on what is known as the common interment system; and, if so, how many bodies are buried in each grave in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 288 of Session 1889."—(*Mr. Byron Reed.*)

#### NEW MEMBER SWORN.

Abel Thomas, esquire, for Carmarthen County (Eastern Division).

#### ORDERS OF THE DAY.

#### SUPPLY—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

#### CLASS II.

1. Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £46,325 be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1891, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Department of Her Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs."

\* (6.12.) THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Sir J. FERGUSSON, Manchester, N.E.): The discussion on Saturday on some questions which were addressed to me on general topics was prejudiced by the Amendment moved by the hon. Member for Flintshire in respect to certain negotiations between the French and British Governments with regard to territories in Africa. I think it will be for the convenience of the Committee if I say a few words now in answer to the hon. Member. The Anglo-French Agreement is now probably in the hands of hon. Members. The hon. Member for Flintshire expressed a strong and natural apprehension lest anything should be done to prejudice religious freedom in Madagascar, and the good work which the missionaries connected with this country have been doing for so many years. I hope the hon. Member will see that the pledge which has been given has been abundantly fulfilled, and that full security is taken in the agreement for the complete protection of religious liberty and for all forms of worship and religious teaching in Madagascar. The hon. Member expresses a strong feeling against the Government handing over that country to a French Protectorate. I would remind the hon. Member that this country is not quite a free agent in the matter. The Hova Government some years ago transferred to France the conduct of their foreign relations. With the exception of the United States no objection has been made to the arrangement by any country, and the English Government would be placed in an isolated position were we now to raise an objection to that arrangement with the Hova Government. The hon. Member also complained of the treatment to which certain Protestant missionaries have been subjected. The securities taken in this Agreement will render any expulsion, such as that of the Rev. Mr. Jones, impossible in Madagascar, except by breach of international engagements. The hon. Member referred to the coolie labour traffic, and said that it would be carried on in Madagascar, and would be the Slave Trade in another form. But France was a party to the recent Act of Brussels, which contains engagements by the civilised Powers for the sup-

pression of slavery, and I do not think it would be worthy of this House to entertain a doubt of honourable fulfilment by the French Government of the engagement it has made. The Foreign Office has not, as has been said, bargained away a free people, but it has, in accordance with the engagement made, recognised the Protectorate of France, and France in return recognises our Protectorate over Zanzibar. No doubt we who have so much interest in Madagascar might like to exercise direct influence over it, but we cannot possibly undertake responsibility wherever it is possible for colonisation to take place; but what we ought to do, and what has been done, is to see that where our people have settled themselves for beneficial work those labours shall not be lost, and under the engagement now made between the French and British Governments I think full security is taken for that necessary object.

\* (6.17.) MR. BUCHANAN (Edinburgh, W.): There are one or two other questions I should like to put to the right hon. Gentleman beyond those which have been addressed to him, and which he has replied to. I think we must all recognise his fairness in postponing the further consideration of this Vote on Saturday, in order that we might have the Papers relating to Madagascar in our hands. As to the first declaration signed by Lord Salisbury on the part of England it appears clear from that that the Anglo-French Agreement was the direct consequence of the Anglo-German Agreement. The facts are sufficiently stated on the face of the declaration. After we had agreed with Germany to assume a Protectorate over Zanzibar the French demanded some compensation for releasing us from the Anglo-French Agreement of 1862, with respect to the independence of Zanzibar, and all this arrangement which has subsequently taken place as to Madagascar and South West Africa is the direct outcome of the Anglo-German Agreement. I think that the fact that the Anglo-German Agreement was concluded in that way without previously obtaining the consent of the French Government or applying for it is not creditable to our diplomacy. And the way our Protectorate is described by Lord Salisbury in the Anglo-French Agreement is

different from the way it was described in the Anglo-German Agreement. In the Anglo-French Agreement it is described as a British Protectorate over the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba; but according to the Anglo-German Agreement it is a Protectorate over the dominions of the Sultan of Zanzibar, including the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba. We have often pressed the Under Secretary of State to tell us what is included in our Protectorate over Zanzibar. Judging from Lord Salisbury's Despatch, it is maintained that it only includes the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba, but I understand the right hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary to maintain that it included the Sultan's dominions on the mainland—all his territory, in fact, which is outside the sphere of German influence. So that the first consequence of the conclusion of this Agreement is considerably to whittle down the extent of the Protectorate which, it has been commonly imagined, we have assumed under the Anglo-German Agreement. Then, I desire to know what will be the position, legal and commercial, of French subjects in relation to Zanzibar itself, particularly whether the Convention of 1884 between France and Zanzibar remains in force, because we are left completely in the dark on that question; and I also would ask what will be the commercial position of the strip of territory opposite Zanzibar which is ceded to the Germans, and particularly whether the Germans will be able to impose duties on imports, and particularly differential duties? Then I turn to the other side of the Agreement, namely, to the clauses relating to the French Protectorate over Madagascar. The right hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary of State has replied to the hon. Member for Flintshire as to the protection of the British missionaries, but the right hon. Gentleman has not dealt adequately with the main objection of my hon. Friend. We are doing all that in us lies to hand over a flourishing native power that my hon. Friend compared to Japan, and a Christian power constantly advancing in civilisation, to the domination of a European Power. I do not think that is an act which it is easy to justify, and I think the right hon. Gentleman acted very prudently in not attempting a justification of it. The

subject of the commercial future of British subjects in Madagascar, I understand, is not dealt with in the Agreement. The Commercial Treaty between this country and Madagascar, which governs our relations with that island, is the Treaty of 1865, in which Madagascar binds itself not to raise its tariff beyond a maximum of 10 per cent., and I should like to get some assurance from the right hon. Gentleman that this arrangement will not be affected by the Agreement with France as to Madagascar. If our Treaty is to be abrogated by the Agreement, I should like to know whether there is any limit imposed on France in the way of imposing duties in Madagascar—whether she will be able to impose protective and differential duties on imports and exports. I think we ought in this matter to consider the value of British trade in Madagascar and the amount of British capital that has been sunk in it. I think we ought to have a direct assurance on the subject. As to the other part of the Agreement—and here, I think, we must have some information—it is evident that Lord Salisbury has been free and lavish in cessions of territory to the French where, as far as my own knowledge goes, no French trade at present exists, and practically outside all access to French trade; and he has failed to protect territories where British trade is established in the neighbourhood of the Niger. Having settlements in Senegal and full control over the trade in that part of Africa, no doubt we must acknowledge the fact that the territory between that region and the upper Niger is under the influence of France, but the trade that comes out of the mouths of the Niger is in British hands, and it is evident that a clear line of demarcation could have been drawn between the spheres of influence of France and England. Hitherto we have had no statement as to the commercial relations of the Powers existing in these spheres of influence. They are outside the Congo basin, so that none of the provisions of the Berlin Act apply. I should like to know whether there is any limit put on the French Government as to their power of imposing protective tariffs in this region. I understand that the trade with the country between Algeria and Tunis and the Niger—a trade principally consisting of Manchester goods,

and entering at Tripoli and elsewhere—is, generally speaking, in British hands, the tariff being a maximum one of 8 per cent. *ad valorem*. The French tariff in Algeria is very much higher than that, and we should like to be sure, before the matter is settled, whether France is to have the power of including all this enormous tract of North West Africa within the tariff zone of Algeria. If she has that power it will operate very seriously to the detriment of British trade. I would only say, in conclusion, that I think everyone must have observed with disappointment that while we have by these negotiations with France come to an agreement and made concessions to her which are of very considerable value indeed, we have left a matter of great importance and difficulty as to which we are in dispute with France altogether unsettled—I mean the Newfoundland question. I do not wish to press the right hon. Gentleman in this matter, because, no doubt, it is one of the most difficult questions engaging the attention of the Foreign Office at this moment, but, looking broadly at the results of the Foreign policy of Her Majesty's Government, we must view with regret the fact that we have not yet come to an agreement with France on the matter.

\*(6.34.) MR. A. M'ARTHUR (Leicester): No doubt it is our duty to maintain friendly relations with France and Germany, and other countries, so far as we can possibly do so, but it will, at the same time, be admitted that it is our duty to guard our rights and privileges, and not to be unmindful of the coloured races who have been our allies, and who desire to be under our protection. I believe that in our laudable desire to maintain friendly relations with other countries we have abandoned more than we ought. Germany we have allowed to take possession of territories in Africa to which that Power had no right or valid claim. We have, in fact, carried a pacific policy too far, and our conciliatory conduct towards Germany has reached an extreme limit. It is hard to say whether Liberals or Conservatives are most to blame for the lamentable mistakes that have been made. So far back as 1884, we allowed Germany to take possession of the Port of Angra Pe Quena, to which we had the best right. We declined

*Mr. Buchanan*

to do so ourselves, whereupon Germany put in a claim, and negotiations were opened up between her Government and our own. These negotiations were suddenly broken off by Prince Bismarck, and Germany then stepped in and took forcible possession of the territory. Before that—as soon as it was known that Germany had made a claim, a large and influential deputation waited upon Lord Derby, who was then at the Foreign Office, and represented to him the advantages that would flow to British trade if this territory, which included a valuable part, were taken possession of by us. Lord Derby, I remember, said at the time, that there was no cause for alarm, as Germany was not a colonising power, and that if any attempt were made by Germany to take possession of that coast, it would be regarded as an unfriendly act. But Germany did take possession of it, and though we secured some concessions, we heard no more about the “unfriendly act,” and Germany retains possession of the territory to the present day. Then, after allowing Germany to become possessed of several immense tracts of territory in Africa, we allowed her to become the preponderating influence in Zanzibar. That influence used to be ours, and to get it back again we have made large concessions to Germany. I am far from wishing to argue that Great Britain should monopolise the whole of Africa. We have a large portion, and there can be no harm in Germany and other countries getting a share, but I hold it to be our duty to maintain all our existing rights and privileges. I would allude also to the conduct of Germany with regard to Samoa. In regard to these islands, there was a Treaty between England, Germany, and the United States of America, to the effect that none of the three should exert any decided influence over the islands unless with the consent of the others. Then, again, Germany stepped in and attempted to ride rough-shod over everyone. She attempted to take possession of the islands, deposed the King, and kept him a prisoner for a considerable time. It is true that Prince Bismarck subsequently saw the mistake he had committed, expressed regret for what he had done, and went the length of re-proving and recalling some of the Ger-



man officials, but no steps were taken by Her Majesty's Government to oppose the Germans in that part of the world. Some communications may have passed, but there are no Papers to show it, and had it not been for the United States I believe that Samoa would have been a part of the German Empire to-day. A satisfactory settlement, however, has been brought about there, and the King has been restored. I mention these things to show that we have gone to an extreme in our conciliatory attitude towards Germany. The conduct of France in relation to the New Hebrides was very like that of Germany in regard to Samoa, and, probably, if it had not been for the resolute attitude of our Australian colonists we should have found France in possession of those islands by this time. Then, as to Madagascar, although it had been an understanding that neither France nor England should usurp any power in that country except by mutual agreement, France stepped in, and, on some trumpety pretext, bombarded the ports and invaded the island. The French, however, were kept at bay by the natives and at length forced to retire. Now by the present Agreement we are about to hand over Madagascar to France. The Committee should not forget that our trade with Madagascar is five times as great as that of any other Power, and that a very large amount of British capital has been sunk in the country. It is vitally important to our fellow-subjects in Madagascar that their rights should be maintained. I am glad to hear that civil and religious liberty is guaranteed to the inhabitants, but I cannot help feeling some scepticism as to whether that guarantee will always be observed. Both morally and commercially, I fear mischievous results, and such results have already followed French interference. I once spent a week in Tahiti, and it was sad to hear of the altered conditions of that island, both commercially and morally. The influence missionaries had exercised so beneficially upon the habits of the people was, I learned when I was there, restricted in every possible way; they were required to adhere to one chapel or church, and were not allowed to move about the island, and interference with schools was of the most arbitrary character. The Queen

herself was practically a prisoner, and when she came to visit the steamer upon which I was travelling could only do so by permission from the French Authorities. The conduct of the French towards the missionaries was made the subject of comment in this House. In whatever aspect we view it, this proposal is a most unfortunate one. Commercially, Madagascar is of immense importance to us, and it is for the interest of British trade that the country should remain independent, and not become the possession of any European Power. Our trade with the island is progressing, and is now five times that of any other European Power. My hon. Friend has referred to this, and I need not repeat what he has said. I hope we shall have satisfactory answers to the questions he has raised. My hon. Friend has referred to the coolie traffic between Madagascar and Réunion as really little better than a Slave Trade, and we should like to know whether any arrangement has been made as to that. At one time alcoholic drink of the most villainous description was largely consumed on the island, and I should like to know whether any reference has been made to that, or whether, under French domination, the people are to be improved off the face of the earth by this pernicious means. I am very glad to find provision is made for securing civil and religious liberty, and I hope this stipulation may be maintained, though I have a strong opinion on this point myself. I regret exceedingly such a proposal as this for handing over Madagascar to the control of France or any other European Power. I think it is a disgraceful thing that we should be made to hold official communication with the Hova Government only through the French Authorities. I believe the whole proposal is an act of folly, that it will be exceedingly injurious to our trade as well as to the best interests of the Malagasy people, and will be most unpopular.

\*(6.50.) MR. SYDNEY GEDGE (Stockport): I take very great interest in Madagascar, and the missionary work there, and I regret that the Hova Government some years ago gave up the whole management of their foreign relations to France. Though the people did successfully resist



the French invasion, yet, for some inscrutable reason, in the Treaty that followed, control of foreign relations was handed over to France. It is true that we never recognised that Agreement, but, for considerations that appear to me to be sufficient, we propose to do so now. I came down on Saturday prepared to support the hon. Member for Flintshire (Mr. S. Smith) in pressing upon the Government the necessity of providing for civil and religious liberty in the island. But with this information given us I must say that, in my opinion, religious liberty is sufficiently provided for under the terms of the Anglo-French Convention, and I am glad to see that this country will have as much power for the protection of religious liberty in the island as we ever had. This matter has been discussed as if we were handing over the country to France in the same way as we are told large tracts of Africa have been handed over to Germany. But I do not understand the Anglo-French and the Anglo-German Agreement as being anything of the kind. All we do is to draw certain lines of limitation, set up certain land marks, beyond which the influence of the respective countries shall not be exercised, so that our interests may not come into conflict. Surely, it is wiser to come to a peaceable arrangement of this kind than to proceed to a solution of difficulties by fighting, as was the custom in the last century. There is a distinct guarantee given under the Convention that missionaries of all denominations shall receive complete protection, and in truth Protestant missionaries will now stand in a more secure position than they have hitherto occupied. Suppose the stipulation is infringed we have still the same power to make diplomatic representations, or to go to war as we had before, but while before when we went with representations to the Hova Government we might have been met with counter representations from the French Government, jealous of our influence, now we have solemn engagements entered into by the French Government for the protection of civil and religious liberty. Therefore, from the point of view of hon. Members opposite, which is my point of view also—I mean the protection of civil and religious liberty—our position is even

*Mr. Sydney Gedge*

stronger than it was before, and when I reflect on the result which has so happily attended our acquisition of a similar suzerainty over Zanzibar, the proclamation by the Sultan last week, which will do so much to put an end to the Slave Trade, then I thank God for these Conventions.

(6.54.) MR. SYDNEY BUXTON (Tower Hamlets, Poplar): It is to be regretted that whilst we were negotiating with France with regard to Zanzibar and Madagascar we did not, at the same time, bring our fisheries dispute with her to a satisfactory termination. Fishery questions are likely to give rise to great international difficulties, and if possible they should be settled immediately upon mutually satisfactory terms. I desire to congratulate Her Majesty's Government upon the success that appears to have been attained by the Anti-Slavery Conference recently held at Brussels, and for that success we have largely to thank the King of the Belgians. It is satisfactory at the same time to think that the British Government has taken the initiative in carrying out the decisions of the Conference. The Conference has suggested that one of the most effective modes of striking at the root of the Slave Trade is to open up the interior of Africa by means of railroads, steamboats, and carriage roads, and also—and this I think must have come from the German representative—that by expeditions of flying columns slave hunting can be best detected and prevented. With regard to opening up the country, I think we all agree nothing will have greater effect, and therefore I am heartily glad that delimitations of spheres of influence have been arrived at, and international jealousies removed. But there are other methods to pursue, for this opening up must needs take a long time, and we have made little progress so far, though we now hope to proceed more rapidly. Last year, in submitting a Motion with reference to the Slavery Conference, I made three proposals as to the methods to be employed in the naval mode of suppressing slavery—first, that punishment should follow the capture of slave traders; second, that there ought to be a more careful supervision of the way in which flags are used to cover slavery acts; and, third, that the nations should agree among themselves on the full right of

search, so that slave traders should not be allowed to escape by flying national flags. I am glad to think that on all the points the Conference has come to a very satisfactory conclusion, and one which will do much to prevent the Slave Trade across the sea. The nations signing the Agreement have undertaken, within a year of the passing of the Act, to introduce legislation in their respective countries to mete out punishment to slave dealers captured and convicted, and this punishment is not to be confined to carrying slaves found on board the ships, but is to apply to cases of raiding and of mutilation of wretched boys. It is satisfactory to find that careful supervision is going to be undertaken with regard to flying flags of different nations, and no vessel will be allowed to fly the flag of any of the Great Powers without registration and a proper licence. We may thank the Government of France for having conceded what, for some time, appeared to a certain extent to be against their will—the right of search to all other nations. Under this Act any vessel can be captured if suspected of being a slaver, and taken into the nearest port, there to be judged by the proper tribunal, and those concerned brought to punishment if convicted of being engaged in the Slave Trade; and it is a great thing that the French have seen their way to allow this concession, which will do a great deal to reduce the naval Slave Trade. There are other matters in which the Act will confer great advantages. An international office is to be instituted at Zanzibar, at which all complaints are to be lodged, and this will do much towards giving proper information regarding slave owners. There are stringent conditions attached to the importation of firearms into Africa, and I shall rejoice if these restrictions can be properly carried out. But still more important than all these restrictions is the decision of Persia, Turkey, and Zanzibar to carry out very stringent regulations against the extension of domestic slavery. If that portion of the Act is enforced it may strike at the root of the Slave Trade and be the real cure of the whole evil. We may congratulate those who have been instrumental in inducing the Sultan of Zanzibar to issue an edict against domestic slavery in his own territory, and the only doubt I feel

in regard to this matter is whether the influence of the European Powers is sufficient in regard to these semi-civilised nations to induce them to carry out these proposals of the Act. I believe, however, that the influence which will be brought by the other nations, acting in concert, will do a great deal, with these pacific schemes, to reduce this immense evil from which the world has so long been suffering.

\*(7.10.) SIR R. N. FOWLER (London): The speech of the hon. Member is worthy of his family traditions, and I wish to express my cordial concurrence in the spirit of his remarks. I desire to say a word in addition to what has been said as to the position of our missionaries in Madagascar. We know that their influence in the island has been remarkable, and that it has been exercised with the best results for the advancement of the people. I am glad to find that they are to be secured freedom in their labours, but I am convinced that the question of the protection of the missionaries is one of the most important which can engage the Foreign Office now and for a long course of years to come.

(7.12.) MR. ROWNTREE (Scarborough): We must all rejoice at the disposition shown among nations to settle their differences by means of peaceable agreement, instead of by appeal to force of arms. But, at the same time, I do not think we can be altogether satisfied with an Agreement which hands over the interests of a nation rapidly rising in the scale of civilisation to the control of a Foreign Power without consideration of the wishes of those physically concerned. I should like to ask the Under Secretary why there is a difference in the words employed in the recognition of the British Protectorate of Zanzibar and the recognition of the French Protectorate of Madagascar. I should be glad if the right hon. Gentleman could assure the Committee that the words "with its consequences" do not sanction any interference by the French in the internal affairs of the Madagascar people. It will be observed that the article runs thus—

"The Government of Her Britannic Majesty recognises the Protectorate of France over the island of Madagascar, 'with its consequences,' especially as regards the exequaturs of British

Consuls and agents, which must be applied for through the intermediary of the French Resident General."

But remember this was exactly the point of difference between the French and the Hova Government five years ago, and, as I understand, the Hova Government have never consented to that provision. If that is so, it is clear we are not simply settling a difference as between ourselves and the French Government, but are gravely interfering with the right of a people in matters concerning their own self-government, and their relationship with other Governments. My point is that we ought not to interfere with the freedom of their natural advance in the scale of civilisation and christianity. We ought not to prevent them from approaching the Government whose people have hitherto had the greatest influence over the inhabitants of the islands. We ought not to require them merely to approach us through other channels, and, finally, I say that if this arrangement has been made without the consent of the people of Madagascar we should object to it very strongly.

\*(7.16.) MR. WEBB (Waterford, W.): This question of Madagascar has come upon us with some suddenness and has caused considerable surprise. I think it is of much more importance than the Government appear to realise. I am afraid that the Government have acted in ignorance of the strong feeling of the people of this country in the matter, and I feel confident that when the Agreement is published in the papers to-morrow morning, there will be much annoyance expressed on the subject. When we are discussing the affairs of subject races, we ought to remember that we possess a great influence for good or for bad, and that, consequently, a very high duty devolves upon us. This is not merely a question of right between France and England. I do not propose to attempt to discuss now the question of the rights or wrongs of France. My own personal opinion is that if there is to be a Protectorate over Madagascar, one by the United Kingdom would be far preferable to one by the French Republic. Nor is this a question of British influence, because under the present arrangement there is a fair opportunity for the different religious bodies properly and

*Mr. Rouvrees*

legitimately to advance their opinions, and I trust that those opportunities will continue to exist under the new arrangement. But I contend we have no right to make an Agreement over the heads of the people of the island. To what extent, if at all, have the people of Madagascar been consulted in this matter, and if they have not been consulted what right have we, for supposed advantages to be obtained in other parts of Africa, to give the control of these people over to another Power—to another European nation? No matter how we may disguise it the very fact of there being a French Protectorate will end eventually in France gaining more and more influence in the island. Madagascar differs from most other lands inhabited by coloured races in that it has, as the result of the influence of the missionaries, been steadily rising in the scale of Christianity, and I should think it is a misfortune that when a nation has reached that state of progress we should take away from it its independence. It has been too much the case that the rights and feelings of these people have not been considered. In Madagascar we have a fairly ordered State, and yet we are treating it as entirely unworthy of self-Government. Our conduct is likely to cause a feeling of intense disappointment and hopelessness, regarding the possibilities of other nations in a like degree of development, and I believe the Government will before long discover that they have made a great mistake, and that they have excited much opposition and a feeling of intense exasperation by the action which they have taken.

\*(7.20.) SIR J. FERGUSSON: Without unduly detaining the Committee I will reply to the points raised by the various speakers. In regard to the Behring Sea, I have this evening laid upon the Table the Papers relating to this matter. The reason why these Papers have not been laid upon the Table before is because it was desirable that they should include the reply of Lord Salisbury to the Despatch from Mr. Blaine that has appeared in the American newspapers, and which reply stated the English case. We were, of course, unable to publish that until it had reached the American Government. With regard to Newfoundland, it would have been very satisfactory if Her Majesty's Govern-

ment had been able to inform Parliament that there had been some settlement arrived at with regard to the pending questions in relation to the fishing rights in the colony. At this moment the Premier of Newfoundland is in London, and consultations are going on between the Government and him, which, I hope, will result in some solution of the question. No doubt the matter is most perplexing, but no effort ought to be, or will be, spared to bring the dispute to a satisfactory termination. Owing to the extreme conciliation and prudence of the officers employed on the Newfoundland coast, all collisions, great and small, have hitherto been avoided. I hope that our fellow-subjects in Newfoundland will be actuated by the same spirit, for they may be assured that Her Majesty's Government have their interests at heart, and are quite as anxious to maintain their just rights as they themselves can be, and will do nothing that will militate against their prosperity. The hon. Member opposite has referred, in rather a carping spirit of criticism, to our relations with Germany in connection with Samoa, but I do not think that those relations reflect anything but credit upon Her Majesty's Government, who may point with satisfaction to the solution of questions which at one time threatened to give rise to international difficulty. That matters have been so satisfactorily arranged is largely due to the very conciliatory spirit that has been manifested by the German Government. A charge of undue reticence has been made against the Foreign Office in reference to those subjects. But I do not believe that matters that have lately been engaging the attention of Her Majesty's Government could have been settled satisfactorily if their exact position had been made known to the world day by day. Now, however, that the facts have been communicated to Parliament, the Foreign Office cannot be fairly accused of undue reticence. Bargains in private life cannot be entered into in the street, and diplomacy is only bargaining between nations, and great interests require to be safeguarded by reticence on the part of those engaged in the arrangements sought to be entered into. The hon. Member opposite has asked some questions as to the position in which trade on the mainland of Africa

is placed by the new Anglo-German Treaty, which has hitherto been regulated by the Treaty with Zanzibar. I may point out that under Article VII. of our Commercial Treaty with Zanzibar all articles of merchandise coming from foreign countries are subject to a duty of 5 per cent., but goods *in transitu* are exempted from that impost. By the terms of the Anglo-German Agreement the Germans on the mainland are prohibited from imposing any differential duties upon British goods. The question has been asked whether, if the Congo Act does not come into force, the Germans will be able to levy any duties they like. That is not so. They are not entitled to do so by the lapse of the Brussels Act; under the agreement with Zanzibar, to which they are successors, only 5 per cent. can be charged, and I understand that Germany elects to be bound by the Zanzibar Commercial Treaty. With regard to the protest of the Cape as to their not being consulted with respect to the territories which concerns them, I dealt fully with the question in the Debate which took place recently on the Anglo German Treaty, and I think it is a pity that it should be again raised. We are, no doubt, sorry that so much territory has been allowed to slip from us, that might, I believe, have been brought under the influence of our great colonies, but it is useless and unprofitable to go back to the history of that lapse. For two years there was an endeavour on the part of the German Government to induce us to protect their subjects in that region, but neither the Colonial nor the Imperial Government were willing to undertake the responsibility. In 1884 the Imperial Government warned the Colonial Government that the Germans would undertake the protection of the country if they did not do so themselves, and when after three months they undertook to do so, it was too late. However, we can only deal with the accomplished facts, and can only take blame to ourselves for not having been as wise in our generation as the Germans have been. With regard to the question of freedom of transit, no doubt that has been provided by the Act of Berlin in the Congo zone, but our arrangement has strengthened that provision. Hon. Members talk as if it were impossible to get freedom of

transit for our goods through a country without assuming a Protectorate over it. That is a doctrine which cannot be maintained. If there is blame with regard to Africa, we must all share it; but I maintain that in the course of the tenure of office by Her Majesty's present Government, we have confirmed and enlarged the spheres of British influence in Africa. On the Niger the Royal Niger Company has been able to extend its influence over 2,000 miles of waterway, and I have been informed that a person can travel with safety over that length of the Niger and its affluents, and this has been secured at small expenditure and by gentle methods only. We have asserted and maintained the right of free transit over that great river, the Zambesi, into the interior of Africa. In Zanzibar we have secured predominant influence, and I venture to say that we can point with confidence to the results of the policy of Her Majesty's Government. Notice has been taken that our Protectorate under this Agreement does not refer to regions formally leased to British companies for trading purposes, but I apprehend we have secured the British tenure and Protectorate over these regions by other measures. Therefore, I say we may with the greatest confidence anticipate the national approval for the policy of the Government. The naval operations, which have extended over so much time, and which have entailed so much sacrifice on the part of officers and men, have not passed by without a considerable achievement in the cause for which they were sent there. We may, I think, point to the Proclamation of the Sultan of Zanzibar with regard to slavery, which was spontaneous on the part of His Highness. In this respect I ought to express the acknowledgments on the part of the Government to the hon. Member for Poplar for his recognition of the labours of Her Majesty's Government. I think that all may rejoice with us in what I consider to be the greatest step taken in the last half-century towards the extinction of that accursed traffic. By the Act of Brussels a blow has been struck at the Slave Trade by the united action of all the civilised Powers, which I hope will check the trade in its development and in its sources. These are some instances of the policy which has been pursued by

*Sir J. Fergusson*

Her Majesty's Government in Africa. Let it not be said that we have pursued this policy with a disregard for the rights of the natives of that country. We have secured no privileges except by the free rights of the inhabitants of those countries, and by Treaties freely made; and our East African Trading Companies have fortunately been able to secure the advantages they possess without once coming into collision with the natives. The hon. Member for Leicester and the hon. Member for West Waterford have referred to the action of the Government with regard to Madagascar. We have been asked if the natives of the island were consulted before the Agreement was entered into. My reply is that the Government have only recognised now what has been done by the Government of Madagascar itself; in the Treaty of 1886 between France and Madagascar it was provided that the French Representative should represent Madagascar in all foreign affairs, and all that Her Majesty's Government has done is to recognise this Act of the Hova Government itself. The Commercial Treaty will be in force as heretofore, and it is only in the relation of France to the foreign affairs of Madagascar that any change has been made. The hon. Member for Edinburgh has asked about the boundaries of the delimitation of territory between the Niger Company and France. It is impossible to say or to mark on the map the exact boundaries, but it has been secured that France will not claim any territory or Protectorate within the limit of the Treaties made by the Company, or in Sokoto. With regard to trade, of course, we cannot make an agreement with France as to the limits of the duty to be charged, because it is well known that France will not make any agreement of that nature. With respect to the non-inclusion of Newfoundland, the Agreement could not include all outstanding questions; but in what we have now done we have made another step towards a common agreement, and towards removing causes of offence. We have increased our sphere, and obviated causes of jealousy and possible causes of war, and, therefore, we have done good work, and have done something material in the way of guarding and preserving the peace of the world.

(7.44.) **SIR G. CAMPBELL** (Kirkcaldy, &c.): I entirely agree with Lord Salisbury that European nations have not the slightest right or title to give to one another continents which do not belong to them, but still I congratulate the Government on having come to an arrangement with France. It is satisfactory that our great neighbour should be contented and, subject to the reservation with which I opened my remarks, I may say I think the Agreement come to is one which is honourable to both sides. I trust it will have very large beneficial results. I have on the Paper a Motion to reduce the salary of Her Majesty's Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs, but it is not intended to in any way impute blame to him for the general management of foreign affairs. I rather admire his spirit, and I am going to propose the reduction rather on a question of domestic policy, because of the influence he has given to the head of the Roman Catholic Church in Her Majesty's dominions. There are only two subjects upon which I desire to make observation before I come to that point, and one of these is the subject of arbitration. There has been a great movement among the nations lately in favour of arbitration for the settlement of international difficulties, and I hope it will increase. I rejoice at the success of the movement since the occasion when the deputation, of which I was a member, induced the Senate and the House of Representatives in the United States to pass resolutions in favour of this principle. I am quite aware there are some political matters difficult so to refer, but most international disputes are capable of being fairly settled by arbitration. I have some regret that the Secretary and Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs, in their utterances, seem loth to commit themselves to the principle of arbitration with our near neighbours to the same extent as the principle was accepted by the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States. Though the Government have been very reserved in accepting the general principle of arbitration, I admit that the Foreign Secretary has been ready enough to apply it in particular cases. What I am afraid of is, that we are too much under the domination of our colonies, who insist upon too much, and,

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believing that they have the British Government at their back, often make somewhat unreasonable demands. I know the Newfoundland Fisheries is a delicate question and still under negotiation, but so far the French Government have exhibited a not unreasonable spirit when they say "first let us understand what our rights are, and then we will treat with you in respect to those rights." Now, I think the Newfoundland question is especially one for arbitration, because, as far as I understand the dispute, it is whether the right to catch fish gives the French the right to catch lobsters. I wish to know, therefore, whether this question is to be referred to arbitration? I gather that the objection to such a proceeding comes from Newfoundland, the colonists apparently dreading the result of arbitration on the point. But I must say that upon such a question the Imperial Government should come to a decision in accordance with Imperial interests, because, although we fully recognise the spirit of prudence and forbearance exhibited by officers on either side, there is obviously serious danger in keeping this dispute open, because of an unreasonable attitude on the part of the colonists. Some doubts, I believe, have arisen as to our statutory authority to enforce supposed Treaty rights on the point; but, as I have said, such matters of interpretation as this, whether fishing includes lobster catching, are eminently fit for decision by arbitration. These points being settled, then comes the question of treating for revision of rights and arrangements such as those for which the recent Conventions supply precedents. But here, again, we have the difficulty that wherever a colony sets up a claim it seems to be a bar to reasonable arrangements. I ventured on a previous occasion to suggest a concession to France in the New Hebrides, but then I was met with the objection, "What would the Australians say?" Well, from the nearest point of Australia the New Hebrides are a thousand miles distant. On this point I know feeling in Australia is strong and difficult to get over; but still, I do feel there is evinced on the part of hon. Members too great a disposition to yield to colonial objections. It is very gratifying to know that the Government have been so successful in their negotiations with France up to the

present time. I hope they will be equally successful with the questions that remain to be dealt with, and I think that in these negotiations we might well hand over Gambia and Sierra Leone to France for some consideration in another part of the world. ["No!"] I know the "Rule Britannia" spirit that resents the cession of any territory, however useless to us, where the British flag flies, and we know the first utterances in reference to the cession of Heligoland. My impression is that it would be to our advantage to exchange Sierra Leone, a colony surrounded by French possessions, and which can only be carried on under embarrassing conditions, and by a process of pushing farther and farther into the interior in a way that will lead to dangerous complications. Certainly, I think, we might make an advantageous "swop" of Sierra Leone, and let France have a happy hunting ground in the great territory between the Mediterranean and the Niger Company territory. I was reading the other day a letter from an English traveller recently returned from the West Coast of Africa, and who, I suppose, would be an impartial witness, and he describes the marked difference in passing from St. Louis and the French settlements, from the clean, well ordered, and outwardly prosperous appearance there, to the dirt, degradation, and drinking habits of the people of Sierra Leone. With regard to the Slave Trade and the Anti-Slavery Conference at Brussels, I think it is a desirable arrangement that opportunity should be given to search slave vessels, and I am inclined to agree with the Conference that the only really effective way to put down the traffic is for the Powers to take possession and control of Africa. I know the Under Secretary disclaims any such interpretation of these Agreements; but really they amount to encouragement to European Powers to take possession of Africa. There is, no doubt, much to be said in favour of the restrictions on the importation of firearms, and I can understand that European Governments desire to prevent the impediment to their operations there might be in the natives having possession of firearms. True, natives would use these arms in their inter-tribal wars; but I am not sure whether the shooting each other would not be better

*Sir G. Campbell*

than selling each other as slaves. It is a restriction upon which I do not wish to say much; but I do wish to say a word of deep regret at the absence from the convention of the Conference of any restriction upon the importation of spirits. This trade in spirits, out of which European traders derive large profits, is almost as great a curse to Africa as the Slave Trade. The duties imposed are merely nominal—not much over a penny a bottle—and I cannot but think there is a great deal of hypocrisy mixed up with our professions of interest in trade and benefit to Africa. I know that most of the pernicious stuff with which the natives of Africa are degraded and destroyed is made in Germany and Holland, but for the great part it is carried in British vessels. Certainly, I cannot congratulate Her Majesty's Government on an arrangement that leaves this evil untouched. I shall leave other Members to deal with the question, in reference to which I shall move a reduction of the Vote. I hold a strong opinion as to the undesirability of holding diplomatic relations with the Papal Authority from which we have long since severed ourselves, but I will leave to the others the arguments in support of my Motion, which is with reference to the Mission of Sir Lintorn Simmons to the Pope, to reduce the Foreign Secretary's salary by the sum of £100.

Motion made, and Question proposed.  
"That Item A, Salaries, be reduced by £100, part of the Salary of the Secretary of State."—(*Sir George Campbell.*)

(8.7.) MR. CHANNING (Northampton, E.): I regret my hon. Friend has taken that course, because not with any very lengthened remarks I desired to move a reduction having reference to the statement of the right hon. Gentleman as regards Madagascar.

SIR G. CAMPBELL: I am quite ready to withdraw the Motion.

THE CHAIRMAN: Is it your pleasure the Motion be withdrawn? [*Cries of "No!"*]

\*(8.8.) MR. SUMMERS (Huddersfield): I beg to make a few observations in reference to the reduction just moved. The Motion for reduction has reference to the Mission of Sir Lintorn Simmons to the Vatican. Now, this Mission raises a variety of points of interest and



importance, having a bearing on the relations that subsist and the relations that ought to subsist between Her Majesty's Government and the Holy See. I do not propose to go into these very large questions beyond making this single observation: that if communications are to pass between Her Majesty's Government and the Vatican, I think we shall all agree that these communications ought to be of an open and public rather than of a secret and confidential character. There is, perhaps, very little of merit in this Mission of Sir Lintorn Simmons to the Vatican, but it has at least the merit of publicity. Now, I propose to deal with this Mission on its merits, and I ask, in the first place, why was it ever despatched? We have the view of Lord Salisbury on the subject given to us in a letter to Sir Lintorn Simmons, under date August 1, 1889—

"The engagements under which Her Majesty's Government have come for the maintenance of the Roman Catholic religion in that island"—Malta—"and for the enforcement of the Canon Law make it a matter of serious importance that a full understanding should be established between the secular authorities and the heads of the Church to which the inhabitants of the island are attached."

Here we have a distinct statement that, in the view of Her Majesty's Government, the British Government have come under engagements for the enforcement of the Canon Law in the island of Malta. Now, I understand we hold Malta under a definitive Treaty between Great Britain and France, signed at Paris May 30, 1814. The 7th article of that Treaty stipulates that—

"Malta and its dependencies shall belong in full right and sovereignty to His Britannic Majesty."

Her Majesty exercises, then, full rights of sovereignty over the island of Malta. This fact alone seems to me to conflict with the contention that the Canon Law as such is at the present day the law of Malta. Two Proclamations were issued before Malta came under subjection to Great Britain, and copies of these have been laid upon the Table, and I suppose hon. Members are well acquainted with their contents; but in order that there may be no mistake about the point, I will read from each of these Proclamations the

only sentence they contain which seems to bear on the question, whether the Canon Law is or is not the law of Malta. The first Proclamation was issued by Mr. Cameron, Civil Commissioner, on July 15, 1801, and the only sentence which seems to bear on this question is this—

"His Majesty grants you full protection and the enjoyment of all your dearest rights. He will protect your Churches, your holy religion, and your property."

The second Proclamation is dated October 5, 1813, and is signed by Sir Thomas Maitland, the Governor, and in it these words occur—

"It will be His Excellency's duty to secure to the Maltese, in the fullest manner, the free exercise of their religion, to maintain their ecclesiastical establishment, to introduce such amelioration in the proceedings of the Courts of Law as will secure to everyone the certainty of speedy and effective justice, to make such improvement in the laws themselves as past experience or change of circumstances may have rendered advisable; and, in short, to adopt every measure that may be requisite to secure to the inhabitants a full share of that happiness, wealth, security, and prosperity which are fortunately enjoyed by all the subjects of the British Empire in every part of the world."

Well, in neither of these Proclamations is there a single word of reference to the Canon Law. But perhaps it will be contended that the whole of the Canon Law is not the law of Malta, and, indeed, it would be ridiculous to say it is, for, under the Canon Law, His Holiness claims that mere kingly authority is subject to the Papal power. The mere existence, therefore, of this Canon Law is incompatible with the sovereignty of the British Crown, and Lord Salisbury cannot be exempted from blame in using the vaguest phraseology possible in reference to our assumed obligations to maintain the Canon Law in the island. At this point I think it would be useful if I stated exactly what it is that His Holiness the Pope has laid down upon the subject. He has made two declarations. The first of them is the only one with which I need deal at any length. His Holiness has declared that marriages celebrated in Malta by all those who profess the Catholic religion, whether both contracting parties be Catholics, or whether one of them be a Catholic and the other a non-Catholic, are not, and shall not be, valid, if they are not celebrated according to the form established by the Council of Trent. Now, it is, I believe,



admitted on all hands that the decrees of the Council of Trent are not a part of the Canon Law, unless they are made so by some special Law or Order of State. It becomes, therefore, important to ask whether these decrees of the Council of Trent have ever been promulgated in Malta. The Law Advisers of the Government in Malta assert that the decrees of the Council of Trent have been promulgated in Malta, but they are unable to say when or by whom or under what circumstances. Clark, in his *Colonial Law* (p. 717), says—

"The Code of Rohan, the laws made by the decrees of Hompesch, by Sir Alexander Ball, as Governor for the King of the Two Sicilies, and by Messrs. Cameron and Ball, as Civil Commissioners, are the only rule of justice and the *lex scripta* actually in force."

If, then, it is a fact that the decrees of the Council of Trent have been promulgated in the island, it is, at least, very remarkable that the record of that fact cannot be pointed to, and that the record itself has not found its way into the best-known text-books on Colonial Law. But there are other considerations which make it at least doubtful whether the Canon Law is the law of Malta even as regards the question of marriage. The Code Rohan deals with the subject of marriage, but makes no reference to the Canon Law in doing so. Again, in 1828 a Proclamation was issued depriving the Ecclesiastical Courts in Malta of all temporal jurisdiction. The full title of the Proclamation is—

"A Law reserving the decision of spiritual causes to the Ecclesiastical Courts, and subjecting all classes of His Majesty's subjects in temporal matters to the jurisdiction of His Majesty's lay tribunals."

Clause 5 is as follows :—

"Every Ecclesiastical Court or Judge legally established or appointed, or to be established, or appointed in these islands shall have power to enforce his or their lawful sentences and decrees, by such censures, monitions, excommunications, or other spiritual means as the laws of the Church may direct, and which shall not be incompatible with the peace and good order of society, but no such Court or Judge shall have any jurisdiction to enforce, or shall in any manner attempt to enforce, by his own authority, any such sentence or decree by any temporal compulsion."

I should think, then, it would follow that as this question of marriage involves important civil effects the Ecclesiastical Courts would be acting *ultra vires* if they were to attempt to invalidate a

*Mr. Summers*

marriage, and by so doing affect a good deal of property, character, and position in the island. But that is not all. Ordinances have been passed by the Council of Government in Malta dealing with marriage, and one issued in 1865 is entirely in conflict with the Canon Law. Yet, before this Ordinance was passed, it was not found necessary to send any special Mission to the Vatican. Moreover, if the Canon Law be the law of Malta, it surely follows that all Protestant marriages, and all mixed marriages which have been celebrated for the last 90 years, are invalid. But this position is utterly untenable, and has, as a matter of fact, been abandoned by the Government. In 1865 the Crown Advocate of Malta, now the Chief Justice of the island, advised, as regards marriages between non-Roman Catholics under licence from the Governor or the Bishop of Gibraltar, that they had received a degree of recognition which constituted a *consuetudo abrogatoria*. It follows, therefore, that the Canon Law does not cover the whole of the law of marriage in Malta. The Government are bound to go one step further, and allow that the mixed marriages are valid, seeing that many such marriages have been celebrated under licence from the Governor or the Bishop of Gibraltar. Quite recently a Wesleyan minister (Mr. Laverack) has been refused, and for the first time, a licence from the Governor. This gentleman writes to the Governor, under date July 15th, 1890, as follows :—

"I have obtained from the Governor 47 marriage licences—39 for marriages in which both parties were not Roman Catholics, and eight for mixed marriages, in which one party was a Roman Catholic and the other was not. I am prepared to maintain that the case referred to was the first case in which, on the part of your office, one single question was asked or one single remark was made about the religion of parties on whose behalf I have applied for licences."

The hon. and learned Attorney General has not been able to point to a single case where such a marriage was declared invalid because it had not been celebrated according to the form prescribed by the Council of Trent. The Government have promised to bring in a project of law based upon certain declarations of the Pope, which they have accepted, and the first of which is that no marriage in which one or both con-

tracting parties are Catholics shall be valid unless celebrated in accordance with the form established by the Council of Trent. I maintain that there is only one real solution of the difficulty, and that is to make civil marriage the law of Malta, and to allow the contracting parties to add whatever religious forms they desire. That is the solution that has been adopted by nearly all the civilised countries of Europe, and I hope it is not too late for such a solution to be arrived at in the case of the island of Malta. There is only one other point about which I should like to say a word. The expenses of Sir Lintorn Simmons's Mission ought to have appeared on the Estimates, and, if they were not discussed in Parliament, they ought at least to have been discussed in the Council of Government of Malta. But the Mission is extremely unpopular in Malta, and, therefore, the expenses have been defrayed from the Civil Contingencies Fund, so as to stifle all discussion. That is a mean and a shabby device. I hope it is not yet too late for Her Majesty's Government to re-consider their policy in this particular, and to make the expenses of Sir Lintorn Simmons's Mission a charge on the Imperial Exchequer. I will not detain the Committee by any further observation. I simply say that I object to this Mission on its merits. I think the policy shadowed forth in the Mission is an illiberal and retrograde policy, and I shall be delighted if, even at the eleventh hour, Her Majesty's Government will tell us that that policy has been abandoned, and that a new, a better, and a wiser policy will now be inaugurated. (8.30.)

(9.0.) MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.): I think, at the outset, I should remark on the extraordinary fact that we are dealing with this question on the Foreign Office Vote. I do not know how it came about that the suggestion was made that this discussion should take place on the Foreign Office Vote than on the Colonial Office Vote. But the fact itself is, in my opinion, one of enormous significance; because if we had been dealing with this question as a Colonial Office matter, we should have known that this Motion and these arrangements had been entered into in the interests of Malta alone, and with reference to a *bona fide* state of

affairs. But down comes the First Lord of the Treasury the leader of the House and says that you must take the Vote under the head of the Foreign Office, and not under the discussion on the Colonial Vote. It would probably be useless to have raised a question of order on this subject, because we have not had such gratifying experience on questions of order that would have justified us in adopting such a course without consideration. I do not know, Mr. Courtney, whether even you were consulted upon the point; and if I were inclined to argue the question in a sense adverse to the view that has been adopted, I should contend that it was entirely out of order to put this Vote under the Foreign Office head, because if it has any relevancy at all, it must be entirely in its connection with the Colonial Office. The Colonial Secretary, however, was too deeply immersed in the Sugar Bounties question—too deeply immersed, I may say, in saccharine—to enable him to deal with the larger question that arises on this subject, and, therefore, we are to be relegated to the Secretary for Foreign Affairs. Malta being under the Colonial Office, I think it was a distinct transgression on the rights of hon. Members that this subject should be taken as it has been. Why is this discussion concerning Malta out of order on the Vote in which Malta is naturally contained, and why is it in order to take it under the Foreign Office Vote? It is, I suppose, because for the first time in the history of that little island, with its population of some 150,000 inhabitants, we have entered on the question of *haute politique*. The discussion of this Vote under the Foreign Office head means, I suppose, that the Maltese have no concern whatever with the Colonial Office.

\*THE CHAIRMAN: Order, order! On the question of order, I would point out how this matter stands. The question of the Mission to the Vatican is properly considered under the head of the Foreign Office Vote alone. Taking the aspect of the question as it relates to the Government of Malta alone, that would naturally come under the Consular Vote; but inasmuch as it was deemed undesirable to break up the discussion into two parts, it was thought advisable to take

this particular subject under the head of the Foreign Office.

MR. T. M. HEALY: Then I will take it that the authorities of the House were consulted in the matter, and that the question was treated as one of convenience. That is all very well. But why is it that we are discussing the Vote not on the expenses of Sir Lintorn Simmons, but on the salary of the Minister for Foreign Affairs, and upon the Motion to reduce that salary by the sum of £100, a reduction which, of course, is a mere bagatelle? Well, what has been the action of the Government in relation to this? They have evidently desired, in the first instance, that everything in relation to this question should be carried on under the rose. They thought they would put down the Vote on the Estimates for the expenses of the missionary, or rather Ambassador, and thereby saddle Malta with the charge; but the Maltese have turned tail, and, so far as we can gather, the Maltese people have not been very well instructed as to what has been going on. It was felt that the Maltese, ignorant as their clergy are said by Sir Lintorn Simmons to be, were too venal and poor. The Attorney General shakes his head. Does he suggest that Sir Lintorn Simmons said those gentlemen were not as he has described them?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir R. WEBSTER, Isle of Wight): I shook my head at the statement that they were venal.

MR. T. M. HEALY: I thought the shaking of the head was general. At any rate, those ignorant clergymen were found to have sufficient influence on their own country to affect the Council in Malta, and the Government did not dare to put the expense of this measure on the Maltese Budget. It was accordingly placed on a Vote, of which the Maltese have no cognisance, namely, the Civil Contingencies Vote. Sir Lintorn Simmons starts by saying—and in the remarks I have to make I trust that what I have to say will be extremely disappointing to the Protestants of these islands—that he had a private audience with the Pope. I am here referring to Paper No. 8, page 8. He says that after that official interview His Holiness had a private conversation with him, in which he made many

*The Chairman*

minute inquiries, especially as to the system of government, and seemed surprised that the Council there was composed entirely of Her Majesty's Maltese subjects, who had their own Budget, and voted their own expenditure. If this be true, how is it that the expenses of Sir Lintorn Simmons were not put in the Maltese Vote; and why should His Holiness have been surprised at the information he received? Why did not Her Majesty's Government put this Vote under the head which the Maltese Chamber would have had the opportunity of considering? Beyond this Sir Lintorn Simmons said the Consular Government was composed of Her Majesty's subjects, in the same way, I suppose, as the Privy Council of Ireland is composed of Irish subjects, although it would be utterly absurd to suppose or contend that those persons were really appointed with the consent of the Irish people. Therefore, I assume it would be equally absurd to contend that if you have Maltese subjects on the Maltese Council, consequently the Maltese people have any proper control over the expenditure of their Government. According to Lord Knutsford's Despatch, which, however, is not printed, for reasons which have not been, but ought to be, stated to the House, we find that the Council of Malta is at this moment dissolved, or rather adjourned *sine die*, although I think it may fairly be termed dissolved. Therefore, restricted as is the franchise in Malta, and susceptible as are the local members of the Council to Government influence, you find that you cannot get the acceptance of a single individual belonging to the elective members, or, at any rate, of a decent number of them, to this transaction. The result was, that some of them sent in their resignation, which Lord Knutsford accepted. I start with the false and erroneous information given to the Pope by Sir Lintorn Simmons, and I will show that in every one particular the suggestions he made became false in the light of facts. Why was this Mission appointed at all? Suddenly, as a bolt from the clouds, Sir Lintorn Simmons, without anybody asking for him, or thinking about Malta, is despatched to the Vatican, forsooth, to consider the question of "intra-mural interments and the validity of mixed marriages," and also to suggest that

only Maltese priests should be appointed Bishops of Malta. Here was a booted and spurred General who went to the Vatican to suggest that there should be a kind of payment by results in Malta, and promotion among the clergy according as they were obedient to the Governor. He said to the Pope that it would cause much dissatisfaction to the people of Malta if an ecclesiastic were appointed on the occasion of the next vacancy in a Bishopric there who was not a Maltese. He also stated that few of the better class of the natives entered the priesthood; and, possibly, if a Maltese were appointed Bishop, it would constitute an inducement to young men in the island to become priests. Of all the jokes I ever heard nothing is more ludicrous than this red-coated English General expressing anxiety to the Pope on the subject of the promotion of ecclesiastics. That is about the most grotesque joke the 19th Century has produced. And for that purpose Lord Salisbury has spent £1,200, to be paid out of the Civil Contingency Fund, all in the interests of these poor, ill-treated, Maltese priests! No one who has not a very large gullet could swallow that. Then this man talked about the feelings of the priests like some person from Tokenhouse Yard, practised in the sale of advowsons, for, on page 5, he says—

"I also gave the Cardinal a short Memorandum on the subject of the immigration into Malta of foreign priests."

He says that as though he were speaking of rinderpest, or cattle plague, or tuberculosis. I can hardly understand this objection to foreign priests, raised by this delicate-minded Ambassador. It is very much the same feeling as we heard expressed in America three or four years ago, when everybody declared that "the Chinese must go, for they came in like locusts and eat up the bread of the Americans." Sir Lintorn Simmons, in his Despatch, went on to say that the Maltese priests were very poor. Many of them, even when they acted as professors in a Seminary, only had £8 or £10 a year, and they objected very strongly to the immigration of foreign priests. That, surely, is a very handsome expression for Sir Lintorn Simmons to have used. Monsignor Pace, an Italian whom Sir Lintorn Simmons admitted to be one of the most loyal

subjects of the Queen, is one of the foreign priests thus referred to. Sir Lintorn further said—

"It is reasonable that the education of the clergy should be of such a nature as to enable them to keep up proper relations with the Government authorities,"

so he evidently was anxious to secure the appointment of a Bishop who would support Her Majesty's Government. I have been trying to find out what was the *raison d'être* of this Mission. I pass over one reason which has been given and which must have been delightful to the hon. and pious Member for Boston, whom I see in his place—

THE CHAIRMAN: Order, order!

MR. T. M. HEALY: The head of our most intensely Protestant Government has declared his anxiety for an understanding to be come to with the Vatican, and in the course of his Despatch he says:—"There are, as you are aware, several Maltese questions of primary importance." Before I finish reading this, I should like the House, while I am reading it, to substitute for "Malta" the word "Ireland," and for "Gozo" the word "Dublin," and in another and proper place to insert the words "Dublin Castle," and then hon. Members will see exactly, in my opinion, what was the real object of this Mission. The Despatch runs—

"There are, as you are aware, several Maltese questions of primary importance."

I should like to know how an island only half a dozen miles round can have questions of primary importance. It is more than I can understand, except the phrase be due to the high-flown language which a man acquires after he has been at the Foreign Office for a short time. But to continue the Despatch—

"There are several Maltese questions of primary importance, as well as those of lesser urgency, as to which a clear and thorough understanding with the Vatican would be of advantage to all concerned. Among these I may mention the course to be followed on the occurrence of a vacancy in the Bishoprics of Malta or Gozo."

The idea of Lord Salisbury solemnly declaring that the appointment of a Bishop of Gozo was a matter of primary importance to this country! It is difficult to believe he would have said such a thing if it were possible to disbelieve anything of the kind after his conduct on the Schouvaloff Memorandum. Then



there is a line following the extract I have read which runs, "and certain other high ecclesiastical offices." Now, there are only two Bishoprics in the entire island, and, therefore, are we to understand that the other high ecclesiastical offices are those which carry with them salaries of £8 or £10 a year? Are these the high offices to which the noble Marquess refers? Then the Despatch goes on to refer—and this is really charming—to the great power of the principal clerical functionaries in Malta to influence the mass of the people, and it suggests that this renders it

"most essential that in their selection the Holy See should keep prominently in view the value of securing the services of persons actuated by a friendly disposition towards this country, and prepared to support in all proper ways the reasonable directions of the local Government."

Well, of all the naked, unashamed documents that ever came into my hands this document addressed to Sir Lintorn Simmons is foremost in absolute nudity! I suppose that Lord Salisbury must have known that this Despatch would be ultimately published. Perhaps he did not, in the same way as he supposed that the Schouvaloff Memorandum would have never been published. But I put this to the Committee, that the people of Malta have never been an insurrectionary people. There has been no trouble among them. They have not worried themselves about "intramural interments." They have had no riots on these questions, and no doubt they have only been glad that their ancestors have found a proper sepulchre in their native soil; and, that being so, why was the suggestion made that the people of Malta were in a state of riot and rebellion? Why was it pointed out that the bishops and clergy were the people who could affect the popular mind and control it in the interests of the Government? Was it only about these poor Maltese subjects, who only speak an Arabic dialect, that the Government were thinking? I do not think anyone will believe that. The Maltese are as quiet as mice. There is no trouble amongst them. Yet Lord Salisbury despatches this man to the Vatican for the purpose of getting bishops and priests appointed who, in his own words—

*Mr. T. M. Healy*

"Would be actuated by a friendly disposition towards this country, and prepared to support in all proper ways the reasonable directions of the local Government."

I now come to the consideration of the means taken by Sir Lintorn Simmons to effect this object. He first starts by grossly libelling the Maltese priests. Of course, we know that to this booted and spurred General the Maltese clergy were mere pawns in the game he was playing, and that he supposed they had no feelings of their own, for he absolutely, behind their backs, and without giving them an opportunity of self-defence, told the Cardinal Secretary of State that he considered it advisable that his Eminence should be made acquainted with the deplorable condition of the priesthood as regarded education. We often hear in this House about the injustice of attacking an absent man, and yet this was what an English General did in the case of the poor Maltese clergy. He says, on page 4 of his Despatch—

"I gave him (the Cardinal Secretary of State) a confidential copy of an extract from the last Report of the Director of Education in Malta, and the remarks of the Senate of the University thereon, and I told him that I considered it desirable that his Eminence should be fully acquainted with the deplorable condition of the priesthood as regarded education, which had often been the subject of conversation between the Bishop of Malta and myself during my stay in the island. The Cardinal Secretary seemed surprised at the state of the ignorance of the priesthood."

Will it be believed that what this gentleman called ignorance is what in this country—as hon. Members for Wales will understand—would be called an ignorance of the English language; that the people were unable to read the *Saturday Review* or *Ally Sloper*? Will it be believed, also, that it was by the distinct act of Her Majesty's Government that the Maltese were educated in their native dialect, almost to the exclusion of the English, and certainly of Italian? Sir Patrick Keenan was sent over from Dublin to make a report on the education of the Maltese, and, with a view to check the influence of a supposed branch of the Irredentist agitation, he recommended that the native Maltese tongue should be taught and the people educated in it, although in Ireland the same man suppressed the use of the Irish language, which 20 years previously,

when he was simply an Inspector, he had advocated the teaching of. Of course, we know that for his change of opinion in favour of suppressing Gaelic, he was made a Privy Councillor and given the title of knight. Sir Lintorn Simmons, in his Despatch, mentions Monsignor Pace, as if he concurred in the attack on the Maltese clergy. What is the fact? The other day the German Fleet, together with war vessels of other countries, was riding at anchor at Valetta, and a number of the Maltese clergy, able to speak half a dozen languages, went out to the vessels and ministered to the sailors. When you charged Cardinal Rampolla with acquiescing in that statement as to the ignorance of the Maltese priesthood, you suppressed the fact that the clergy of Valetta adopted a unanimous protest against the insinuations and attacks of Sir Lintorn Simmons, and that they also sent their declaration to Cardinal Rampolla, who, in turn, sent it back, containing a severe snub to Sir L. Simmons. Therefore, this attack on the Maltese clergy for their alleged ignorance falls to the ground absolutely. I now come to what I conceive to be the real object of Her Majesty's Government in sending this Mission. Sir L. Simmons handed Cardinal Rampolla a document which set out what he desired as to the appointment of bishops, and I do not think that Napoleon, when he started out to make himself head of everything in Europe, considering the difficulties of his position, conceived a more ambitious scheme. What was it he suggested to the Vatican? That on the probable occurrence of a vacancy in either the bishoprics of Malta or Gozo, the fact should be communicated by Her Majesty's Government officially to the Ecclesiastical Authorities at Rome, and an understanding should be come to confidentially as to the nomination by His Holiness of a successor and his coadjutor... That the Papal Authorities should then announce the appointment of the nominee, who has been agreed upon, and that Her Majesty's Government should publicly concur in the appointment, thereby authorising the assumption by the new bishop of the temporalities of his See. Sir Lintorn Simmons suggested the adoption of an arrangement, similar to that embodied in the concordat with Austria—a Catholic country. I do not

know how better to describe this startling proposal than as Simmons's essence. Here is an attempt at subjecting the temporal powers to the spiritual influences; and this is done by a No-Popery Government—by a Government that would not, this Session, pass a Bill to enable the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland to be a Catholic, and who scouted the idea that a man in the position of the hon. and learned Member for Hackney, if ever a liberal Government came into power, and because he belongs to a derided creed, should ever attain the position of Lord Chancellor! Did Sir Lintorn Simmons present the Cardinal with a copy of the Bill of the right hon. Member for the Stirling Burghs? If he did, then I would suggest that there should be a little addendum to it in the shape of a copy of the papers we get, indicating the dropped Orders of the Day. Then the Cardinal will find the fate of that Bill, and it would be instructive on the point to which I have now referred, the enlightened and intelligent desire of Her Majesty's Government to procure equality of treatment for Catholics. Now let us come to the facts: Her Majesty's Government approached the Vatican, and here let me say that I cordially approve, so far as it is given to a politician to approve at all, of every word contained in the replies to Her Majesty's Government of the Papal Authorities; it is the gloss, the insincere and deceptive gloss, put upon them by this Ambassador to which I object. Will it be believed that while you in Malta pretended to enter into negotiations with the Pope in order that you might have the induction to the bishoprics of Gozo and Malta of your own nominees, so far back as 1838 an Act was passed making it absolutely illegal for the Pope to nominate to any of those bishoprics without the assent of Her Majesty's Government? I mention this as showing the hypocrisy of this Government of law and order. This is law and order according to the Maltese aspect of affairs, that if any person shall be nominated, collated, or appointed by any Foreign Power—a handsome way of describing the Holy See—to any church, ecclesiastical office, or benefice, such nomination, collation, or appointment shall not be valid until approved by the Governor. Is that Act in force still? And if it is in force,

what is the meaning of this Mission, whereby you invite the Pope to appoint nominees of the English Government after confidential communication, there being an Act in existence under which you will not allow His Holiness to appoint at all? Now, in Clause 1 we find that the legislators of 1838, though bent on *haut politique*, yet had frugal minds, for they declared what should be done *ad interim* with these beggarly stipends of £8 or £10 these Maltese priests prize so much—that they should not go to the bishop or capitular vicar, but to the Governor. This Ordinance was promulgated in due and solemn form on January 12, 1838. Is the Attorney General aware of that Act, and if so, how is it, since you have full power and authority to prevent this “horde of foreign immigrants”—for that is what is meant by the Lintorn Simmons expression—Rome is a Foreign Power—he speaks of foreign aliens as if they were “Heathen Chinese” or other classes swarming into the island to eat of the bread of the Maltese—when you have full power to prevent them entering, when you can “slaughter them at the port of debarcation,” so to speak—why, having this power, did you send a Mission to Rome at the cost of £1,200? What was your object? Of course, we know that intramural interments was not the cause of this. And now to contrast the words of His Holiness—language to which the most extreme politician owning his sway can only give an absolute and unqualified adhesion—with the language put into the mouth of the Cardinal by Sir Lintorn Simmons. Sir L. Simmons, in the first place, mentions that he was received at a private audience, at which he presented, along with another person, Captain Ross of Bladensburg. *Que diable allait-il faire dans cette galère?* Captain Ross of Bladensburg is one of the attachés who intrigue at Dublin Castle. What is his authority, who he is, what he amounts to on the asset of brains, of these things the world is wholly ignorant. [*Murmurs from the Ministerial Benches.*] If I have aroused the susceptibilities of any strong Protestant on that side of the House I am sorry, but I cannot help it. It was well said by Cobbett that if you saw the whole of the London editors in a room

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together you would think very little of their opinions, and that is what I say of Captain Ross of Bladensburg, of Lintorn Simmons, and the rest of those connected with this Mission. Here is the conversation, as represented by Lintorn Simmons, anxious to enlarge his phy-lacteries—

“His Holiness asked me, among other things, if my Mission was confined to Malta only, and I replied, ‘My instructions limited my Mission to the affairs of that island.’”

Then Lintorn Simmons goes on to give his version of the words of His Holiness the Pope, much in the manner a police shorthand writer in Ireland takes down the words of an Irish Member. Sir L. Simmons writes—

“His Holiness replied in a speech which lasted not less than ten minutes,”

—the corrected report of the speech could be read in a minute and a half by the clock—

“in which he expressed his desire that Her Majesty’s subjects should perform their duties to their Sovereign loyally and faithfully, and should respect the law, seeing that the Church in the Queen’s vast dominions was free and unfettered, and that liberty prevailed throughout in an admirable manner. In regard to this liberty he mentioned that during the Duke of Norfolk’s Mission he had publicly spoken in that sense, and he desired to repeat what he then said on that subject.”

That is the Simmons version.

CAPTAIN BETHELL (York, E.R., Holderness): I rise to order. I wish to ask, as a point of order, whether the hon. Gentleman is in order in referring to a high officer, the Governor of Malta, in the almost insulting way he does.

THE CHAIRMAN: I have no power to correct the hon. and learned Member in his style, but I think he would be better advised if he followed the ordinary usages of society.

MR. T. M. HEALY: Sir Lintorn Simmons is the paid servant of the taxpayers, and I, as a taxpayer, contributing my mite to his upkeep and maintenance, will appreciate him in the manner I think that gentleman deserves. I have given the House the gospel according to Simmons, but the very guarded and careful language used by His Holiness is considerably different. And as to liberty to Catholics, which prevails in this realm in such an admirable manner, we owe thanks to nobody but ourselves.

God rest the honest soul of Daniel O'Connell, and if Catholics, ay, and Nonconformists and Jews, have now religious liberty, they owe it to that great heart which is enshrined in its proper place almost under the shadow of the Vatican. To suggest that Catholics in Ireland owe their liberties to the Government, for Sir Lintorn Simmons to put into the mouth of His Holiness such a statement as he does, is to make a declaration in absolute forgetfulness of the facts of history. I venture to express my opinion that if it were in the power of Her Majesty's Advisers they would not make liberty to prevail in so admirable a manner. It is not 50 years since in this country Catholics were subjected to penal persecution. Our forefathers won our rights and liberties in face of most abominable persecution, and O'Connell, by those appeals which the *Times* said were condensed of "Irish bog," won those rights for the cowering Norfolks and others who now seek to defame his race. To suggest that we owe our rights to the spontaneous action of the British Government is to attempt to ignore the facts of history. Nobody can take exception to the official letters of Cardinal Rampolla and the declarations and speeches transmitted by him. Having arranged the transaction to which I am about to refer, Sir L. Simmons gave to Lord Salisbury an account of his farewell audience of His Holiness, who used the usual diplomatic expressions of kindness and goodwill towards Her Majesty. Then Lintorn Simmons goes on to say that His Holiness, having received the Mission with satisfaction, went on to say that negotiations conducted in this way would be beneficial, not only as regards the people of Malta, but might also be usefully extended to other parts of the Empire where Catholic interests were concerned. Well, what was the arrangement to which this speech was made a pendant? For my own part I have not the smallest doubt that this speech amounts to an absolute—I do not like to call it misrepresentation, but an absolute want of appreciation of what was said by His Holiness. His Holiness was thinking of one thing and Simmons was thinking of another. Simmons was not caring about Malta; he was thinking about Ireland. Much Lord Salisbury cared about

intra-mural interments, the bishopric of Goza, appointments to seminaries at £8 and £10 a year, or whether young Maltese priests should be promoted or not. Sir L. Simmons handed Cardinal Rampolla a document which set out what he desired, and among the many extraordinary State Papers, the most remarkable Memorandum I have ever read is this one. It sets forth—

"On the occurrence, or probable occurrence, of a vacancy in either the bishopric of Malta or Goza the fact should be communicated by Her Majesty's Government officially to the Ecclesiastical Authorities at Rome."

Also—

"An understanding should be come to confidentially as to the nomination by His Holiness of a successor. Further, the Papal Authorities, after announcing the appointment of the nominee who has been agreed upon to Her Majesty's Government officially, should then issue the Bull of appointment, and Her Majesty's Government should then publish their concurrence in the appointment."

Well, what was the consideration for all this? It apparently was that a *projet de loi*, or, as we should call it, a Bill, should be introduced into the Legislative Council of Malta to regulate the civil effect of marriages heretofore celebrated or hereafter to be celebrated. That pledge was solemnly made to Cardinal Rampolla by a letter dated January 18, 1890. But Her Majesty's Government have broken faith with the Holy See in regard to that point. The *projet de loi* has never been revealed, and the ultra-Protestants who interrupt me on the other side of the House have been able to make their prejudices prevail. Her Majesty's Government, after having extracted from the Pope these declarations regarding marriages, intra-mural interments, seminaries, and appointments, have broken faith with the Holy Father as to their part of the transaction. Eight months have elapsed, and the Legislative Council of Malta have now adjourned *sine die*. The hon. Member for Huddersfield asked for declarations from the Government on the question of marriages. Nothing can give Catholics more pride than the absolutely inflexible position which the Pope took up while all these intrigues were going on at the Vatican. With all the indirect pressure brought to bear, the Holy Father has refused to minimise or soften one expression any more than the Holy See did in the case



of the marriage of Henry VIII. Here is the declaration, and from it the Pope has declined to recede. It is the law wherever the Catholic Church is known, that if you want a valid marriage between Catholics, or where one of the parties is a Catholic, it must be in accordance with the decrees of the Council of Trent, where those decrees have been promulgated. From that position the Pope refuses to recede in spite of all your endeavours, and you, the Government, have simply stirred up questions affecting the legitimacy of a number of Her Majesty's subjects. You have struck at the possibility of the right of succession to property in those cases, and the result is that you may have suits pending, not only in the Maltese Courts, but wherever Her Majesty's declaration can take effect, founded on the fact that, under that Declaration the Canon Law now prevails in Malta, and that all mixed marriages between Catholics and non-Catholics are illegal, the offspring of those marriages being illegal. What has been decreed by the Pope is nothing more than what is the law in Ireland at this moment. If you want a good Catholic marriage, it must be done in the Catholic way. If you want a civil marriage, you must go to the Registrar. That is all it amounts to. But why should the Government stir up this question? Numbers of Catholics and Protestants have been married in Malta, and the result of your interference is that if you want a Catholic marriage it must be celebrated according to Catholic Canons established for centuries. It is the Government which has started this hare, which they think may carry them on to Dublin, Galway, and Kerry. You deal not only with marriages in the future; all marriages heretofore celebrated are illegal. That is a pretty pickle. Every issue of every such marriage will have the stigma of bastardy attached. We know what was the result in Ireland of the declaration in 1840 as to Presbyterians. We know how the declaration then as to all marriages of Presbyterians was received. Here in Malta you have received a declaration from the Pope, who is the supreme authority, and there you will have to stick. What will hon. Gentleman opposite say when they have to go down to

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their constituents and defend this remarkable performance? Oh, no doubt, the Catholic Home Secretary, who cheers, will defend it. Probably he, with his strong ecclesiastical tendencies, is at the bottom of it, assisted by the Attorney General. Certainly it would be a grand thing for the Party of "No Popery," who rebelled at the idea of a Catholic Lord Lieutenant—the Duke of Norfolk, for instance. Then, there is the Member for South Tyrone; he would never consent to be ruled by the Duke of Norfolk—to swallow one of the bitterest compounds that ever a Tory was asked to swallow. The Party opposite is in this position. They have made the Treaty with Rome—they, the great Protestant Party, the Party of Henry VIII., Queen Bess, and all the rest of them. [Mr. ATKINSON: Hear, hear!] No doubt the hon. Member for Boston goes to sleep with Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* under his pillow. Well, even he will have to go down to his constituents, Protestant to the backbone, and defend the Government which has placed the law of the Queen under the Canon Law of Rome. [Mr. ATKINSON: No.] Are you going to break faith with the Pope? [Mr. ATKINSON: Yes, and laughter.] Well, we have heard of "honour rooted into dishonour," and the Member for Boston is going to break faith with the Pope. Is the Under Secretary going to break faith with him? Is the Attorney General? Is the Catholic Home Secretary? Are they going to join in the declaration of the hon. Member for Boston, and say that the *projet de loi*, which is promised, shall never be passed? Another ground of anxiety to multitudes of people in Malta is the refusal of the Government to allow the Italian language to be used officially. The ruling idea with Sir L. Simmons is, that English ideas should be made to prevail throughout the island. Of all the delusions that could prevail under an Imperial Government the greatest is that by spreading the Imperial language you conquer feelings of nationality. If the English Government had let the Irish language alone they might not have had an Irish Party to deal with to-day. If they are so anxious to enforce English on the Maltese, why do they not carry out their doctrine in Wales, and compel Nonconformist ministers in Wales to use the English language? If

the Maltese spoke English to-morrow their feeling of patriotism would only be intensified. We obtained Malta by fraud. We took it from the French, to whom it had been surrendered by the Knights of Jerusalem, on the pretence of giving it back again when we had done with it; but we managed never to have done with it. In the Capitulations we came under obligations to respect the Italian language and the Catholic religion, and we have done neither. The inference I draw from the Papers is, that it is not merely the Irish Catholics who cannot trust Her Majesty's Ambassadors at Rome, but the authorities at the Vatican will not trust them either. The Roman authorities will be likely to say in future that the English Government might be glad to obtain their support in Ireland or in Malta, but that no concession can be allowed, because English Protestant bigotry will not allow the price to be paid.

\*(10.25.) **SIR J. FERGUSSON**: The hon. and learned Gentleman has made a long indictment of the Government, but he has not struck us severely, and there will not be much difficulty in showing that many of his statements are exaggerated or even erroneous. For instance, the hon. and learned Gentleman said we have violated our pledges to the Maltese people because in the Capitulations we had promised to respect the Italian language. In the Capitulations, I cannot find any mention of the Italian language. But we have respected their own language. Maltese is taught in their schools, although English and Italian are also taught. I am not surprised that the hon. Gentleman should have made a slip on this point, because a similar slip was made the other day by the right hon. Member for Mid Lothian in his speech to certain members of the Wesleyan body. The right hon. Gentleman accused the Government of breaking faith with the Maltese people by endeavouring to abolish the Italian language, which, according to him, was the common language of the country. It is a curious thing that 13 or 14 years ago it was made a matter of complaint against the English Government that they had imposed the Italian language on the Maltese in their Courts of Law, and that multitudes were brought before the Courts of Law who did not under-

stand the official language that was used in them. As a matter of fact, a very small percentage of the population know any Italian at all. Out of a total population of about 154,000, 24,287, or 16·2 per cent., have some knowledge of English or Italian, or both, and the remaining 125,000, or 83·7 per cent., have no knowledge of either of these languages. The hon. and learned gentleman has covered a somewhat thin argument with a good deal of pleasantry and some rhetoric; he even read in a serio-comic style a speech of His Holiness the Pope.

**MR. T. M. HEALY**: I did not.

\***SIR J. FERGUSSON**: I am in the recollection of the Committee.

**MR. T. M. HEALY**: I claim to reply to the right hon. Gentleman. I rise to a point of order. I submit that the right hon. Gentleman cannot enter into the manner in which I read the statement referred to.

**THE CHAIRMAN**: That is not a point of order; it is one of appreciation of style.

\***SIR J. FERGUSSON**: I should not have ventured to read it in the style of the hon. and learned Member, who also spoke with contempt of a gentleman who was one of the Mission. Whatever else may be said about the Mission, at all events what was done was done in the face of day. Everything was done without secrecy. It was avowed from the first what the object of the Mission was to be, and at the earliest possible date the result of the Conference was submitted to Parliament and made known to the world. There was no intrigue in the matter at all. These were matters of fair negotiation; they were settled on grounds that were avowed, for purposes which the Government were not ashamed of. There was no mystery about the expenses of the Mission; it was a charge upon the Revenues of Malta. In the Constitution Act there was a sum of £1,000 reserved for special purposes at the discretion of the Secretary of State. There have been similar reservations in the cases of some of the colonies, and they have prevented the paralysis of the Executive Government when Legislative Assemblies have thrown out Appropriation Bills. It is in the power of the Secretary of State, under an Act of the English Parliament, to employ this

money for any purpose at his discretion. The Government avow it, and the House can, if it wishes, censure us for misapplying the money. There is no concealment, no intrigue; it is a perfectly open transaction. The hon. and learned Gentleman said the consent of the elective members of the Council of Malta could not be obtained. I have before me the Report of the Debate on the subject, and I find that in a small House, in which there were only 14 elected members, six out of that number voted for the Government. One of these elected members, who cannot be spoken of in the contemptuous terms which the hon. and learned Gentleman applies to those who agree with the Government, made a very able speech indeed in the Debate. He defended the Mission, and pointed out that it would not be in the power of the Council to legislate on the subject until the consent of the Holy See had been obtained. The people of Malta are intensely Catholic and obedient to their superiors, and they would not consent to alter the law of marriage except in accordance with the wishes and views of the Holy See. Was it tolerable, he said, that uncertainty should exist on the subject of marriage? He further said that Malta was the only country where the civil laws were silent upon the subject of marriage, and that Sir Lintorn Simmons, in undertaking this Mission, had done good service to the community of the island. I commend to the hon. and learned Gentleman that speech of one of the elected members of the Council of Malta. The hon. and learned Member has asked why Sir Lintorn Simmons was sent out on this Mission. My answer is that this gentleman was sent out for the purpose of settling most important questions. It is all very well for hon. Members who live in this country under a different system of laws to make light of this matter, but it is a very serious question for the children of those who have been married in a doubtful way. This is not the first time that this subject has arisen. It was discussed in 1865, and it has been considered several times since. The Government have been advised that it is necessary there should be legislation on the question, because the position of so many people in the island is so painfully uncertain. In the case of certain mixed mar-

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riages there must be doubts, and there must also be doubts about the marriages of Nonconformists. The hon. Member for Huddersfield has said that he would make civil marriages compulsory in all cases, but that is not the present law in Malta, and I should like to know how the hon. Member proposes to effect the alteration in the law that he says ought to be made unless the consent of the Holy See can be obtained to it. Does he suppose the Catholic Legislature of Malta will pass such a law? Would the hon. Member for Longford be willing to make civil marriages the rule and religious marriages the exception?

MR. T. M. HEALY: In Ireland the law with regard to marriages is admirable and just, because Catholics can be married as Catholics, whilst Turks and atheist people can be married as such.

\*SIR J. FERGUSSON: Does the hon. and learned Member think such a law would have a chance of passing in Malta? If not, there is a good deal of talk about nothing. The hon. Member spoke about the appointment of bishops, and threw much ridicule on the ordinance of 1838, whereby any prelate or priest was prohibited from holding office in Malta on the appointment of any potentate and without the consent of the British Government. He asked whether that ordinance was still in force. Well, it is unrepealed, but it has never been put in force because the Holy See has never concurred in it. If we lay aside for a moment Party feelings, it must appeal to the common-sense of Parliament that those who hold such high office, and are so much in the affections of their people as the Bishops, should be men who can work for the good of the people and in common with the civil Government. I think that is so self-evident that I need not say any more about it. The hon. and learned Gentleman knows that these questions of burials in churches, the number of foreign ecclesiastics, and other matters were not the primary objects of the Mission. The hon. and learned Gentleman says that Sir Lintorn Simmons began by attacking the clergy for their want of education. But let me point out that the complaint that the clergy were not for the most part well-educated came from the Director of Public Instruction, who is a Roman Catholic, and from the Senate of

the University who are Roman Catholics. You may call it an attack to say that the clergy, though pious and devoted to the care of their flock, have not the knowledge to give reasonable and elementary scientific information. The hon. and learned Gentleman has spoken of the reply of the Vatican to Monsignor Pace. This document has not come into my hands officially, but it was published in Malta as included in the pastoral of the Archbishop.

MR. T. M. HEALY: I asked for it to-day, and I was told that the Government had not got it.

\*SIR J. FERGUSSON: I think my right hon. Friend said it was not in our official possession. I do not, therefore, see how we can lay it before Parliament as an official document.

MR. T. M. HEALY: Is not the right hon. Gentleman an official, and has he not got it?

\*SIR J. FERGUSSON: I have it as published in Malta in Italian, and I have had it translated, and the Committee will see it is in no sense a snub administered to Sir Lintorn Simmons. Writing on June 20th to the Archbishop, Cardinal Rampolla says:—

"I have treated very closely with the Holy Father about the papers addressed to me on the 9th inst., of their contents, as well as with regard to the petition of the Most High Chapter of the same date, accompanying your letter of the 12th. His Holiness is very afflicted for the excitement caused in the island in consequence of the despatches published, and especially to the very offensive bearing of the Liberal Press towards your lordship and the Holy See. The Holy Father highly condemns the dissoluteness to which the Press has given way, which, being urged through passion and political parties, disguises the facts and does its best to throw the whole blame on all that concerns religion. His Holiness has heard with great pleasure the information that you afford on the education of your clergy, which showing their great ability is a safeguard against different comments which have been insinuated through the late disclosures. As, however, on account of the competition to which the clergy is nowadays subjected, and the exigencies of the present time bind the clergy to higher efforts in order to maintain the position which they have ever occupied in the arts and sciences, so the Holy Father from the very beginning of his Pontificate has always taken great interest towards improving the ecclesiastical studies. For the same reason he has tried to make agreements between the Civil Authorities and the seminaries of the island in order to promote scientific as well as material advantages. The irreligious Press gives a false interpretation to his Holiness's wishes, whilst they have been received with

reverence and thankfulness by very flourishing institutes in Rome, in Lovania, and elsewhere as a proof of the anxiety towards their good by the Head of the Church. I impart the above impressions to your lordship for your comfort in your present troubles, and in order that you may explain and remove such misunderstandings, and to assure the Chapter of the good impression arrived at after reading the above-mentioned petition."

\*MR. SUMMERS: Can the right hon. Gentleman read us the edict of the Archbishop?

\*SIR J. FERGUSSON: I will read the Archbishop's letter, which is even more instructive. On June 9, the Archbishop, in writing to the Cardinal, said—

"Following my last letter directed to your Most Reverend Eminence, dated May 21, several copies of the correspondence between Sir L. Simmons and the Vatican have reached here, and I think it my duty to inform you of the great excitement which has been caused to the public by the grave stain of ignorance attributed by the Envoy Extraordinary without any exception to all the clergy of Malta. This bad temper had already manifested itself when, a few months ago, the Report of the Director of Public Instruction for the scholastic year 1888-89 was published, which has served as base, as is inferred from the said correspondence, to the information given to the Holy See; and I had not failed on this occasion to make to the said Director opportune remonstrances for his having interposed in matters of merely ecclesiastical competency with too great humiliation to the pupils of the seminary, whom he compared to the simple Uditori of the Royal University. Certainly, having regard to the present times, it is sufficiently desirable that the instruction of the clergy should be higher and extended to many subjects formerly little cared about. And it is for this reason that I had hardly assumed the government of this diocese before I made it my duty, in a letter of July 4 of last year, to demand counsels and instructions from the Holy See for the reform of the small seminary, proposing for this object the Italian Fathers of the Company of Jesus, who had rendered me immense services in the direction of the Seminary of Gozo."

The Archbishop then spoke of the clergy of Malta, and everybody knows that the Cathedral and beneficed clergy of Malta are distinguished for their piety and often for their theological knowledge.

\*MR. SUMMERS: I referred to the excommunication of three Maltese papers because they had ventured to criticise the Mission of Sir Lintorn Simmons to the Vatican.

\*SIR J. FERGUSSON: I do not know that that proves anything, or shows that Sir L. Simmons was wrong. With regard to the argument as to the appointment of bishops, I believe that it is a

common condition in Catholic countries that the appointment of bishops should have the consent, in some shape or form, of the Government.

MR. T. M. HEALY: This is not a Catholic country.

\*SIR J. FERGUSSON: Malta is a Catholic country, and it is with it that we have to do.

MR. T. M. HEALY: Will you extend that to Ireland?

\*SIR J. FERGUSSON: I will pass over some of what I think the unsuitable language which the hon. and learned Gentleman has condescended to employ with reference to servants of the State. I think that they are entitled to the respect of the public, and that it is rather the individual who depreciates their services in unsuitable language than they, who is lowered thereby. I am sorry that the hon. and learned Member should have taken the opportunity to rake up controversies which I had hoped were getting forgotten. No doubt Party and religious spirit ran high in past times, but the liberty which Catholics enjoy is now acknowledged. In the more careful and argumentative speech of the hon. Member for Huddersfield the Catholic Law of Marriage was the chief point. I would point out that in this country, until the law was changed, the Canon Law was the only law by which irregular marriages could be voided—marriages, for instance, which were voidable for affinity. The hon. Member has referred to an argument which has been used elsewhere, namely, that Malta possesses the Code Rohan, so that it is quite unnecessary to appeal to the Canon Law with regard to marriage. That is an extraordinary misconception. It is quite well known what the Code Rohan is; it is a Code providing for the devolution of property in connection with marriage, and does not contain a word about the marriage ceremony. I happen to have the Report of a case founded on a marriage which took place under the Code Rohan in 1793, which came before the Privy Council in 1882, which shows that the Code has nothing to do with religious ceremonies, for the marriage is stated to have been celebrated by the licence of the Bishop after the grant of a Papal dispensation on account of consanguinity, while the contract in

regard to property is afterwards stated to have been made "according to the laws of the Greeks and Romans." The Civil Law of Malta is silent on the subject of the ceremony, and it is only the law of the Church or settled custom to which we can appeal.

\*MR. SUMMERS: The Code Rohan refers to the most ancient custom of the island and the usage of the Greeks and the Romans, and, not to the Canon Law.

\*SIR J. FERGUSSON: Yes, the Code refers to the Greek and Roman customs, but with reference to property; it has nothing to do with the ceremony of marriages. With regard to the argument of the hon. Member for Huddersfield as to custom, I have the authority of a high Member of the Government of Malta for saying that no mixed marriage—no marriage between a Protestant and a Roman Catholic—was ever known to have taken place by the Governor's licence except through incorrect representations, through a false declaration that there was no impediment. If, for instance, a Protestant soldier is going to be married to a Maltese Roman Catholic girl by a Protestant minister, he cannot get a licence without making an incorrect representation, and placing any children of the marriage in a very undesirable position. A suggestion has been made that civil marriages should be the rule, and that the ecclesiastical ceremony should follow; but we have to take the actual conditions of life in the island into account, and to deal with the people as they live. The people of Malta are undoubtedly greatly attached to their religion, and will hear of no measures that tamper with it, and it would be impossible to deal with Malta on the lines suggested, except by an exertion of Imperial power which would set aside the Council. Hon. Members may rest assured that the matter will not be allowed to rest, and I hope that when the people of Malta understand the question better, and when some of the suspicion and exaggeration thrown over the question have been swept away, they will see that there is no intention to tamper either with their nationality or their religion, but only a desire to remove doubts in regard to marriage which operate to their disadvantage, and to raise the *status* of their clergy.

*Sir J. Fergusson*



(11.14.) **MR. ATKINSON** (Boston): I do not understand why the hon. and learned Member for Longford so positively addressed himself to me during his speech. If he moves a reduction of the Vote on account of the Mission, he will find me supporting him in the Lobby. We are told by the Under Secretary that we are dealing with a Catholic country, and that we ought to continue the Canon Law. That I repudiate. I do not think that we, as Protestant Members of Parliament, ought to be called on.

**MR. T. M. HEALY**: We are not Protestant Members of Parliament.

**MR. ATKINSON**: Then as Members of a Protestant Parliament.

**MR. T. M. HEALY**: No!

**MR. ATKINSON**: Then, as Members of the Parliament of a Protestant country, we ought not to be called on to do that. I should, however, like to explain the grounds on which I intend to vote. If I had two evils presented to me, one of which I must accept, I should accept the lesser of the two. If, for instance, I had the choice of either delivering Ireland over to be governed by the hon. Member for North Longford and his friends, or of supporting the Government on this question, I should say the former alternative was a gigantic evil, and I should vote for the Government. I would give an anti-Protestant vote, and I think I should be perfectly consistent in doing so. What I said on the hustings I still adhere to, that is, that there are certain questions I put before questions as between Conservatism and Liberalism, and one of these is Protestantism. Nor can any imputation lie against me that this is conduct unworthy of a Member of a British Parliament. Allusion has been made to a so-called Wesleyan Conference. It was not a Conference, but it was a dinner for the purpose of promoting the election of a gentleman to an official position on the Committee of privileges of the Wesleyan Body. I was not present, but had I been asked I should have attended and have expressed my sentiments before the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Wolverhampton was called on to deliver his. I can only regret that neither that right hon. Gentleman nor the right hon.

Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian is now present, for ever since the dinner I have sought an opportunity to give utterance in their presence to my views on the subject. I also regret that no Members of the Wesleyan Methodist Body are now sitting among hon. Members opposite.

**MR. PICKARD** (York, W.R., Normanton): The hon. Member is mistaken.

**MR. ATKINSON**: Oh, yes, there is one Gentleman present. I believe I was the first to arouse the Government to a sense of their duty on this subject by a question which I put in this House. It appears to me hon. Gentlemen opposite are only prepared to advocate the reform of abuses when they require a cry for the hustings. I hope the time will not arrive when the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, a Member of a Protestant Government, will be able to guarantee the carrying out of the Canon Law on the subject of marriage. We do not wish for the interference of the Pope in regard to marriages—whether mixed or unmixed—in Malta any more than in this country.

\*(11.24.) **MR. SYDNEY GEDGE**: I wish, as a Protestant to the backbone, to explain the reasons why I shall support the Government, who have acted in the best way for the interests of morality and true religion. The hon. and learned Member for Longford charged Sir Lintorn Simmons with misrepresentation for saying that the Pope recognises that the Church is free and unfettered in this country, and that liberty prevails. The hon. and learned Member says the Pope could not have used these words, as they are so far from the fact. But on the next page I find that in the official summary of the speech of the Pope, prepared by Cardinal Rampolla, it is said—

“He spoke also of the submission and obedience which these subjects give to the civil laws, and, as he had done on a similar occasion at the time of his sacerdotal jubilee, he rejoiced at the liberty and peace guaranteed to the faithful in all parts of the British Empire.”

**MR. T. M. HEALY**: Liberty which has been won.

\*MR. SYDNEY GEDGE: That was not the point. There is no occasion to refer to the past unless one is actuated by the mischievous and diabolical spirit which delights to arouse animosity. I put it to the Committee, and to the hon. Member for Longford himself, whether the words I have read do not clearly show that Sir Lintorn Simmons did not misrepresent the speech of the Pope. It is unnecessary for one who holds Protestant opinions, and who, to a certain extent, may be said to represent the Low Church Party in the Church of England, to excuse himself for rising to rebut the attack made on the Government. I notice that the newspapers representing the Low Church Party have alluded to this Mission to the Pope in terms of disparagement. One has said that "the Government represents Conservatism as divorced from Protestantism," and another journal (styled not inappropriately the *British Weekly*) representing some body of Dissenters, says that the Mission, "like Dr. Johnson's leg of mutton, was ill-bred, ill-fed, ill-killed, ill-kept, ill-dressed;" that it was "conceived in secrecy and sin and brought forth in open iniquity." From those opinions I, as a Low Churchman, entirely dissent. It is remarkable that there is not a single ex-Cabinet Minister present on the Front Opposition Bench. The right hon. Member for Mid Lothian, whose post-prandial utterances have been referred to, reminds me much of the little boy in *Punch*, who wrote "No Popery" on the wall and promptly ran away. Where is the right hon. Gentleman, and where is the Wesleyan Member for Wolverhampton? The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian is not very much of a Protestant, yet he objects to this Mission "as a very great novelty in British history." That may be the line taken up by the *British Weekly*, but why the right hon. Gentleman should object to a Mission to the Pope I cannot conceive. I will not condescend to use the *tu quoque* argument with regard to him. The moral

Code he draws up was well set forth in the first article of the *Times* newspaper this morning, and I will only say that, at all events, this Mission was an open one, whilst his Mission to the Pope was in secret. The right hon. Gentleman would make out that it is perfectly legitimate for him to steal a horse, whilst we may not even buy one in the open market. Why should not England send a Mission to the Pope? We send Missions to the Porte, but we do not therefore become Mahomedans. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian says it was all very well to send a Mission to the Pope when he was a temporal sovereign. He reminds us that the Pope is no longer a temporal prince, and says—

"You go as near as you can to making a declaration that the Pope is still a temporal prince—and that he has the right of temporal dominion—Italy and the nationality of Italy must shift for themselves. What an attempt to sow discord."

He has tried to stir up hatred between Italy and England, because on this one occasion England has sent an open embassy to the Pope—a Mission to which Italy in no way objects. Does he forget that on the occasion of the Pope's sacerdotal jubilee special envoys were accredited to the Pope by other nations, and that they have had Embassies at the Vatican ever since 1870, when he lost his temporal power? Has Italy objected to these diplomatic relations? Did these Missions compel Italy and her nationality to shift for themselves? But why was it necessary to send a Mission to the Pope? It seems to me that the course of the Government is as clear as noonday. There were several changes desired in Malta, and, as hon. Members are aware, there is in that island a Representative Council, consisting of 14 elected Members, and six nominees of the Crown. It is evident that the Government cannot force through that Council any measure unless it has the consent of the majority of the Members. There was a very interesting article by Mr. F. W. Rowsell, in the *Nineteenth Century*, in August, 1878, describing from an intimate knowledge of the subject the condition of matters in Malta. He said, amongst other things—

"The *ultima ratio* of everything is the Church's permission to do or forbear. The

most instructed and Liberal Maltese, however qualified to exercise the quality of detachment of mind, fails to use this gift, in the presence, or at the bidding of Church Authority."

It is plain, therefore, that unless you can secure the influence of the Church you cannot obtain changes in the law through the Elective Council. There is no subject in which the Church of Rome takes such a great interest as that of marriage; and the present law, which is exceedingly doubtful as to the validity of mixed marriages, and as to the validity of Protestant marriages in Malta, cannot be altered without a declaration from the Pope that such an alteration may be made. The Chief Justice of Malta stated that these marriages had received for many years such a degree of recognition as amounted to custom, and were, in his opinion, valid—a nice substratum for such a contract as marriage, on which the happiness of families, the position of wives, and the rights of children depend. The Government wished to make this certain. Surely marriage is a thing about which there should be no question whatever, and, therefore, it was necessary that the law of Malta should be altered. What can be the danger to religion and liberty in going to the Pope and asking him to give an opinion which shall influence the minds of the Representative Council to pass a law to legalise marriages not solemnised in accordance with the Council of Trent? We are told that we have gone to the Pope, cap in hand, to obtain a great concession, and, therefore, have thrown away our religious liberty, but surely we have done the opposite, and have given liberty to Protestants to contract marriages in Malta. Another point on which it was necessary to obtain his view was the education of the people. I understand that they know nothing but Maltese; that very few families can speak 10 sentences in either the Italian or the English language, and that the country priests positively are so ignorant that they were not even aware that they had a Representative Council in the island 20 years after that Council had been constituted. The Maltese, as a matter of fact, have a language which has not even

been reduced to writing, and has no grammar, no dictionary, and no literature of any kind, and yet the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian denounces the order to teach English in the clerical seminaries as a blow struck at Maltese nationality. I think it is most desirable that those people should learn the English language—the language of the Empire to which they belong. I do not remember the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian ever objecting to Hindoos and Mahomedans being taught the English language. In order to secure these advantages in Malta, the Government have given up the patronage of a few small livings, and endowments belonging to those livings will be applied to the teaching of English in the seminaries. I think that we Protestants have shown more courtesy to the Head of the Roman Catholic Church than the action taken by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian and some of his Roman Catholic followers in this House. The whole *gravamen* of the charge made against the Government is that they are giving to the Pope some promised compensation for the part he took last year with regard to Ireland, when by a papal rescript he brought to the minds of his Irish religious subjects the duties imposed upon them by the sixth, eighth, and tenth Commandments. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian tells us that the Pope fulminated a rescript against the Nationalists of Ireland. It was a rescript against boycotting, which the Pope did not describe, however, in language anything like so severe as the language used at another time by the right hon. Gentleman himself. It is the Irish Roman Catholic Members, not we Protestants, who blame the Pope for this excellent rescript in favour of the Ten Commandments, and charge him with having been bribed to do so; and it is the right hon. Gentleman who thus identifies the Irish policy with the breach of those commandments.

\*(11.45.) MR. H. J. WILSON (York, W.R., Holmfirth): The speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary may have been very good from a diplomatic point of view because we have



learned nothing from it. I claim to be a Protestant to the backbone as much as the last speaker. Having listened to the speech of the right hon. Gentleman with great interest, I defy any plain ordinary man in this House to know what is the meaning of the whole thing. What was the need for sending this Mission at all, and what object was served by Captain Ross's presence? With a number of matters of detail I do not think we need concern ourselves. If the Maltese clergy are as ignorant as has been represented so much the worse for the people under their charge. But I want to know what right have we, who are claiming religious liberty for everybody, to interfere in the question as to whether the Pope approves certain marriages in Malta or not? Why is it not possible to have in Malta, as in other parts of the British Dominions, civil marriages, and if the Roman Catholic population, under the influence of their priests, like to accept the Pope's opinions and directions, let them do so. We have nothing to do with that. The right hon. Gentleman said that none of these mixed marriages could have taken place without misrepresentation, but he did not tell us whose business it was to prevent that misrepresentation. Surely it was not supposed that our soldiers in Malta were to know all about the Council of Trent, and similar matters, and we have not been told who took care to prevent mistakes on their part, which it is now thought fit to call misrepresentation. I think we have been very badly used indeed by the Government in this matter. The right hon. Gentleman has, after all, never told us what is the result of the whole business—what children will be made legitimate and what will not be made legitimate under the new arrangement. Clouds of confusion have been thrown around the whole question. We have not had a clear statement of what has actually been done, or what is going to be done in the future, and I say that the whole thing comes very badly from the Ministers of a Party belonging to a Church which claims to be the bulwark of Protestantism.

*Mr. H. J. Wilson*

(11.48.) MR. LABOUCHERE (Northampton): The hon. Gentleman the Member for Stockport has expressed his surprise at the absence of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian. Well, I am not surprised, because, of course, the right hon. Gentleman is perfectly well aware that he cannot hope to contend with the criticisms of the hon. Member for Stockport. He knew, no doubt, that the hon. Member had been reading an article in some Review, and that, with the information so obtained, he entertained the intention of coming down to the House to crush and pulverise him. I think the right hon. Gentleman has shown that discretion is the better part of valour, and that he was quite wise to stay away. Now, what surprised me was the way in which the hon. Member took the Pope under his protection. I could not understand it at first, but it dawned upon me when I found he regarded him as a brother Pontiff. The hon. Member for Stockport told us that he represented the Low Church Party. I should like to know where he got his mandate from, for I venture to say that nine-tenths of the Low Church Party never heard of the hon. Gentleman in any other capacity except in his legal aspect in connection with the London School Board. We have also had a speech from the Protestant Member for Boston. I want to understand what he is going to do. He said that he told his constituents that he was Protestant first and Tory afterwards, but he has such a horror of the possibility of Nationalism prevailing in Ireland that he is absolutely going to sacrifice his Protestantism in order to support the Government in this matter. What I want to know is, why on earth the Government have got in this mess. Why did they not let the question alone? The only explanation is that it is some sort of fatality which dogs the footsteps of these gentlemen, and makes them rush into all sorts of absurdities, such as compensation at home and Missions to the Pope abroad. I shall not be certain what really led to the Mission until we have the Papers before us which

are now promised in regard to the previous Mission of the Duke of Norfolk. If some sort of understanding was then come to in regard to Ireland, then I can perfectly understand that this Mission was nothing but a blind—that it was intended to keep up relations with the Vatican in order that the latter might come to the aid of hon. and right hon. Gentlemen opposite to crush out Nationalism in Ireland. What has been the effect of these proceedings? The effect has been that your Mission has positively bastardised a large number of the children of Her Majesty's subjects in Malta. You agreed to bring in a Bill as soon as possible to restore to these persons their civil rights, but you have not done so. The right hon. Gentleman certainly told us that he hoped that it would be brought in some day, but the fact remains that this agreement with the Pope was entered into in January last, and absolutely nothing has been done during the last eight months. I do not understand that any step whatever has been taken by the Government to bring in this Bill, and I hope that out of consideration for these unfortunate children it will be introduced as soon as possible.

(11.51.) MR. T. M. HEALY: We certainly did expect some reply from the right hon. Baronet, but he has made none. He has made a number of charges against me, not one of which has any foundation. He said that I spoke with contempt of Captain Ross, of Bladensburg, and of Sir Lintorn Simmons. Well, I entertain contempt for them. I asked who is Captain Ross, and what the mischief he was doing at Rome, and we have not got any answer to that question. All we are told is that when an honorary officer has acted in our service, he ought to be spoken of in an honourable manner. Now, is Mr. Ross, of Bladensburg, an officer? Is he in full pay? Is he employed by the Government, or is he on half pay? Does he get a share of this £1,280, or is he serving the State for nothing? I want an answer to those points, and yet when

I demand it I am told that I am speaking with disrespect of him. I rejoin that I feel disrespect for him, and why should I not do so? If Mr. Ross, of Bladensburg, is a Cavalry officer, let him look after his horses. If he is an Artillery officer, let him look after his guns; and if he belongs to the Infantry, let him see to the conduct of his soldiers. But I should like to know what on earth he has to do with Canon Law? We have not got an answer to any of these questions. What right, I want to know, had Captain Ross at this private audience which Sir Lintorn Simmons was granted by the Pope? Why was he not with his regiment? If the Secretary for War were present in his place I should ask him if this man was absent on leave, and for what purpose the leave of absence was granted him. I may respect Captain Ross as a soldier—for I dote on the military—but as a diplomatist I have my own views about him, for I think he made an awful mess of the affair. I want to know, again, what he was doing at Rome? One other matter. You declare by the mouth of Sir Lintorn Simmons that the Pope spoke of the admirable liberty enjoyed by his Church in the Queen's dominions. Yet you say that the Catholics of Ireland must be satisfied with the marriage laws which prevail in that country. Surely what is good enough for the Irish should be good enough for the Maltese, and what is good enough for the Archbishop of Dublin should suffice for the Bishop of Gozo. You have declared that His Holiness is satisfied with the liberty which prevails throughout Her Majesty's dominions. I say that out of your own mouths you are giving away your own case. In Ireland you do not believe that a Catholic is fit to act as a juror in a criminal case. I should like to know now why there has been this long delay in introducing the project of law which has been promised. Eight months have elapsed since the promise was made. The Maltese Council has been sitting during that period, and now you have adjourned it *sine die*. By your Act you have created a number of illegitimate children, and the project of law which you promised the Pope last January, in order to relieve them of their disabilities,

is not yet forthcoming. The hon. Member for Stockport said that a painful state of things was prevailing in this matter. Who is responsible for that? It is yourselves who must be blamed. You have got the Ordinance of 1838. Why have you not enforced it? For 50 years the law has been allowed to remain in abeyance. Why have you not repealed it? If this is really a Government of law and order, why have you allowed it to remain in abeyance? I say we have had no satisfactory explanation from the Government to-night. How long are these unfortunate people to remain illegitimatised? Hon. Members opposite strongly object to this discussion being continued; but I say we will not allow it to close until we are told how soon the unhappy offspring of these people are to have their position regularised. This is a serious thing for them, for it may affect their rights to property.

\*(12.5.) **SIR J. FERGUSSON**: The project of law, as has been stated elsewhere, has been under the careful consideration of the Government, to whom it was referred by the Government of Malta. A matter of this importance requires careful consideration, in view of the amount of bad blood caused in Malta by misrepresentations of this question.

(12.6.) **MR. T. M. HEALY**: That amounts to a declaration that the Maltese do not want the project of law. You begin with a declaration that you are anxious to satisfy the consciences of the Catholic people, and now you tell us that this matter has created so much ill-blood that you dare not propose the Bill in the Council of Malta. That is the declaration of the Government made eight months after they promised to bring in the Bill. These are the words of a Government who profess to be so anxious for the souls of the Maltese people, so anxious to quiet their consciences and to regularise their marriages that they dare not show the people of Malta the cards they have up their sleeves: they dare not let them know what it is they propose for their benefit. You have sown confusion in the minds of the people, and now, after the Mission to the Vatican is over, you dare not produce

*Mr. T. M. Healy*

your project of law. This shows strongly the bad faith in which the Mission was undertaken. It was not sent in the interests of the Maltese, but it was sent, as I have said before, with the object of injuring the Nationalists of Ireland.

(12.9.) **DR. TANNER** (Cork Co., Mid): I happen to be a Protestant, although I am a member of the Nationalist Party, and I want to know if the Government are going to adhere to the terms of their engagement. From what we have learnt this evening I think the action of the Government indisputably unsatisfactory. Every point raised by my hon. Friend has been fenced with and carefully avoided, and we have not had a distinct answer. Knowing the influences brought to bear on the Government hostile to the Catholics in all parts of the globe it is inexplicable to me how the Government came to send this Mission, and I am equally puzzled to understand why we cannot now get a distinct answer to our question. We shall raise this question again on the Colonial Vote, for the Government have hedged and skulked in this Debate. Their shuffling dissimulation—I may not, and am not going to, call it lying—

**THE CHAIRMAN**: Order, order! The hon. Member cannot avoid the Forms of the House in that way.

**DR. TANNER**: Then I will say the dissimulation of the Government in this matter has been so mean and of so pure and transparent a character that I thank goodness they have adopted this plan of showing their miserable and infamous position.

(12.11.) The Committee divided:—Ayes 62; Noes 109.—(Div. List, No. 244.)

Original Question again proposed.

(12.22.) **MR. LABOUCHERE**: I want to put a question as to Arabi Pasha and his friends. The Government have received a Petition accompanied by a medical certificate, stating that the health of these gentlemen and of their ladies and families is bad, and they request that they may be allowed to return to Egypt on giving a pledge to act in entire conformity with the law. In lieu of that permission being



given they ask to be moved to a place where the climate is more suitable for them. Considering their exemplary conduct during their detention in Ceylon I hope some arrangement will be made whereby their health may not suffer.

\*(12.24.) **SIR J. FERGUSSON**: It is true that the climate of Ceylon is unfavourable to the health of these exiles, and the Government have under consideration the question of moving them to a place more suited to their constitutions.

**MR. LABOUCHERE**: Of course the House will be consulted?

\***SIR J. FERGUSSON**: I can assure the hon. Gentleman the Government have every desire to place them where their health will not suffer.

(12.25.) **SIR W. LAWSON** (Cumberland, Cockermouth): Egypt is now peaceful and contented. What is the objection to letting them return there?

**MR. CONYBEARE** (Cornwall, Camborne): At whose expense are they being kept in Ceylon? Would it not be more economical to send them back to their native land?

\*(12.26.) **SIR J. FERGUSSON**: They have an allowance paid to them by the Egyptian Government. We are bound to consult the wishes of that Government in this matter; and if it is of opinion that the events of 1883 are so recent as to render undesirable the return of these gentlemen to Egypt, I think we must abide by its decision.

\*(12.27.) **CAPTAIN VERNEY** (Bucks, N.): In order to take the sense of the House on the question of Madagascar, I propose to move the reduction of the Vote. I wish to draw the attention of the Committee to only one or two points. In the first place, this is a Naval question, and if the French get, as sooner or later they will, the entire control of all the harbours of the island, it will be a very serious thing for us. Lord Palmerston over and over again declared that the French must not be allowed to get possession of these harbours, and that the utmost they are entitled to is a small island on the north-east coast. Then I

object to the provision that British Consuls on the island must apply to the French Consul General for their *exequatur*. Surely they ought to obtain them from the English Consul General. It was a pure oversight that a Division on this question was not taken early in the evening, for it is one of very general interest, as hon. Members will find when they read their papers in the morning.

Motion made, and Question put, "That Item A (Salaries), be reduced by £50, part of the Salary of the Secretary of State."—(*Captain Verney*.)

(12.28.) The Committee divided:—Ayes 51; Noes 102.—(Div. List, No. 245.)

Original Question again proposed.

(12.35.) **DR. CLARK** (Caithness): There is one point upon which I should like to have a more decided answer from the Under Secretary. There is a good deal of feeling in South Africa just now, and you have an extraordinary condition of things, a vote of censure passed upon Ministers by the Parliament there. I wish to point out the very unsatisfactory character of the answers given by the First Lord of the Treasury and the Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs. In the beginning of May, when it leaked out that Her Majesty's Government were making an Agreement with Germany, the hon. Member for Huddersfield asked the First Lord if Her Majesty's Government had been in communication with the Government at the Cape, and the right hon. Gentleman answered that there had been such communications. Further, in answer to my hon. Friend the Member for West Edinburgh, the Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs stated that Her Majesty's Government would place themselves in communication with the Cape Ministry. Now, as a matter of fact, these statements were not accurate. No communications whatever were made to the Cape Ministry, and both the late Ministry there and the present Ministry are very indignant in reference to the matter. When, subsequently, the Under Secretary was again

asked a question, he replied that the reason why Her Majesty's Government had not been in communication with the Cape Government—and this after we had been told there would be, and that there had been, such communications—was that the Cape Government were not interested in any of the territory with which the Agreement was concerned. As a matter of fact, this is not correct either. As I pointed out, Walfisch Bay belongs to the Cape Government, and there is a special clause in the Convention for the delimitation of that territory. But up to the last moment there had been no communication from Her Majesty's Government to the Cape Government on the subject. Now this is really a very serious matter, and I should like to have a direct answer. When the question of delimitation comes up for decision, will the Cape Government be consulted on the question of delimitation or arbitration?

\*(12.40.) **SIR J. FERGUSSON:** There is no question of ceding territory in Walfisch Bay; it is simply a question of the line of demarcation to be drawn. If I recollect rightly, some two or three years ago, when there was a question of sending a Commission there, the Cape Government declined to be a party to it.

**DR. CLARK:** They have authority; they have a Magistrate there.

\***SIR J. FERGUSSON:** I am quite sure the interests of the Cape Government will be consulted in the matter, but I am not entitled to give any specific pledge as to the manner.

(12.41.) **MR. CONYBEARE:** In connection with the territory around Walfisch Bay, I should ask whether the Government will take care to have the German Hinterland doctrine properly respected?

\***MR. SUMMERS:** When I put the question to the First Lord, whether any communications had passed between the Government, the High Commissioner, and the Cape Government, in reference to the Anglo-German Agreement, the right hon. Gentleman replied that various communications had taken place between  
*Dr. Clark*

the Home Government and the Government of the Cape Colony, but they were of a confidential character, the effect of which it was not desirable to state while negotiations were going on. Subsequently, however, the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs stated that no communications had passed between the Home Government and the Government at the Cape. Can the right hon. Gentleman give us any explanation in reference to this discrepancy?

\*(12.42.) **MR. W. H. SMITH:** I am not able to add anything to the statement I made on that occasion. I said that communications had passed between the Home Government and the High Commissioner. I did not intend to state that they were communications between the Home Government and the Cape Government.

\***MR. SUMMERS:** The right hon. Gentleman said there were some communications with the Cape Government of a confidential character, the effect of which it was undesirable to state. Can the right hon. Gentleman now tell us what was the nature of those communications?

\***MR. W. H. SMITH:** No, Sir, I cannot.

**DR. CLARK:** This reply is very unsatisfactory. The Government will not keep the loyalty of a self-governing colony if they treat a Colonial Government in this fashion. I think you might consider their susceptibilities in a matter affecting their own territory. You might at least ask them, as a matter of courtesy, to take part in the delimitation. I beg to move a reduction of £20 in the salary of the Under Secretary, in order to protest against the answer he has given.

(12.46.) Motion made, and Question, "That Item A (Salaries), be reduced by £20, part of the Salary of the Under Secretary of State,"—(*Dr. Clark*),—put, and negatived.

Original Question put, and agreed to.

2. £27,193, for House of Lords Offices.

\*(12.49.) **MR. BRADLAUGH** (Northampton): I want on this Vote to ask

the Attorney General whether he can give any explanation as to what has been done, if anything, by the Lord Chancellor with reference to the Justices of the Peace, whose conduct was criticised in the interim Report of the Commission appointed to inquire into the affairs of the Macclesfield Trustee Savings Bank? Several persons were implicated, but I will take only one as an illustration. A Justice of the Peace, named Eaton, was specially reported on as having by his conduct contributed to the frauds. It is said that he constantly absented himself from the Bank during business hours; that he made no arrangements to supply his place, or to secure any check on the two clerks who remained; that the alterations in the ledger were reported to him, and he took no action to discover or punish the offender; that erasures made in the books of the bank were reported to him, but he took no action respecting them; that he actually made erasures in the books of the Bank himself, and that in order to make the books square he posted an amount from a book called the dirty book. Of this last proceeding the Inspector said that the posting of the sum was deliberately dishonest. On one other point I have a question to ask. Perhaps the Attorney General will be able to give us some assurance that some new policy will be pursued in reference to the Bills for naturalisation, as I find that the matter really rests with the Lord Chancellor, who signifies the Queen's consent, without which the Bill cannot proceed.

\*(12.52.) **SIR R. WEBSTER:** The hon. Member was so courteous as to inform me he was going to raise the question of the Macclesfield Savings Bank. I have communicated with the Lord Chancellor, and he desires me to state that he has most carefully considered the whole question and personally examined the evidence. He does not take the view that the findings of the learned Commissioner were altogether justified by the evidence. He does not think he would himself have taken so strong a view as the learned Commissioner did in respect of some of the findings. He

desires me to say there was evidence of carelessness and neglect on the part of both Mr. Eaton and Mr. Stringer, one of the other Magistrates referred to. There was, however, nothing to show that Eaton had obtained any money by virtue of his careless management, although no doubt his conduct was such as ought not to have been pursued. After careful consideration the Lord Chancellor did not feel justified in taking the extreme step of removing the names of either Eaton or Stringer from the Commission of the Peace. With regard to the question of the Naturalisation Bills, I think there have been seven or eight in the course of the last four or five years. I do not wish to express any opinion on them, but I think it right to say it seems to me that the mere question of convenience ought certainly not to be sufficient to sanction Private Naturalisation Bills where there is no special object to be gained. The matter, no doubt, will be further considered by the Lord Chancellor, and I think it probable that some more stringent rule will be laid down.

\*(12.55.) **MR. BRADLAUGH:** With reference to the question of naturalisation, nothing could be more satisfactory than the hon. and learned Gentleman's answer. I feel some difficulty, however, in accepting the explanation with reference to the two Justices of the Peace connected with the Macclesfield Savings Bank. I am really a little puzzled to understand how the Lord Chancellor can have come to the opinion that the Report was too strong. Bearing in mind the evidence as to posting the balance from the dirty book in order to make the accounts tally, so as to deceive the auditors, and remembering that this is proved by the testimony of unimpeachable witnesses, and by the admission of Mr. Eaton himself, and that the Commissioner says the posting of the item was deliberately dishonest, I cannot understand how a gentleman of this kind can have been left on the Commission of the Peace. Mr. Eaton admitted that he was personally aware of the erasures which were made in the books by the persons who stole the money. I cannot



understand how the Lord Chancellor can have passed that over. There were alterations in the books, and this Magistrate made an illegal deposit himself and made the books balance. The Commissioner who held the inquiry made eight or nine distinct allegations against Mr. Eaton. How this can be passed over I cannot understand. I will not at this period of the Session bring about a long discussion on it, but I give the right hon. Gentleman notice that next year I will raise the question, as I consider it a disgrace to the Bench that this gentleman should continue to sit upon it.

**\*(12.59.)** **SIR R. WEBSTER:** In consequence of the observations the hon. Member has made I wish to say that the Lord Chancellor was not satisfied with some of the questions which the Commissioners put to the witnesses.

**\*MR. BRADLAUGH:** A Commissioner charged with the duty of investigating Savings Banks frauds acts not as if he were a Judge on a trial in a case in which a person accused of an offence must have the facts brought against him proved by strict evidence. He acts simply as a Commissioner, his object being to find out the truth. I am not asking that Mr. Eaton should be indicted, but I say that having made this statement it is evident that he is not a fit person to be on the Bench.

**(1.1)** **MR. CONYBEARE:** The explanation of the hon and learned Gentleman the Attorney General is of the lamest description. It amounts to this, that these answers implicating this Magistrate are not to be relied upon as evidence against him, owing to improper questions having been put by the Commissioner delegated to investigate the matter. The object of the inquiry was to ascertain who was guilty of fraud, and if the Commissioner used the means best calculated to discover the perpetrators of the frauds he is not to be blamed because he was a little more zealous than he was expected to be, and did not spare those in high places who were the most guilty. The case seems to me to resolve itself into a simple dilemma. Here you have a gentleman entrusted

*Mr. Bradlaugh*

with the most solemn duties, who is apparently implicated in a fraudulent transaction. The only alternative to dishonesty is abject folly, and I would put it to the learned Attorney General, Is it desirable to have either knaves or fools on the Bench? Either these men were knaves or they were not. If they were, and after what I have heard I strongly suspect this to be the case, they are unfit to administer justice on the Bench. If they were not, then they were fools, and I ask, are we at this time of day to be content with having justice administered on the Bench by men who, if they are not knaves, are fools? If you keep men of this kind on the Bench how can you expect their decisions to be respected? I strongly suspect that if these cases were thoroughly sifted, it would be found that the Lord Chancellor's leniency is owing to the fact that these gentlemen are Tories. ["Oh, oh!"] It is all very well for the Attorney General to say "Oh, oh" and "impossible," but we know the record of the Lord Chancellor, and I should not be surprised to find that these gentlemen were Tories of the deepest hue. At any rate, it is a proof of the incompetency of the Lord Chancellor that he has not removed these gentlemen.

**(1.7.)** **DR. TANNER:** There are two or three points which require explanation before the Vote is passed. I always rejoice to see economies practised by a Tory Administration; but I find that instead of beginning at the top of the tree, and cutting off exaggerated salaries, Her Majesty's Government commence at the lower end of the list. I should like to ask how it comes to pass that whilst there is no reduction made in the salary of the Lord Chancellor, who receives £4,000 a year for sitting in the Upper House for a short time four days a week, there is a reduction in the amount paid to housemaids, whose salaries are only 10s. a week? How is it that the item for this class of servants is only £299, whereas it was £433 last year? Does not the House of Lords require cleaning? I think it does, with plenty of soap and water, and plenty of strong alkali powerfully applied. Then, again, in the case of messengers, whose salaries



range from £70 to £170 a year, I find that the amount of the Vote has been cut down, although the number of these men is still the same, namely seven. Why do the Government strike at these people, and leave all the higher salaries alone? They pose as economists, and all the time they are trying to put more weight on the poor in their employ. I find here a Receiver of Parliamentary Office Fees, and the salary attached to the office £600. How is that? Last year the amount was only £350. What is the meaning of the increase? I think it is our duty to look into these matters [*Cries of "Divide!"*] I am trying to save time if hon. Members were not too dense to see it. I desire to deal with a number of items at once so as to avoid the necessity of rising several times. I find that the Examiner of Standing Orders receives £964 this year, whereas he only received £900 last year. I think if the Government wished to satisfy the minds of the people who look into these items they could do so by explaining all these points in marginal notes. [*Cries of "Divide!"*] The Attorney General should remember that I come from Ireland, and that intimidation is against the Coercion Law.

COLONEL SANDYS (Lancashire, S.W., Bootle): I rise to order, and wish to ask you, Mr. Courtney, whether the hon. Member is not trifling with the House?

THE CHAIRMAN: I am bound to say that although the hon. Member seems to wish to give the impression that he has studied these Estimates he does not appear to have brought a very keen intelligence to bear upon them. He referred to the Accountant as having had his salary increased, but he omitted to note that the office of Assistant Accountant has been abolished and that though the Accountant has had his salary increased the expenditure is less than it was originally on the two officials.

DR. TANNER: I always receive what comes from you, Sir, with the utmost and deepest respect.

THE CHAIRMAN: Order, order!

DR. TANNER: I have made a mistake as to the Accountant, but as to the

messengers and the Examiner of Standing Orders, perhaps we may have some explanation.

SIR R. WEBSTER: I happen to know in reference to the messengers that one of them having died a junior was appointed. As to the examiner, I believe the increase is the ordinary increase. As to the other matter, I know nothing about it.

(1.16.) DR. TANNER: And in the absence of knowledge we are to pass the Vote. Next year, should the present Chancellor of the Exchequer be in office, as I hope he may not be, nor have I reason to expect it, I hope these matters will be dealt with in a more satisfactory manner.

Vote agreed to.

3. Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £34,523, be granted to Her Majesty to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1891, for the Salaries and Expenses in the Offices of the House of Commons."

(1.19.) DR. CLARK: I should like to know how long we are to continue? Is it not the intention of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to move for the appointment of the Committee on the financial relations of the three Kingdoms? I move to report Progress.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again." — (*Dr. Clark.*)

\*(1.19.) THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. GOSCHEN, St. George's, Hanover Square): I trust the Committee will agree to continue for a little time longer. As compared with our former habits we have not reached a very advanced hour, and I do not think these Votes we are now approaching are of a contentious character.

(1.20.) MR. LABOUCHERE: Upon the Home Office Vote I understand hon. Members desire to raise some points of interest. This Vote, I think, might be taken.

(1.20.) MR. CONYBEARE: I hope we may be permitted to go on with this Vote. There are one or two points I



desire to mention, but they will not, I think, raise a long discussion. Upon the Home Office Vote, however, important questions as to mining inspection will arise.

(1.21.) MR. SEXTON: Does the Chancellor of the Exchequer intend to move the appointment of the Financial Relations Committee to-night?

\*MR. GOSCHEN: No.

MR. SEXTON: Then may I ask why not? This Motion has been standing for some weeks. Does the right hon. Gentleman appreciate the importance of the Committee having one meeting in order to arrange the method of their proceedings and to give directions to officials to prepare the necessary statements? If not to-night, when is it the intention to move for the Committee?

\*(1.22.) MR. GOSCHEN: I can only repeat what I have all along said, that I am very anxious for the appointment of the Committee, and I would ask the hon. Member to assist us by helping forward the Estimates. The Estimates are of pressing importance, and if we cannot induce the Committee to sit late to proceed with these I do not think I can ask the House to sit for other business. I hope we may take the Motion for the Committee to-morrow, but I cannot pledge myself until we make further progress with Supply.

MR. PICKERSGILL (Bethnal Green, S.W.): Does the right hon. Gentleman consent to the postponement of the Home Office Vote?

\*MR. GOSCHEN: Yes; we postpone that, and ask the Committee to make progress with other Votes.

(1.23.) SIR G. CAMPBELL: I think the Government are under a pledge to take the Votes in order, and not to dodge up and down. I hope that engagement will be adhered to.

\*MR. GOSCHEN: Surely the Committee is free to postpone a Vote when it appears for the general interest to do so?

MR. T. M. HEALY: The Committee is impatient with my hon. Friend. For my part, I hope we shall take the House of Commons Vote to-night. But, Sir,  
*Mr. Conynbears*

there are bores on the other side of the House. We have been subject to interruptions to-night from the Members on the other side, and I give the hon. Baronet (Sir R. Fowler) fair notice that if he proceeds with his intention to raise the question of House of Commons salaries, I shall move that the Question be now put.

Motion, by leave, withdrawn.

Original Question again proposed.

(1.24.) SIR R. FOWLER: I have given notice of my intention upon this Vote to call attention to the inadequate salaries paid to the officers of the House.

(1.24.) MR. T. M. HEALY rose in his place, and claimed to move "That the Question be now put;" but the CHAIRMAN withheld his assent, and declined then to put that Question.

Debate resumed.

\*SIR R. FOWLER: It will be in the recollection of the House that I put a question to the Leader of the House asking him whether Her Majesty's Government, in view of the increased length of the sittings of the House, a proposal for the increase of the salaries of officials would be considered. I again urge the point, and certainly think that the time has come when, considering how the business of the House has increased, and the probability of the length of Sessions being considerably increased in future, the House might deal in a more generous spirit with its servants. I hope we may have a promise that between this and the next preparation of Estimates this subject will be considered.

(1.25.) THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (MR. JACKSON, Leeds, N.): I venture to say, in reply, that there are two ways in which the services of the officers of the House may receive consideration; one is by increasing their salaries, and the other is by shortening their hours of work. I trust that hon. Members will make a beginning in the latter direction.

(1.25.) MR. SEXTON (Belfast, W.): The officers of the House have been very unfortunate in their advocate. The hon. Baronet who has been the cause of

much interruption this evening must not assume from his reception that the officers of the House have not the full sympathy of Members in this part of the House.

(1.26.) MR. CONYBEARE: I have a question or two to ask, which will, I think, excite opposition from hon. Gentlemen opposite. It has, I know, been matter of frequent complaint that we have not in our Library copies of the Law Reports and judgments in the Law Courts. Occasionally I have in the course of Debate desired to make reference to a judgment, and I am told that it is necessary to go to the Library of the House of Lords for Law Reports. Now, I believe the Library appertaining to that august assembly is not at all times available while we are sitting, but in any case it is highly inconvenient that a Member who desires to make a reference to a judgment should be obliged to go round to the House of Lords for the purpose. I would ask the right hon. Gentleman if some arrangement could be made for placing in our own Library copies of the Reports, say from the commencement of the new series, 1865. I do not ask for the more ancient ones. Also I may mention that the Library is insufficiently supplied with legal textbooks on the different branches of the law; those we have are old editions. Then I have to mention the absurd red tape rules that control the police arrangements, that prevent the introduction of a stranger by the Members' entrance. I am not complaining of this as a rule of general application, but in such a case as this. A lady and her husband having been taking tea on the terrace, I desired to show them St. Stephen's Chapel, but I was informed by the policeman that though I was at liberty to introduce the lady, her husband could not be admitted by that entrance. Now, absurd restrictions of this kind are very irritating, and make us ridiculous in the eyes of strangers, and I would suggest that a certain amount of discretion should be allowed to the police. Another small point I desire to mention, and that is whether the convenience of officers of the House is consulted by

payment of these salaries monthly instead of quarterly.

(1.34.) MR. LABOUCHERE: A few months ago a letter appeared in the *Times* stating that the detectives employed in the House kept a record of the movements of Members within the precincts of the building. That is a most objectionable practice, and I should like to know whether it is continued, and, if so, why? I also wish to know whether the cleaners of the House cannot be paid directly instead of through third parties!

(1.35.) DR. TANNER: A sum of £1,000 is set down as payments to waiters in the Refreshment Department. Is this sum paid directly or through the Kitchen Committee? I do not wish to raise a Debate on the subject, but I think I should have a considerable amount of support from Members on either side if I proceeded to maintain my opinion that the administration of this Department could not well be worse than it is. To mention one item, which may appear too insignificant to raise now, the only vegetable we are often able to obtain is a spring cabbage of the most nauseous character. No explanation can account for the fact that, with this £1,000, and the expenses provided, the Refreshment department in this House is simply disgraceful.

(1.38.) MR. JACKSON: I will inquire into the question of whether copies of Law Reports can be furnished to the Library. As to the rules which regulate the admission of strangers through the Members' entrance, these do not come within my direction; it is a matter of police arrangement, and instructions are given by the Sergeant-at-Arms. The question raised by the hon. Member for Northampton with regard to detectives would come on more properly on the Home Office Vote. As to the question of the employment of cleaners a Departmental Committee is now considering whether a plan can be formulated changing the practice which has hitherto prevailed of having the work done by

contract. The item of £1,000 mentioned by the hon. Member for Mid Cork goes to the Kitchen Committee to meet what would otherwise be a deficiency in their accounts.

DR. TANNER: To spend as they like?

MR. JACKSON: To spend it as they find necessary. For my own part, I think the Kitchen Committee deserve thanks for their services, and for the great improvements which have been effected in the dining arrangements.

(1.40.) DR. TANNER: I am afraid I cannot agree with the right hon. Gentleman, and I know there are many Conservative Members who share my opinion that the dining arrangements of the House are worse than are to be found in any third-class restaurant in the City.

\*(1.41.) MR. H. J. WILSON (York, W.R., Holmfirth): In reference to the admission of strangers, I thought the right hon. Gentleman said this is a mere matter of police arrangement, as though he had nothing to do with this question. Is this an improper time to raise the point?

(1.42.) MR. JACKSON: Not at all. I shall be happy to consider any representations hon. Members may make, and submit them to the proper quarter.

(1.43.) MR. CONYBEARE: We cannot call the Sergeant-at-Arms to the Bar, so perhaps the right hon. Gentleman will convey our wishes. All that is required is a certain discretion and elasticity in the application of the rules. It is an abominable nuisance when you are proceeding from one part of the building to another with a friend, to be stopped and told you must not go this way or that way.

\*MR. WEBB: I wish to call attention to only one point. I desire to protest against the duty imposed on the Chaplain to back out of the House after he has said prayers. It is dishonouring to the House. Why should he not be allowed to retire behind the Speaker's Chair?

MR. J. O'CONNOR (Tipperary, S.): I desire to say a few words with regard to the Kitchen Committee. I do not agree

*Mr. Jackson*

with many of the animadversions of my hon. Friend as to the distribution of the £1,000 voted to the Committee; but I go with him entirely in his criticism of the manner in which Members of this House are supplied with the refreshments necessary in order to enable them to perform their duties properly. There is, in connection with the catering, no rent or licences to pay, no interest to meet on capital invested in furniture or glass, no charge for gas or firing, and yet Members of this House are obliged to pay as much for their food and drink as is charged in any restaurant outside the House. With my short experience of the working of the Kitchen Committee I have no wish to impute any blame to them for mismanagement. I know I may be told in reply that the explanation of the high prices charged is that service is required for only a short time of the day, and that very often losses are incurred by reason of the fact that, in consequence of one of those unaccountable changes in the business of the House, Members get away before the usual dining hour, and the meals are not required. But I do intend to submit to the Committee a plan of reform. In the first place, I believe that the Members of the House should get their food at first cost, and that the service should be paid for out of the National Exchequer. I see no difference between the man who hands me the card of a visitor and the man who hands me my plate at dinner—they are both engaged in the service of the House, and the cost ought to be defrayed in the manner I have suggested. I believe that that is a proposition which will find support in all parts of the House. If I am defeated on that plan, however, I have to suggest another. It is, I believe, a wrong policy that one class of article alone should bear nearly the whole cost of the service. It is a fact that nearly the whole cost is placed on the drinks consumed in the House. I do not see the justice of compelling me, because I take a small bottle of wine to my dinner, to pay a high price so that the hon. Member for South Tyrone, who only drinks water, shall have his plate of meat for almost nothing. Some hon. Members may be sufficiently flush of

cash to be able to afford to pay for the dinners of other people, but I speak on behalf of a continually growing body of men in this House, who are, for better or for worse, taking the place of those who have plenty of money. It is a matter of some consequence to working men Members that they shall get good dinners cheap, and that the profits charged on the articles supplied to them should be fairly apportioned all round. On some of the wines there is a profit of 50 or 60 per cent. charged. Now, I live in this House six or seven months every year—

COLONEL SANDYS: I rise to order. Is not the hon. Member trifling with the time of the House?

MR. J. O'CONNOR: The Chairman is the best judge whether I am trifling with the House or not; he is also the best judge whether I have ever done so. I hold this is a serious matter, and one which ought to occupy the attention of the Committee. I intend to investigate the whole question, and if I am still a Member, I will next year lay the result of my inquiries before the Kitchen Committee, and submit my proposals to them.

(156.) MR. J. R. KELLY (Camberwell, N.): I regret that the Secretary to the Treasury did not think it worth while to give a serious answer to the remarks of the hon. Baronet the Member for the City of London. I wish him to bear in mind that when the salaries were fixed, 50 years ago, the amount was probably adequate, but times have since changed, the cost of living has increased, and the sum paid as wages is insufficient. Why, there are some officials in this House who only get 20s. a week. Surely the right hon. Gentleman could follow the example set in the House of Lords, and, at any rate, he might consider the propriety of granting an inquiry into the subject of the salaries paid to the House of Commons officials?

(158.) MR. CONYBEARE: I, too, should like to press on the Government the desirability of taking into consideration what has been urged by two of their own supporters on behalf of the officials of this House. No one could

praise them too highly for the zealous way in which they discharge their duties. They have to commence before hon. Members arrive, and they do not leave until all Members have departed, so their hours are very long. Considering that there has been no inquiry into the subject of their pay for so many years, I think it is only fair that the Government should give the matter careful consideration. If the right hon. Gentleman does not give us a pledge that an inquiry shall be held, I will, at the earliest opportunity next Session, take the matter up.

(20.) MR. JACKSON: I am sorry if hon. Members think I did not treat this matter seriously. I thought the House desired to get on with its business. So far as I know, no complaint has been made to me on this subject.

MR. CONYBEARE: Complaint has been made to me.

MR. JACKSON: I will inquire from those whose duty it is to look into these matters whether there is any reason for making alteration. I may add that whenever a vacancy occurs, there is always consideration given to the question of the salary of the officer to be appointed.

MR. KELLY: But why not grant such an inquiry as was held in the case of the House of Lords officials? That inquiry resulted in the framing of a scheme which will save a sum of about £7,000 a year.

MR. JACKSON: I can only repeat I will look into this matter.

Question put, and agreed to.

4. £60,122 for Treasury and Subordinate Department.

\*(23.) MR. BRADLAUGH: I have to draw attention to a matter which I have already brought under the notice of the Government by means of a question. It will be in the recollection of the Committee that in the month of March last the Chancellor of the Exchequer undertook what I fear will be a troublesome inquiry in connection with the Customs Department. I understood him to say that the men who gave information

would not be sufferers by reason of any statement they made. But two gentlemen, Mr. Smith and Mr. Heath, have been fined £20 a year, and an equivalent of £20 by the suspension of their salaries, for having made a personal communication to the Private Secretary of the right hon. Gentleman. That is not, I fear, the only case, for I have reason to believe that some of the Customs officers at Gravesend, for having sought to make representation on behalf of their fellow officers, have, by way of punishment, been transferred elsewhere, I am, of course, only speaking on the information which has reached me, and it may be inaccurate in this latter case, but there can be no doubt that I am correctly stating the facts as affecting Mr. Smith and Mr. Heath, although, of course, there may be a difference of opinion as to the reasons for the course pursued. I think it would be most unfortunate if the feeling should spread that the men giving evidence at the inquiry granted by the right hon. Gentleman will suffer for their action. I can quite understand the Treasury objecting to pressure being brought upon it in these matters by Members of this House, but when the complaints are made direct by the officers to the head of the Department, the inquiry should at any rate be completed before any one is made to suffer.

\*(2.6.) MR. GOSCHEN: With regard to the case of the Gravesend officers I certainly have not heard of any of them having been transferred to other districts under the circumstances suggested, nor do I believe it possible. I am now holding the inquiry referred to, and I admit it takes a long time, because I have to hear what is to be said by representatives from the outposts of London, Liverpool, Dublin, and Belfast. I have seen these officials without any of the superior officers of the Customs being present, and so as to secure that their whole case is laid before me. The Board of Customs have not seen the evidence, and I, therefore, feel it is impossible they can have been made to suffer for their action. I am determined that the men selected to put forward the case of the Customs officers shall not suffer in the

*Mr. Bradlaugh*

slightest degree. With regard to the case of Messrs. Smith and Heath, they came down to the Treasury on a matter entirely unconnected with my inquiry. They appeared to have been making a round of calls on Cabinet Ministers to protest against a particular appointment, and they used language utterly subversive of all discipline. I do not wish to aggravate their case by making further public comments, but I can assure the hon. Member if such conduct were allowed, then we must say good-bye to all discipline. I must say I do not think the punishment inflicted on them was in any way severe.

\*(2.10.) MR. BRADLAUGH: Then the cases of Smith and Heath does not come within the category of those who wished to make statements in reference to the inquiry.

\*MR. GOSCHEN: Not at all; otherwise they would not have been punished. I am absolutely clear on that point.

(2.10.) SIR G. CAMPBELL: I wish to raise a question about military contributions to the Colonies—

THE CHAIRMAN: Order, order! The hon. Member cannot raise that on the Estimates. He can only raise that on a Motion before the House.

SIR G. CAMPBELL: Cannot I raise the question of the contribution of the Exchequer to the Colonies?

THE CHAIRMAN: Not in Supply.

SIR G. CAMPBELL: Then I wish to say a few words against the action of the Chancellor of the Exchequer in putting the English emblem of St. George and the Dragon on the sovereign.

THE CHAIRMAN: Order, order! That must be raised on the Vote for the Mint.

SIR G. CAMPBELL: But the Chancellor of the Exchequer influences this action.

THE CHAIRMAN: No doubt the Chancellor of the Exchequer influences many Departments, but questions specially affecting the administration of a particular Department must be raised on the Estimates affecting that Department.

Vote agreed to.

Resolutions to be reported.



\*(2.13.) **MR. GOSCHEN**: We propose now to withdraw the Home Office and Colonial Vote, and proceed with the Privy Council Vote.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £10,707, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1891, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Department of Her Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council and for Quarantine Expenses."

**SIR G. CAMPBELL**: I protest. We had a distinct assurance that the Votes should be taken in their order. I, therefore, beg to move to report Progress.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Sir George Campbell.*)

\***MR. GOSCHEN**: We will not enter into a prolonged contest, but surely a few Votes which are not really contentious might be taken. There are five or six in that category.

(2.14.) **MR. CONYBEARE**: I am as anxious to get on with these Votes as the right hon. Gentleman, but there are questions connected with the Privy Council which must be discussed.

\***MR. GOSCHEN**: Then proceed with them.

**MR. CONYBEARE**: I am not prepared to do that to-night. I think it very hard that Votes should be taken out of their order, at a time of the night when hon. Members could not have expected them to come on. I would suggest the list of Votes should be read out, and it could then be ascertained which are non-contentious.

**SIR G. CAMPBELL**: Who are to say what are contested or non-contested Votes? There may be Votes on which I may desire to say nothing, but on which other hon. Members may desire to say a good deal.

\***MR. GOSCHEN**: We had hoped to get much further with the Votes than we have done up to the present moment, and I trust that, after the time that has already been

consumed in discussion, the House will permit these Votes to pass through the Committee to-night. I would, therefore, urgently appeal to hon. Members opposite to allow, at all events, some additional Votes to be taken. We should be glad to hear from hon. Members opposite which of the Votes they desire to discuss.

(2.16.) **MR. LABOUCHERE**

There are a number of Votes still to be taken, some of which may be contentions and some not; and, as to those which are non-contentious, they might just as well be taken to-morrow as at this hour of the night. I presume the right hon. Gentleman will say that the Board of Agriculture Vote is not contentious, but, for certain reasons, I will suggest there is a painful necessity arising for moving that the salary of the President of the Board of Agriculture, who is not present at this moment, be reduced.

**THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF AGRICULTURE** (**MR. CHAPLIN**, Lincolnshire, Sleaford): I beg pardon, the President of the Board of Agriculture is here.

**MR. LABOUCHERE**: Then I apologise to the right hon. Gentleman. But certainly I shall feel under the necessity of taking a Division on the salary of the right hon. Gentleman.

\***MR. GOSCHEN**: The hon. Member asks what is a non-contentious Vote. I should say it is a Vote that has not the elements of contention in it.

(2.18.) **DR. TANNER**: I cannot understand the method of the madness of Her Majesty's Government. If the remaining Votes are non-contentious there would be as little time lost in bringing them up to-morrow as in taking them to-night. But if the Government keep on in this ding-dong way, trying to pass Votes out of their order, they naturally exasperate the Committee, and will find hon. Members, like myself, getting up to speak on matters which, if the Votes were postponed till to-morrow, they might not be inclined to say a word about. If the Government desire the despatch of business, why do they not take it in a sensible way?

(2.19.) MR. LABOUCHERE: I might point out that, as far as I can see, there are some Votes that are contentious and about nine that are not. For instance, there is the Board of Trade and Subordinates Departments Vote. That, I assume, is non-contentious. [Several hon. MEMBERS: "No, no."] There is the Bankruptcy Department of the Board of Trade. That, I suppose, is non-contentious. Then there is the Charity Commission. [An hon. MEMBER: That is contentious.] Then the Civil Service Commission and the Exchequer and Audit Department—

(2.20.) MR. KELLY: I have to raise a question on that.

MR. LABOUCHERE: Then there is the Friendly Societies Registration Vote—

MR. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.): Surely, Mr. Courtney, we are wasting time in going into these matters.

\*MR. GOSCHEN: I would once more appeal to hon. Members to allow business to proceed.

\*MR. BRADLAUGH: I would appeal to the right hon. Gentleman not to continue this sort of squabble, which may waste another half-hour of our time.

\*MR. GOSCHEN: We should certainly like to make a little more progress in some of these Votes, but if hon. Members can come to no agreement and will allow us to make no further progress I suppose we must of necessity, at this hour of the night, allow the Motion to report Progress to be carried.

Question put, and agreed to.

Resolutions to be reported to-morrow; Committee also report Progress; to sit again to-morrow.

STATUTE LAW REVISION (No. 2) (RE-COMMITTED) BILL [LORDS.]—(No. 405.)

Bill considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Schedule.

Amendment proposed, in page 11, line 29, to leave out from the word "ship-

ment," to the word "an," in line 32.—(Mr. Solicitor General.)

Committee report Progress; to sit again To-morrow.

#### BILLS OF SALE BILL [LORDS].

(No. 384.)

As amended, considered; Bill read the third time, and passed, with Amendments.

#### SUPPLY [8TH AUGUST]—REPORT.

Order read, for resuming the Consideration of Postponed Resolution,

"That a sum, not exceeding \$1,366,700, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Charge for Chelsea and Kilmainham Hospitals and the In-Pensioners thereof, of Out-Pensions, of the Maintenance of Lunatics for whom Pensions are not drawn, and of Gratuities awarded in Commutation and in lieu of Pensions, which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1891."

(2.30.) MR. E. ROBERTSON (Dundee): This Resolution was postponed, at my request, in order that I might bring forward certain complaints made by veteran soldiers of Her Majesty's Army, who have served in the Crimean War and the Indian Mutiny, and who are either without pensions, or are receiving only inadequate pensions. In many Scotch towns there are veterans who have served in these wars, and at large public meetings in Dundee, Aberdeen, and other great towns, presided over by the Chief Magistrates, resolutions have been passed calling attention to the hardships undergone by those deserving soldiers, who are either unpensioned or drawing very meagre pensions. I have a list of 16 cases connected with the Dundee district, and verified by the Commanding Officer of that district. One is that of a man now 61 years of age, and unable to work, who served in the Crimean war and received the Crimean medal, since which he has been an Instructor of Rifle Volunteers; he receives no pension. There is another veteran, who served 13 years, and is 67 years of age, unfit to work, and who has received the Crimean and the Lucknow medals. He has no pension. There are other cases in which men, all of about the ages just given,



who have rendered distinguished service, are either without pensions, or receiving pensions of not more than 4d. to 8d. and 10d. a day. One soldier, now 63 years old, who served 17 years, and was wounded at the Battle of the Alma, and is now unable to work, receives no pension. He is said to have been a splendid soldier in the field, but in his early service he happened to have deserted, a fact which, doubtless, is the cause of his having no pension. It may be possible that some of the other cases may be similarly explained, and I am not complaining of injustice in the matter; but I think the cases I cite deserve compassionate consideration, and I put them *ad misericordiam*. I think it is not asking too much that the Secretary for War should consider the desirability of even going beyond the law in order to recognise by some compassionate allowance the services of these men. I would point out that in another matter, affecting Scotland, Parliament has gone beyond the contract made with a particular class of servants. It has given the police over and above what they are entitled to, a prospective allowance, which is worth an additional 6s. a week. I only ask the Government to treat our soldiers in the same generous spirit. I think it wise policy to do this. I cannot imagine anything more likely to prove attractive to men desirous of entering the Army than such a proceeding. I do not ask for any specific declaration of general policy at the present moment; but I do appeal to the right hon. Gentleman for some consideration of this important question.

\*(240.) CAPTAIN VERNEY (Bucks, N.): Having myself served in the Crimean War and the Indian Mutiny, I may say that I constantly have appeals made to me such as those referred to by my hon. Friend. If anything be done for the Army I trust the Navy will receive the same consideration. And I would point out that, although the pensions awarded in those days may have been suitable for the times, circumstances have materially changed since then, as will be seen when we remember the great advances in the prices of food, clothing, and house rent that has since been made. I should be

glad if the Government can see their way to deal with this matter in a liberal spirit, as I am sure that, by doing so, they will give great satisfaction to the country, and help to popularise its two chief Services.

\*(242.) THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Mr. E. STANHOPE, Lincolnshire, Horncastle): There is no doubt that, owing to what occurred the other day in reference to those who have survived the Balaklava charge, a great deal of public sympathy has been evoked for soldiers who have served their country in the wars referred to. But I would point out that every man who has been in the Army is not necessarily entitled to a pension, and it is utterly impossible to entertain such a proposal for a moment. Men who have not earned a pension ought not to receive one. There may, of course, be a few cases which are on the border lines that may fairly be considered, but it would be ruinous to entertain the proposition that because a man had served a few months in the Crimean War, or the Indian Mutiny, he should therefore be pensioned. It should be remembered that at the present moment we are paying something like 80,000 pensions to those who have really earned them by good service.

Resolution agreed to.

#### SUPPLY—REPORT.

Resolutions [9th August] reported and agreed to. (See pages 367 to 425.)

#### BANKRUPTCY BILL.—(No. 414.)

Order read for the consideration of Lords' Amendments.

(245.) MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.): It is a strong order to take these Amendments now, seeing that none of them are on the Paper, and commercial Members have had no notice of what is going to be done.

\*SIR A. ROLLIT (Islington, S.): The Amendments have been circulated.

MR. T. M. HEALY: I withdraw my objection.

DR. TANNER: The Amendments were only circulated this morning.

\*SIR A. ROLLIT: I have taken pains to ascertain what is the wish of the House, and there is no difference of opinion on the matter; indeed, the course I am taking is with a view to meet the desire of others rather than myself.

Lords Amendment considered; Several agreed to; One disagreed to.

Committee appointed "To draw up Reasons to be consigned to the Lords for disagreeing to one of the Amendments."—To withdraw immediately.

Ordered, that Three be the quorum.

#### NAVY AND ARMY EXPENDITURE, 1888-9.

Resolutions (see page 441), reported, and agreed to.

#### POSTPONEMENT OF MOTION.

#### EDUCATIONAL ENDOWMENTS (IRELAND) RAINEY SCHOOL.

(258.) MR. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyne, S.): I have a Notice on the Paper to move—

"That an humble address be presented to Her Majesty, praying Her Majesty to withhold Her consent from that part of the scheme of the Educational Endowment (Ireland) Commissioners for the administration of the endowment in the town of Magherafelt, known as the Rainey School, in so far as the proposed composition of the Board of Governors is concerned."

The Act of 1885 says that a scheme must be on the Table 60 days, and I should, therefore, like to ask whether it will be in order for me to move the Motion next Session, as the scheme cannot this Session be on the Table 60 days.

\*MR. SPEAKER: The 60 days will begin with the commencement of next Session.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL: Then I will postpone the Motion till next Session.

#### TEACHERS' ORGANISATION AND REGISTRATION BILL.—(No. 178.)

Order for Second Reading read, and discharged.

Bill withdrawn.

#### SHERIFF COURT (SCOTLAND)

##### EXTRACTS BILL.—(No. 25.)

Order for Second Reading read, and discharged.

Bill withdrawn.

#### SCHOOL BOARD FOR LONDON (SUPERANUATIONS) BILL.—(No. 84.)

Order for resuming Adjourned Debate on Second Reading [17th February] read, and discharged.

Bill withdrawn.

#### DRAINAGE SEPARATION BILL. (No. 86.)

Order for Second Reading read, and discharged.

Bill withdrawn.

#### GREENWICH HOSPITAL.

Resolved, "That the Statement of the Estimated Income and Expenditure of Greenwich Hospital for the year 1890-91, presented to Parliament pursuant to Act 48 and 49 Vic. c. 42, be approved."—(*Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett.*)

#### COAL (PRICE OF.)

Return ordered—

"Showing the Annual Average Price per Ton (exclusive of City or other Dues) of the best Coals at the ship's side in the port of London in the several years from 1881 to 1889, both inclusive (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 225, of Session 1881.)"—(*Mr. Talbot.*)

#### BANKRUPTCY BILL.—(No. 414.)

Reason for disagreeing to one of the Amendments made by the Lords to which this House has disagreed, reported, and agreed to.—To be communicated to the Lords.

It being after One o'clock, Mr. Speaker adjourned the House without Question put.

House adjourned at Three o'clock.

## HOUSE OF LORDS.

*Tuesday, 12th August, 1890.*SCOTLAND—COUNTY COUNCIL  
AUDITORS.

## QUESTIONS—OBSERVATIONS.

**THE MARQUESS OF HUNTLY:** My Lords, I have a question to put to the noble Lord the Secretary for Scotland, of which I have given him private notice. I wish to ask him when the appointment of the Auditors of the County Councils in Scotland will be made, and how many Auditors he proposes to appoint?

**THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR SCOTLAND (The Marquess of LOTHIAN):** In reply to the question of the noble Marquess opposite, I am glad to be able to inform him that I have communicated with various gentlemen in Scotland, and with the exception of one, from whom I have not yet received a reply, all have accepted appointments as Auditors. I hope very soon to be able to make the official appointments of these gentlemen as Auditors to the County Councils in Scotland. In reply to the second part of the question, I have to say that I propose to appoint 10 Auditors to do the work of auditing in Scotland. I do not think it necessary to trouble your Lordships with the names of the gentlemen to whom I have referred, but if the noble Marquess desires, after the House rises, I shall be happy to show him a Paper giving the names and the places for which they have been appointed.

## DUBLIN CORPORATION BILL.

Commons Consequential Amendments considered (according to order.)

**LORD HERSCHELL:** In moving that this House do agree with the Commons in their Amendments, I shall not need to trouble your Lordships at any great length. The Bill is a Bill introduced by the Corporation of Dublin, with the full approval of the citizens of Dublin ascertained in the manner required by Parliament. A part of that Bill as introduced and approved provided for the transfer of the

collection of rates from the Collector General to the Corporation of Dublin. Exception was taken to those clauses in the House. The Bill was referred to a Committee composed of Members of great experience in matters of this description. It was not an ordinary Private Bill Committee, but it was a Committee consisting of eleven Members, appointed to consider Bills having reference to Police and Sanitary Regulations, and the matter having been hotly contested before that Committee, in the result the Committee did not permit Part IV. of the Bill, with the clauses of the Promoters, to stand as it was, but they amended those provisions and, so amended, the Bill passed from that House and came to your Lordships' House. When the measure came to your Lordships' House it went in the usual course to a Private Bill Committee. That Committee disagreed with the view, and I may say the unanimous view, of those eleven Members of the other House who had sat and considered the Bill, and the Committee struck out the whole of the clauses. My Lords, I am not going to say a word as to the wisdom or propriety of that proceeding; but the clauses having been so struck out, naturally enough, those promoting the Bill felt themselves very much aggrieved. The clauses which they had originally proposed had not been accepted, but a substitute had been found by the House of Commons for those which they had inserted in the Bill which would have effected substantially the purpose they desired, namely, the transfer to the Corporation of Dublin of the collection of its own rates. Feeling themselves thus aggrieved, it was only natural that they should see whether it would not be possible to arrive at an understanding with the Government, who had not been willing that the Bill should pass in the form it was proposed as to that part of it, and to ascertain whether, by some new suggestion, a means might not be found of proceeding and carrying out that which the Corporation desired, without involving any consequences which would be improper or prejudicial. Accordingly, after consultation, Her Majesty's Government approved of a set of clauses to be substituted for those which had been originally in Part IV. of the Bill; and the Bill then before your Lordships'

House was re-committed with a view to the reconsideration of those suggested new clauses, if they met the views of the promoters, which in the opinion of Her Majesty's Government might safely be adopted. I cannot help thinking that most unfortunately the Committee of your Lordships' House, notwithstanding that the clauses had the origin and approval to which I have alluded, determined not to pass them, and the consequence was that the Bill went down to the other House without any clauses having in view the object aimed at by the fourth part of the Bill.

In the other House Her Majesty's Government, in the person of the Chief Secretary for Ireland, moved the insertion of these clauses; and the matter having been discussed in the other House, the minority that were opposed to the insertion of these clauses was so absolutely insignificant, I mean in point of numbers, that they did not venture even to show how insignificant in numbers they were by dividing the House against the clauses, and, therefore, without division, these clauses were inserted in the other House. Now, those are the circumstances which have induced me to invite your Lordships to agree with the other House in the Amendments which they have made. The object of these Amendments is, as I have said, the transfer to the Corporation of Dublin of the power of collecting their own rates. It is said that in the year 1849—over 40 years ago—a different arrangement was made. I do not recognise, and do not understand how this House can recognise, the fact that an arrangement was arrived at in 1849 as being a conclusive reason why it should continue in the present day and indefinitely onwards. Indeed, I am not going to argue the question at the present moment, because I am absolutely unable to understand the fear, or almost passion, which seems to be excited against this proposal by many of those who are opposing it. It seems to be such a natural thing, such a reasonable thing, that when you are dealing with the first Corporation in Ireland, which has great powers, and to which, by this Bill, you are giving greater powers—that when the Corporation of Dublin desire it, you should give it the limited addition to its powers, that it may be permitted to collect its own rates. That is the proposal, and no more than the proposal which is now

*Lord Herschell*

before your Lordships' House, and what I would ask your Lordships to consider seriously is this, that the House would suffer no loss of dignity by agreeing to these Amendments. Noble Lords who have objected to the clauses would suffer no loss of dignity; they thought the clauses bad, and acted upon their opinion. Nor would the Committee which has taken part in the consideration of this matter, and which was a Committee certainly not inferior in ability and experience to other Committees of the same kind, suffer any loss of dignity. They have taken a different view with regard to the propositions which are now submitted to your Lordships. With regard to any loss of dignity, I think your Lordships would be doing that which is reasonable in saying that you will concur in the opinion which has been arrived at, even if you should have been of opinion that it would be wiser that these clauses should not be inserted. All I submit to your Lordships is that it would not be wise, expedient, or desirable that in such a matter as this you should come in conflict with the view taken by men of such different views and opposing politics in the other House. I therefore move that your Lordships agree with the Commons' Amendments to this Bill.

Moved, to agree to the consequential Amendment made by the Commons, namely, in page 2, after line 19, in lieu of the words omitted by the Lords, to insert—

“And whereas it is expedient that a separate department should be formed in the office of the Collector-General of Rates for the supervision of the applotting and levying all municipal rates, and that the power of collecting such rates should be vested in and exercised by the Corporation.”—(*The Lord Herschell.*)

\*THE EARL OF CAMPERDOWN: My Lords, I rise to say a few words upon this Motion, and I shall conclude my observations by moving an Amendment, but I wish to commence by saying that in my remarks not one word will your Lordships hear of anything connected with any political question or political considerations. It appears to me that when we are considering a Private Bill as this is, a Bill for altering the system of the collection of rates in Dublin that the introduction of political topics is altogether out of place. The discussions on this Bill have been in part guided elsewhere by considerations

with regard to certain political effects or changes which may be the result of these clauses, and I think it would be very unfortunate if we were in this House to follow that example. At all events, my Lords, I shall not give it. I wish to consider this Bill, which is a Bill promoted by the Corporation of Dublin, exactly in the same way as I should consider a similar proposal put forward by the City of London, or the City of Edinburgh. Now, of these clauses which your Lordships are asked to adopt, two of them, Clauses A and B, alter the constitution of the Collector General's Office. There are two further clauses, C and F, which I may call the alternative propositions, which are to come into force at the will of the Municipality of Dublin, or at the will of the Lord Lieutenant; and the effect of those two clauses is to hand over to the Corporation in certain eventualities the collection of the Municipal rates of Dublin. The noble and learned Lord who has just spoken said that the object of these clauses which are now laid before your Lordships is to give to the Municipality the collection of the Municipal rates. Now, he was not strictly correct in that, because, if the first scheme, namely, that which gives to the Corporation the power of appointing a certain number of officers in what is called the Municipal Department, a certain number of clerks, and also a certain number of Collectors—if that system should be adopted, that would not give to the Municipality directly a power of collecting Municipal rates. In order to give the Municipality the power of directing the collection of the Municipal rates, it would be necessary for either Clause C or Clause F to be brought into force. The noble and learned Lord just now gave to your Lordships a very brief history of what had occurred during the present year with regard to this matter, and, therefore, it is not necessary for me to repeat what he said; but I would take up his statement at this point: he said, that the House of Commons' Police and Sanitary Committee inserted into the Bill a clause giving to the Corporation the power of collecting for the future the Municipal rates; and he further went on to say that when the Bill came up to this House and was referred to the Committee, over which the noble Duke sitting near me

presided, that Committee came to a conclusion which was contrary to the conclusion which had been come to by the Committee of the other House. As I have seen the same thing stated elsewhere upon this subject, I have endeavoured to make myself master of this case, and I have read the statements of the promoters quite as much as I have the statements of the opponents of this Bill. I have here, among other things, this statement by the promoters, which they laid on the Table of the other House, and in which they state—and this really is the main allegation in it—

"Thus the unanimous decision of one Committee was reversed by the unanimous decision of another."

My Lords, my answer to that is, that it is based, as I think, upon a total misconception of what the finding of the Committee of this House was. It is quite true the Committee of the House of Commons found, and they decided, that it was desirable to give to the Municipality of Dublin the right to collect the Municipal rates. The noble Duke's Committee never decided that it was not; what the noble Duke's Committee did was this: as the Bill came up to this House there was in it no financial provision whatever for meeting the difficulty which arose in consequence of the reduced receipts which the Collector General would have, with which to pay the salaries, superannuations, and so on, of his staff; and, therefore, what the noble Duke decided was that—until there was some such arrangement inserted in the Bill this transfer of the power of collecting municipal rates could not be given. Of course, I am obliged to speak roughly in making a general statement, but now, having stated it generally, I will read the actual words of the Chairman, and your Lordships will see that is correct. He said—

"I have to remark in the first instance that the Bill as it left the other House did not attempt to deal with the great difficulty in the case, that of the altered position of the Collector General and his staff, his duties being the same, or nearly so, under the Bill with only one-third of the present fund available for the payment of the services of the Collector and his staff; and if that is the case the Committee are unanimously of opinion that under the present circumstances of the case the rating clauses in Part IV. ought to be struck out."

That was his finding, and your Lordships will see how correctly I have stated the



effect of it. The members of the Committee will no doubt tell your Lordships presently whether I have not stated correctly what their finding was. But that was not all; because, to show how absolutely right they were, I must remind your Lordships in the first place that, as I have said, there was no such arrangement in the Bill. Nobody contends there was, and though I say it with every respect to the Committee of the House of Commons, for whose able Chairman, and for whom generally I entertain every possible respect, I say they did make a slip in sending up a Bill to this House which embodied a very important principle, but which contained no clause for meeting the difficulties occasioned by the adoption of that principle. Now, what was the state of things with which the Committee of this House had to deal? There was nothing, as I have told your Lordships, in the Bill to meet the difficulty. A proposal was made by the Government to the promoters; that proposal the promoters refused to accept, and the promoters also refused, in writing,—writing to the Irish Office,—to lay any proposal themselves before the Committee in regard to this Bill. I will read to your Lordships the letter, because I wish to prove every word as I go on. The noble Duke very properly observed to Sir Richard Wyatt, when he was reading to the Committee a printed statement by the Irish Office, which he had been directed to get from the Irish Office, that he had said something about certain clauses which had been proposed; and he then, and very properly, asked him—

“With regard to the clauses proposed to be inserted, when were they rejected; were they before the other House?—No, my Lord, they were not,”

and so on. Then Sir Richard Wyatt says—a little later—

“Your Grace was anxious to know when the letters were sent to the promoters, and I have the acknowledgment of them here dated 9th July.”

The letter is—

“We desire to inform you that the Corporation cannot agree to the clauses which you” (that is the Irish Office) “have sent them as to the collection of rates and compensation to the officers, and, as at present advised, they do not intend to submit to the Committee any Amendments of the clauses as they now stand in the Bill.”

*The Earl of Camperdown*

Therefore, the Duke's Committee was in this position: There was nothing in the Bill to meet the difficulty; the Irish Office suggested an arrangement to the promoters, which they would not accept, and they said they did not propose to lay any suggestion before the Committee. What, under the circumstances, was the Committee to do? What could they do except to say, as there was no financial arrangement proposed, they could not see how the fourth part of the Bill was to go on. Now, with regard to these new clauses, as the noble and learned Lord has said, the Committee finished their labours, and the Bill was brought back to this House. As the noble and learned Lord has stated, negotiations were then opened between the Government and the promoters in order to see whether any new clauses could be drafted which would meet the difficulty. My Lords, I do not say anything against that being done; but I do say, and I am sure the promoters would admit it, that they were treated in this case with very exceptional indulgence indeed. I never remember a single case since I had the honour of a seat in your Lordships' House, in which, after clauses had been presented and proposed in a Private Bill and defeated, the promoters were allowed to introduce new clauses, and in which the Bill was re-committed for that purpose. That was the course which this House took, and I say nothing against it; but all I say is, it was a course the reverse of unfavourable to the promoters, and I think they will themselves admit that the House treated them with every possible consideration. Then these clauses were again referred to this Committee, and, very fortunately, the noble Lord, the Chairman, was able to secure the services of the whole five members of the original Committee. It was very late in the Session, but, fortunately, he obtained the services of the very members who had sat in Committee on the original Bill. They went back to their labours, and after hearing evidence and hearing the case submitted, and the whole of the statements made, they decided that these clauses were bad in themselves, and they also stated that they thought the matter ought to be proceeded with by Public Bill. Here, again, I will refer to the decision of the Committee in order that there may be no

mistake, and I shall ask the noble Lords who were members of the Committee to say when they speak whether what I say is correct or not. Here is the decision of the Committee :—

“The Committee do not approve of the new clauses which have been proposed to them under circumstances which they believe to be unprecedented. They are of opinion that the alterations in the Act of 1849 are an important change in public policy, which should be made if at all by a public Act.”

Therefore, they lay down those two propositions, that the clauses were bad and that the matter should have been dealt with by a Public Bill.

**LORD HERSCHELL :** Is it that they are not really good, or is it only that they were submitted to them under circumstances which were unprecedented, which, as I gather, is the case ?

“**THE EARL OF CAMPERDOWN :** The noble and learned Lord is quite right. I was going a little too far in my inference. The fact is that I consulted the Committee as to what their intention was in this finding, and I was told by a member of the Committee to that effect. No doubt the noble and learned Lord is quite right in his suggestion. I do not think myself that the words quite convey as much as I said, but at all events, the noble Lords who were on the Committee will themselves tell your Lordships presently what they intended this written finding to cover. Then the Bill returned to this House, and was read a third time. Not a word was said in this House when the Bill was proposed for Third Reading—not a word, either on that side of the House or on this ; and I submit to your Lordships that if the Government intended to take the course they subsequently took of moving a few hours later in another place through the Chief Secretary for Ireland that these clauses should be agreed to, they should have said so in this House ; and if any noble Lord in this House had disagreed with the finding of the Committee, it is a pity he did not take the opportunity of getting up and making any statement he had to make. But let me show your Lordships the result of the silence. I am sure the disadvantage was not intended to be caused, but I merely wish to point out what the result was of the course which was taken. The result of it was that when the Bill was proposed for Third Reading, the noble Duke had

no reason for opening his mouth. What reason was there for doing so ? What more could he wish than that the House should agree with him ? If no one rose to question his action, what reason was there for him to get up and make a speech about it ? I think it would have been considered by most of your Lordships that he would in doing so have been performing a work of entire supererogation. That, to my mind, would have been the opinion of all the Members of your Lordships' House. The position was this : a Private Bill had been dealt with by the Committee, and under the circumstances nobody would have been justified in saying that there was any disagreement with the finding of the Committee. Then the result has been that the mouths of the Members of the Committee have been closed. If the noble Duke had had the opportunity of making his speech, he would have given the reasons of the Committee, no doubt, for arriving at the conclusions they did arrive at, and very possibly he might have produced an effect upon those who differed with him. At all events, it would have given important information to the Members of the House of Commons, 99 out of 100 of whom, I will undertake to say, did not know in the least what had happened before that Committee. That was the result of the proceedings in this House. Well, a few hours afterwards, the Chief Secretary for Ireland moved to insert these clauses, and yesterday these clauses were inserted (without hearing any evidence) which the Committee of this House rejected, after hearing all the evidence, and after full consideration of the case. Now, let me come for a moment, and it shall only be for a moment, to the clauses themselves—Clause A and Clause B. Clause A creates what is called a Municipal Department of clerks within the office of the Collector General, and that staff of clerks is to be presided over (I will presently refer your Lordships to the clause itself) by an officer who shall be appointed by the Municipality, and who, therefore, will be independent of the Collector General. He will have “the control of the said Department,” under the Collector General, and the Department is to consist of himself and so many other officials as the Corporation, with the consent of the Lord Lieutenant, shall determine. Therefore, the



Lord Lieutenant and the Corporation will fix what the strength of the Department is to be. All the officers of this Department are to be appointed by the Corporation, and, with the exception of the first set of officials, who are at the present time in the office of the Collector General, the Municipality will have the power of removing them also. The next clause, B, states that two-thirds of the collectors who will be appointed are to be appointed in future by the Corporation, and, therefore, the position of the office will be this: that the Collector General himself will, through the Lord Lieutenant, or the Lord Lieutenant will in his own way, appoint one-third of the collectors of the rates, and the Corporation of the City of Dublin will appoint the other two-thirds. I would only put it to your Lordships, Has such an office ever been heard of before? It is to consist, in the first place, of a staff of clerks, the head of whom is to be a person appointed outside the office, and apparently almost solely under the control of the Municipality; the clerks themselves are to be appointed and removed, after the office has become established, by the Municipality entirely; and, with regard to the collectors, the Municipality is to appoint two-thirds of them. It has been said, and I have also seen it stated, that this appointment of two-thirds of the collectors will not really give the Corporation any power of influencing the Department of the Collector General, because the removal of those officials will rest with the Lord Lieutenant, and, therefore, the Corporation would have no power of removing them. I dare say that is so; but all I can say is, that if this power of appointment does not give them any influence over these men, what is the good of giving them a power of appointment at all? I do not see the use of it unless it is to give them some influence. Otherwise, I cannot see the use of this extraordinary power being given of appointing two-thirds of the collectors of rates within the Collector General's Office. As I have said, this office does appear to me to be an extraordinary office. It does not give the collection of municipal rates direct to the Municipality as the noble and learned Lord seemed to suppose—not at all. We have not arrived at that point yet; but you are

*The Earl of Camperdown*

going to start with this arrangement, and you will be in this position with such an office as I have described: that the Municipality undoubtedly will have a very serious temptation to interfere through those officers with the collection of the rates, further than with the mere purpose of collecting the municipal rates itself. I do not mean to say or to insinuate a single syllable against the Corporation of Dublin, but I do say that unless the Corporation of Dublin is unlike all other Corporations I have ever heard of, unless the Corporation of Dublin is composed, in short, of some sort of, one might say, "municipal angels" with a tenfold proportion of the virtues of self-restraint and of non-interference—unless they are to be credited with those virtues, I say they will be tempted very strongly to interfere beyond the immediate purpose of the collection of their municipal rates. Now, the next question about this proposal is—is it workable? Well, I do ask your Lordships, is it? In the first place, I have shewn your Lordships *prima facie* that it is very likely that friction would arise and without any particular fault, either in the Collector General or in the Municipality. But in the next place, the Collector General has been called before the Committee, as your Lordships will be told presently no doubt, and he has said that it will not work; and most strangely, too, even the Irish Office itself is opposed to it. I am going to refer again to this written statement of Sir Richard Wyatt's, which was prepared by the Irish Office for the noble Duke's Committee, and which was read there.

LORD HERSCHELL: Was that before the second Committee or the first?

\*THE EARL OF CAMPERDOWN: The first—this Report was written only so far back as the 15th July, and I apprehend between the 15th of July and the 4th or 5th of August the Department had not changed its mind.

LORD HERSCHELL: Then it is with regard to a different scheme.

\*THE EARL OF CAMPERDOWN: I see what the noble and learned Lord means, but I assure him I am only going to read that portion of this Report which relates to the principle which I have just described as going to be applied in the creation of this new Office.

"It is admitted," he says, "that there are very great objections to the proposal of the Corporation that Government Officials employed in the Collector-General's Office shall, while filling such employment, be allowed to become at the same time the Servants of the Corporation for the collection of the Municipal rates."

My Lords, that proposal is as nearly as possible the very same proposal as is put forward in Clause A and Clause B, which are now submitted to you. And further than this, the authors of the clause themselves show that they have no confidence in the working of this scheme, because they have provided Clauses C and F under which this arrangement may be brought to an end at any time either the Corporation or the Lord Lieutenant may choose. My Lords, I am only going to make one remark with regard to these two clauses, and that is, I think, a very important one, and I would invite the attention of the noble and learned Lord who has charge of these clauses to it, though I really do not know whether the Government are in charge of the clauses or my noble and learned Friend on this side of the House. But whoever it is that has charge of them, I invite their attention to this, that in these two clauses there appears for the first time, I believe, an arrangement dealing with the question of superannuation allowances, and it provides, with regard to the existing officers, that the Corporation shall pay two-thirds of their superannuations for service which has been given by them in the Collector General's Office up to the time of the passing of this Act or up to the date at which they are taken over. But with regard to salaries, and with regard to the other costs and charges of the office, there is in these new clauses no provision made at all. Now, I have satisfied myself that is so, because as I tell your Lordships, I have no personal feeling in the matter whatever, not the least, either for the opponents or for the promoters, no more for one than the other. I have communicated with the promoters with regard to the effect of these clauses, that is to say with persons who know a great deal about these clauses and who ought to have a very good opinion of them, and they state that in their view there is no such arrangement under the clauses. Indeed, I am bound to go further, and say that the Promoters state that the Bill as it stands is properly drawn, and that there ought to be no such arrangement.

But, as a matter of fact, there is in the clauses no proposal to deal with salaries and the other charges, or with the deficit which will be occasioned in paying the salaries and other charges of the Collector General. So that, after all the changes which these clauses have gone through, the Bill is in as nearly as possible the same position as it was when the noble Duke's Committee rejected the fourth part of the Bill on the first occasion, because there was not a proper financial arrangement included in it. I must now apologise to your Lordships for having spoken at such length. I think I have not said a single word that I could have omitted; but I would like to make a suggestion to your Lordships. I should like to ask, what is the use of having this friction at all? What is the good of setting up a complicated arrangement of this sort which nobody likes? For the Corporation do not like it; the Corporation say what they want is the power of collecting their municipal rates, and they have asked Parliament for it. The House of Commons said they were willing to grant it to them, and the Committee of this House have not said they are not willing to grant it to them, as I have told your Lordships. I am bound to say, speaking as a Member of your Lordships' House, as regards the Corporation of this very important City, that if they come to Parliament to ask for that power, I certainly should not vote against giving it to them. If the Corporation choose to have a separate collection of municipal rates it will entail some additional cost. That may not fall on the municipal ratepayers of Dublin, but it must fall on somebody, and if the same ratepayers will, irrespective of the municipal rates, contribute a portion of the rates still to be collected by the Collector General, then I say it will come to a certain extent out of their pockets. I say that I would support an arrangement giving to the Dublin Corporation the collection of the municipal rates only, provided there was some financial arrangement made to meet the difficulty in respect of the Collector General's Office to which I have adverted. It seems to me these Clauses A and B which will come into operation first, if your Lordships approve of the Motion which has been made, are the very worst solution of the question

which could be advanced. It is almost inevitable that there should be friction, and I cannot see the necessity for having these clauses at all; and, to attempt at this moment, at the fag-end of the Session, to introduce further Amendments which will meet the objections to these clauses which I have pointed out to your Lordships, is at this time, as I think, a thing which it is absolutely impossible to carry out. I would, for one, speaking for myself, undertake to support most willingly a Bill next Session to give the power to the Dublin Corporation of collecting their municipal rates; but I think it would be much better if it were done by a Public Bill. I think that would be more satisfactory to everybody. I do not think it is right to say that it cannot be done by a Private Bill, because I think it can, and the legal and best-informed authorities upon these matters have told me it can be done, and done properly; but I think it would be much more satisfactory that the Public Act of 1849 should, if possible, be amended by another Public Act. But, my Lords, however that may be, I have not heard yet from anybody anything which will lead me to go against the finding of the Committee of your Lordships' House. So far, no one has said anything at all against this finding—no one has suggested anything in this House. And beyond the statement, the mistaken statement as I consider it, that they have arrived at a conclusion which is diametrically opposed to the conclusion which the House of Commons' Committee have arrived at, I am not aware that anything has been said anywhere against their decision; and I am sure nothing could be said against their proceedings. I have carefully studied those proceedings; I have made it my business to study the proceedings both in this House and in the other House with regard to this question of the collection of rates, from the beginning to the end; and I am bound to say that in my opinion the noble Duke and his Committee acted with the greatest possible fairness to the parties, and that they took the greatest pains to examine into the merits of the questions which were submitted to them. I think their findings were right, as I have said. In my view they were right in the first

*The Earl of Camperdown*

instance in saying that until there was some financial arrangement the transfer of the collection of the Municipal rates ought not to be made. Consequently, I think, we in this House are quite right in saying that these Clauses A and B are not good clauses, but are defective in themselves. Holding these opinions, and having heard nothing to the contrary, I have to ask your Lordships to support the Committee, and to adhere to the Bill in the form in which it left your Lordships' House.

THE DUKE OF WESTMINSTER: My Lords, having been Chairman of the Committee which has been alluded to, your Lordships will naturally expect that I should make some explanation of the course which we followed during the numerous sittings which we held in regard to this Bill. At the same time we cannot but be aware of the inconvenience which attaches to the discussion of Private Bills here from the want of information in regard to all the various details and proceedings which have occurred. The Act of 1849 has been alluded to by my noble and learned Friend. There were three Acts. They were Public Acts, though relating to private or local affairs in Dublin; but they were carried at that time in order to consolidate the method of collection of rates in Dublin. I think it right to go into a little detail in order to put the matter as clearly as I can before your Lordships without going over the ground which has been already trodden by the noble Lord behind me. There had been previously six Boards. They were consolidated, and the collection of the rates was placed in the hands of the Collector General, who was appointed by the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. The Corporation had petitioned against that Act. They were always desirous naturally of having a hand in the collection of the rates themselves, and the Act of 1849 was not passed, therefore, without some opposition and some disagreement on the part of the Corporation of Dublin. From that time to this the collection of rates has been carried on by the Collector General and his staff without, I believe, any serious complaints with regard to the working and with regard to the method of collection. There were, however, some irregularities, and a Commission was appointed, I think in the year

1878, to go into the question of the collection of rates, but that Commission made no proposal to do away with the system of the collection of the rates by the Collector General. Since the tenure of office by the present Collector General, Dr. Kennedy, there have been no complaints, as I understand, whatever. The whole of the machinery has worked without any derangement; but the Corporation, having been able to pass what is called their Borough Funds Act, which enabled them to raise funds to meet the expenses of bringing a Bill before Parliament, brought in the present Bill this year. As has been stated by the noble and learned Lord, that Bill provided that the collection of the whole of the rates should be made by the Corporation of Dublin. The Bill passed before the Committee of the other House. They had 14 sittings, and they came to the conclusion that the Bill should be modified to this extent: that the Corporation of Dublin should collect the municipal rates within the city of Dublin proper. I must first explain to the House that the whole rate amounts in round numbers to about £300,000 a year, and that the municipal rate which would come out of that would be about two thirds, or about £200,000, leaving £100,000 a year, which is only one-third. That would have been the sum dealt with if that proposal had been carried, that the municipal rates to be raised by the Corporation should be collected by the Collector General. As the noble Lord behind me states, there is this peculiar difficulty in the Bill: that although under the clauses giving the collection of rates to the Corporation within the City of Dublin proper, they take away naturally two-thirds, the cost of collecting the £200,000 amounts out of the whole cost of collection (that being £10,000 a year) to £6,500 a year, leaving for the Collector General only one-third, or about £3,500 a year, making up the £10,000, the total cost of collection. But it seems that the work of the Collector General is the same, whether he has to collect 1s. or 3s.; whether he collects one-third or two-thirds of the rates, his expenses are very much the same; and, therefore, he would have to do the work of collecting the rates with £3,500, instead of £10,000, which he has at the present moment. That was the difficulty which we in the

Committee were not able to get over. There was no counter-proposal for getting over that difficulty, and the consequence was, that the rating clauses of the Bill were struck out. It was impossible that the Collector General should go on doing the same work, or almost the same work, with a diminished salary of two-thirds; that is, having two-thirds taken off the receipts from the collection. Therefore, though we were perfectly willing to consider and adopt, if possible, any fair arrangement by which the Corporation of Dublin might collect their own rates, there was nothing for it but to throw out the rating clauses of the Bill, because the Bill was absolutely unworkable as sent up by the other House. It seems to me, from the negotiations which have been carried on since between the Irish Office and the Corporation of Dublin, that that was the time, as the Bill stood when it left the House of Commons, when those negotiations should have been entered into rather than that we should have had all the trouble and expense incurred of having the matter brought before your Lordships' Committee and decided, and then that at the eleventh hour new clauses should be sprung upon us and that the Bill should be re-committed under circumstances which, as I understand, are entirely without precedent. After all, Part IV., relating to the rating clauses, is the main portion of the Bill. It was what is called an "Omnibus Bill;" there were portions of it directed to other purposes, but that was the main part of it. That was entirely altered by the new arrangement. New clauses were brought forward, and I understand that such a course, namely, bringing in what is practically a new Bill which cannot go before a Committee of the House of Commons is entirely without precedent. I have had some little experience in these matters, and I remember also that I myself moved that a Bill should be re-committed a few years ago—the Wrexham Mold and Connah's Quay Bill. But that was a different case altogether, because it was the same Bill, and there had been no alteration made in it. This was, in fact, entirely a new Bill which was re-committed to our Committee. As has been said, a new Department is created by these clauses; and it seemed to the Committee to be a very unworkable proposal

that there should be created an *imperium in imperio*, that this Corporation should have an office within the office of the Collector General; and those noble Lords who are the most conversant with these matters, will, I think, agree with me in the opinion that, especially in Ireland, such an office could not possibly work without very considerable difficulty and very serious friction. The constitution of that office has been explained by the noble Lord behind me, and therefore I will not go over the same ground again. It establishes a dual control, which, as we know, does not always work well; and the evidence of the officials of the Irish Office has been quoted strongly in opposition to any such proposal. In the first part of our sittings on the Committee the Collector General's evidence was this—I will not read it, because I do not wish to take up your Lordships' time, but I would just point out that he was in rather a delicate position in reference to the first and second parts of the inquiry. In the first instance he was asked, "Do you think that this dual control system would not work?" And his answer was "I do—emphatically I do." He thought this double sort of arrangement could not possibly work. And then, again, when he was examined afterwards, being in rather a delicate position as I have said as a servant of the Government, his evidence was that the alternative scheme could not work. He was asked, "Do you deem this a workable scheme?" and he said, "No, I think not." That is the evidence of a gentleman, who is, of course, most experienced in the working of the whole machinery, being as he is, the collector of the rates, and having had experience for seven years in that department. There is other evidence from the senior clerk to the same effect. The proposal, therefore, is for this sort of double office, one office working within the other, under those circumstances. Then there is this remarkable clause, which gives power to the Corporation at so early a period as the 1st of January next, to upset all the arrangements, and to confine themselves to levying the municipal rates only. But though, as the noble Lord has said, there is provision made in some manner for the superannuation of officers, we are landed in the same difficulty which made us

*The Duke of Westminster*

throw out the other rating clauses of the Bill—and my noble Friend has already alluded to it—that there is no power under the Bill of paying the salaries for this collection of rates. That is, that the Collector General having to collect one-third of the rates, or £100,000 a year, has not sufficient means to enable him to collect the rates because, as I have said before, it gives him as much trouble to collect 1s. as to collect 3s., and he will not in any sensible degree be able to reduce his expenditure. Therefore, the Committee, my Lords, came to the conclusion that the machinery would not work satisfactorily, that there would be too much friction, and that we should soon arrive, as we should have done before under the first Bill, at a deadlock with regard to the scale of payment of the Collector General's staff, and that the probability was very strong in the direction of increased expense being incurred to the ratepayers at large. The Committee, I need not say, came with a perfectly open mind to the matter; they were only anxious to effect, if they could, an arrangement, and they were much disappointed that they could not do it. My Lords, I think I have put the matter without going over ground which has been already trodden by noble Lords, as clearly as I can. There is a good deal more that I might have wished to say to your Lordships, but, in conclusion, I will only say that I hope the noble and learned Lord, having come on this occasion to the assistance of the Government, will follow on in that course, and that in future measures dealing with Ireland, the Government will have the assistance of himself and his friends for many Sessions.

\*EARL CADOGAN: It is not usual in your Lordships' House for the Government to take part in discussions upon, or to deal with, Private Bills; but it will, I think, be admitted that this Bill, though in effect a Private Bill, yet dealing as it does with a Government Department, is one upon which the Government is bound to offer its opinions. It has been said that this Bill should have been a public one, and that the subject with which it deals is not one which should properly be treated in a Private Bill. I am bound to confess myself that I think on the whole it would have been better if such a

change as that which is here contemplated could have been made in a Public Bill. But on the other hand, it should be remembered that the Act of 1849, to which allusion has been made, though it was, in fact, a public measure, in reality dealt with local and private concerns; and it was, therefore, thought by the promoters that inasmuch as that was a Bill of a quasi-private character, so also in this year, when it is thought desirable to make a modification of those former arrangements, a Private Bill would be an appropriate vehicle for so doing. I should like to be allowed to say that I have no wish, and I am sure none of my Colleagues have any wish, either to speak or to act in any way which could be considered disrespectful towards any of the Committees of your Lordships' House or towards the particular Committee which has considered this Bill. Those tribunals, I believe, command, and rightly command, the respect and confidence of the whole community; and, certainly, if fault could be found with the proceedings of any Private Bill Committees of your Lordships' House, it would not be with one of those which has been so ably presided over by the noble Duke. There is one point which, as far as I know, has not yet been made, which touches upon our attitude towards this Committee on this present occasion. It appears not to have been generally remarked that the clauses which are now before your Lordships' House are not precisely similar to—I would say that they differ somewhat materially from—those which the noble Duke opposite dealt with in the second Committee, over which he presided. If your Lordships will look at the Paper in your hand you will see that in Section A, in the 4th line, the words “the supervision of” have been inserted and added to the words of the clause as it stood when it was before my noble Friend's Committee, and, in my opinion, and I hope also in the opinion of the House, the addition of those words has made a considerable difference. Because it is a different thing that this sub-Department should be appointed for the purpose of the supervision and levying of these rates, and not as simply in the former clauses for the apportioning and levying of the same. And that will touch to some extent upon the

question of economy, to which allusion has been made by my noble Friend opposite, and to which I shall have occasion possibly to refer later. The noble Earl who spoke after the noble and learned Lord appears to me to have argued rather in a circle in the criticisms which he made upon these clauses. He stated, and if I may venture to say it, very clearly and correctly stated to your Lordships, that there were two sets of clauses which were placed before the Committee. The first clauses, roughly speaking, provided that the consolidated rate, which was instituted under the settlement of 1849, should be separated, and that the Dublin Corporation should provide for the collection of their own municipal rates, while the collection of the other rates should be left to the Collector General. To that proposition the Committee over which the noble Duke presided replied that they considered that system would be an extravagant one, and if I am not misinterpreting the main reason which the noble Duke and his Committee had in striking out those first clauses it was this, that the system would not be economical, and that the original system of consolidated collection of rate should be maintained. I hope I am not misinterpreting the Report of the Committee, but that is what I understand from it.

THE DUKE OF WESTMINSTER: What we said was that the Collector General had the same work to do with about two-thirds less money to pay for doing it.

\*EARL CADOGAN: And for that reason I think my noble Friend's Committee came to the conclusion that it was an undesirable proposal, in the interests of economy.

THE DUKE OF WESTMINSTER: Certainly.

\*EARL CADOGAN: That deals with what may be called the Commons' Clauses. Then, after the Bill was re-committed, after the arrangement had been made between my right hon. Friend the Chief Secretary for Ireland on behalf of the Government and the promoters of the Bill, it was provided that the consolidated collection should be maintained. As has been stated by the noble and learned Lord opposite, a sub-department is to be

created under the Collector General which is to supervise on behalf of the Corporation the collection of the municipal rate; and, inasmuch as the municipal rates forms two-thirds of the whole rates, it was, therefore, provided that two-thirds of the collectors should be appointed by the Corporation, although they are to be removable only by the permission of the Lord Lieutenant. Now, the noble Duke has said that this system would be likely to be unworkable, that there would be created an *imperium in imperio*, and that considerable friction would be likely to arise. Well, it is quite possible that some difficulty may be found in carrying this out, but the Government foreseeing that, have, by arrangement with the promoters, provided, as the noble Duke has already noticed, under subsequent sections, that if this system is found unworkable the consolidated collection may be divided, and that the Corporation may collect the municipal rates and the Collector General the remainder. But then, says the noble Duke, there is no provision in the Bill in that case (and I think Lord Camperdown said the same) whereby the extra expenditure of such a divided collection might be met. In reply to that, I can only say that the Government—I am not sure whether the promoters of the Bill would be equally willing—but the Government would be willing to insert a clause in the Bill providing for the expenses thus incurred. It might be done by increasing the limit of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., which is now the limit upon the rate. I only throw that out as a suggestion, and the Government would be prepared to so far meet the suggestion of the noble Duke and the noble Earl by inserting in the Bill some provision of that kind for the purpose of providing for this expense. But I cannot resist calling the attention of the noble Earl opposite to the fact that if this were to happen, as it may happen—if the consolidated rate were divided, and if the Corporation assumes the collection of its own rates, leaving the Collector General to collect the remainder, we shall then be landed exactly in the position which I understand the noble Lord opposite desires, because the noble Earl stated that he himself admitted the principle that the Corporation had the right to collect their municipal rates. He was prepared to

*Earl Cadogan*

admit that principle, but he did not see how the expenses of that collection could be met.

\*THE EARL OF CAMPERDOWN: What I said was that I was prepared to support an arrangement by which the Corporation should collect the municipal rates, provided there was inserted in the Bill carrying out that arrangement some means of meeting the deficit which would be occasioned in the funds of the Collector General, to some extent from the funds of the Corporation.

\*EARL CADOGAN: That is exactly what I stated, the Government would be prepared to insert a provision in the Bill for meeting the very proper objection which the noble Earl has raised, that in the event of this separation there is no provision for the funds which would be necessary for the purpose. But the question, after all, is whether it is not better in the interests of the ratepayers of Dublin, and in the interests of all parties, that the consolidated method of collection should be maintained, and it is for that reason, my Lords, that Her Majesty's Government have decided to support the clauses which are now before your House. It is in their desire to maintain economy and to prevent the extra expenditure which would be caused by division that they have agreed to the bringing in of these clauses, which at all events for the time being will leave the consolidated method of collection in operation. As to the other objections which have been put forward to these clauses, it would be impossible to pretend to be deaf to some of the objections which we have heard lately, and especially to that one objection which has been so much insisted upon, that the power which the Corporation will obtain by the creation of this Sub-Department in the Collector's Office will give them an opportunity of manipulating the franchise, and otherwise encouraging malpractices in the collection of the rates. I think it is very easy to see that any such doubts and fears as those are groundless. If the collection remains consolidated all these various rates must be collected together. Now the franchise is given upon the payment of the poor rate. Well, the poor rate would form part of the consolidated rate which would be collected. Inasmuch as the Corporation of Dublin will be entitled to two-thirds



of the Consolidated Rate, is it likely or probable that they would permit anyone over whom they had control to omit to enforce the payment of the whole of the consolidated rate in order thereby to manipulate the franchise? My Lords, I think that even if these collectors were entirely under the control of the Corporation of Dublin, such fears are not only exaggerated but are entirely groundless. But as these clauses stand, those collectors who are to be appointed by the Corporation are only to be appointed by them, they are to be under the control of the Collector General, they will be under his supervision, and will be in fact his servants. Therefore it is impossible to believe that men serving in an office under a superior, upon whose recommendation they might be dismissed by the Lord Lieutenant if they performed their duties in a manner in any way dishonourable, would risk the tenure of their office by any such acts as those which have been suggested. It has been said, "Why not let well alone; why insert any of these clauses at all?" Well, the position in which we find ourselves is this, that that system which might have been desirable and reasonable in the year 1849, it is impossible to maintain at the present time. The Corporation of Dublin have made a claim—I will not call it a demand—which, as far as I know, on neither side in this House nor in the other House, is considered in any way to be unreasonable or undesirable. They ask, as my noble Friend admits they have a right to do, to have the collection of their own rates. They did, it is true, in the earlier stages wish to collect the whole of the consolidated rate; they then lowered their demands by asking for a division of the rate, and for the collection alone by them of their municipal rates; and now, after conference with Her Majesty's Government, they have agreed to a compromise, which I am bound to say I think is not open to any really serious objection, and to which, so far as I can understand, none of the arguments of my noble and learned Friend opposite were fatal. I admit that there is that one rift in the scheme, namely, that no provision is made, in case of ultimate division, for the extra expense which will be incurred; but as I said before, we are prepared to remedy that in the way

I have suggested. One word more I should like to say before I sit down. We, as Members of the Government, have said much about our intention of giving Local Government to Ireland, and we have been encouraged to believe by noble Lords opposite, that it is the view of nearly all those who have given attention to Irish affairs, that such a concession cannot be long delayed. Well, what position will noble Lords then find themselves in, and in what position will this House be placed, if upon the first occasion of an application made for what I must call a reasonable and fair modicum of Local Government on the part of so important a body, as the Corporation of Dublin, that proposal is, I will not say scouted, but at all events refused somewhat peremptorily, by your Lordships? I hope I have made the matter quite clear, as far as the Committee is concerned, over which my noble Friend the noble Duke presided. I have nothing to say as to the reasons, no doubt satisfactory to them, which induced them to throw out these clauses; but I do most earnestly hope that noble Lords will not, after the settlement which has been come to by the Government, see fit to throw out these clauses, and thereby do an act which I believe myself will redound certainly not to the credit of this House, and which, obviously, will not assist us in the remedial legislation which we contemplate for Ireland.

\*THE MARQUESS OF WATERFORD (who, by leave of the House, was heard sitting): My Lords, the noble Lord who has just sat down has placed before your House several points with regard to these clauses, with which I cannot at all agree. He has pointed out to your Lordships that the word "supervision" has been added to this clause. I am informed that that word "supervision" was put in, in Committee, in the other House, and it was not put in, as I believe, at the instance of Her Majesty's Government, though I am not sure about that.

\*EARL CADOGAN: I said those words were not submitted to the Committee over which my noble Friend presided, and that therefore it now constituted a somewhat different clause to that which was originally presented.

\*THE MARQUESS OF WATERFORD: That word does not alter, in my view,

the objection which I have to this clause, because, although the word "supervision" is a very plausible word to put before your Lordships, yet at the same time, if you turn to page 2 of the Amendments you will see it is perfectly immaterial whether it is to be "supervision" or not, as what is objected to in this clause is that the Corporation of Dublin should have the appointment of the officers who are to be under the Collector General. The Corporation of Dublin appoints two-thirds of the officers. Whether they have supervision (and it is only supervision) or not is perfectly immaterial if the Collector General in Dublin is to have under his employment a number of men over whom he cannot possibly have any control whatever. The noble Lord has pointed out that he has the power of dismissal over these men. Quite so; but whom would the Corporation be likely to appoint in their stead? Our objection to these clauses was that we considered them absolutely unworkable. The noble Lord has explained that they will be economical. Our opinion is that they will be very much more extravagant than before, and that it is perfectly impossible that these clauses can work. The noble Lord suggested that the Government should insert a new clause to deal with the question of expense. I think the difficulty was pointed out by the noble Lord the Earl of Camperdown; but in the first place, if the provision contained in these clauses comes to an end, and I believe it will come to an end on the expiration of six months—supposing it does so, where is the machinery in the Bill to work on after that time? The noble Lord (the Lord Privy Seal) stated that his new clause would meet the difficulty raised by Lord Camperdown; but I deny that entirely. In my opinion, it would not meet that difficulty. There is no machinery, in the first place, for providing for the expense; there is no machinery, in the next place, for carrying on the collection of the rates. If what may take place under these clauses, and what is really contemplated by them, actually happens, and they come to an end either at the instance of the Lord Lieutenant, or at the instance of the Corporation, it would be perfectly impossible to go on without bringing in

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a fresh Bill. The noble Lord has admitted that is so with regard to the expense but not with regard to the machinery. There is, in fact, no machinery provided; the machinery was swept out of the Bill in the clause rejected by the noble Duke's first Committee. That is a point which has not, I think, been properly considered, and it shows how very crudely these clauses have been drawn and presented to your Lordships' House. I think the whole history of this Bill is most curious. In the first instance, Her Majesty's Government opposed the Bill in another place, then it came up to this House and was considered by the noble Duke's Committee, who went into it most carefully as the noble Duke has told us. The noble and learned Lord opposite mentioned that the Committee of the other House was a much larger Committee. I am sure your Lordships will have every belief in the ability of the Committee who considered this matter in the other House, but I am informed that, although there were eleven names mentioned as constituting it, there were really not more than half a dozen Members who were ever present. That is, perhaps, an immaterial point, but as the noble and learned Lord dwelt upon the numbers of the Committee, I thought I might as well mention the matter. But now I come to the point which has not been raised by any other speaker in your Lordships' House, except the Lord Privy Seal, and that is the point of manipulating the franchise. The Loyalists in Dublin are very much afraid, as to this matter, the noble Lord has said, that the men who have the management of this matter under the command of the Collector General may be dismissed. That is exactly the point. In carrying this out the Executive in Ireland may come to loggerheads with the Corporation. The Executive in Ireland will dismiss the men and the Corporation will probably reappoint them, or appoint the same sort of men to carry on in very much the same way exactly the same business. As to the franchise, that is a point which is very much regarded by the Loyalists in Dublin. The noble and learned Lord mentioned that "the Bill was supported by the citizens of Dublin," but, on the other hand, I can

inform the House that all the Loyalists, including the Chamber of Commerce, oppose the Bill. Perhaps numbers weighed more than property with the noble and learned Lord, but at the same time it is the fact that the largest ratepayers in Dublin are opposing the Bill, and certainly among the men who represent Loyalist opinions in Dublin this is considered as a direct blow to their interests. I believe that these clauses were moved in another place by the Chief Secretary for Ireland. I do not know why the late Lord Chancellor moved them in this House. We have two noble and learned Lords present who might have done so, as this appears to have been taken up as a Government measure. There is no one who has a greater admiration for the Chief Secretary for Ireland than I have, and all the Unionists throughout Ireland and England have the same admiration for him as myself, but at the same time I think this is a most extraordinary thing for him to have done, because, as I said before, I think in this he has struck a direct blow at the Loyalists of Dublin. Then the noble and learned Lord referred to the Committee of the Commons, and he stated it would be very wrong of your Lordships' House to disagree with a Committee so constituted as that which considered this Bill in the other House, that at any rate it would be very wise for your Lordships' House not to disagree with it. But the Committee of the other House never had these clauses before them at all, and therefore your Lordships' House will not be disagreeing with that Committee if you reject these clauses. They had quite different clauses before them. They had no doubt a clause which it has been said was a very reasonable clause, and one to which I should not have objected, a clause that enabled the Corporation of Dublin to collect their own rates. The noble Duke did not object to that.

**LORD HERSCHELL:** Indeed he did, for he struck it out.

**THE MARQUESS OF WATERFORD:** He struck it out because he considered it was absolutely unworkable, the noble Duke did not object to the principle; and, not only that, but Her Majesty's Government appeared against the clause. That was the clause that was before the Committee in the other House. The noble

and learned Lord has no doubt got a little mystified with the many changes of front that have taken place in this matter, but I understood the noble and learned Lord to state that the Committee of the other House had agreed to these clauses. The Select Committee of the other House never agreed to them at all, because they never were before them. Again, the noble and learned Lord said that these clauses were to enable the Corporation to collect their own rates. That is not quite the case; it is only to enable the Corporation to name two-thirds of the subordinates of the Collector General. That is not enabling the Corporation to collect their own rates, it is merely enabling the Corporation to upset, or I may say these clauses will upset, the collection of all rates in Dublin. We are not objecting to the Corporation collecting their own rates, we are objecting to the whole collection of rates in Dublin being upset by clauses which we consider to be absolutely unworkable. I will not detain your Lordships longer. I have tried to place before your Lordships' House as shortly as I could our great objection to this Bill, and I certainly hope that the noble Earl will divide the House on the question of rejecting these clauses, which, I think, will be of the greatest possible injury to Dublin, and a great blow to the principle of non-interference with a public Department by a Private Bill, and which will be absolutely unworkable, and must undoubtedly come to an end in six months, when a fresh Bill will have to be introduced in another place or in your Lordships' House to make this new system of managing affairs workable.

**THE LORD CHANCELLOR OF IRELAND:** Your Lordships have listened to a very interesting and temperate discussion in reference to the Bill which is now before your House. The noble Marquess who has just spoken has said that these particular clauses have never been placed before the Committee of the House of Commons. That, my Lords, is true: but they passed the whole House of Commons. This question was debated in the whole House, not before a Committee, but before the full House of Commons. They received the approval of the Chairman of the Committee of the House of Commons who presided over the deliberations, the

lengthened deliberations of the Committee, and what is the result? That these clauses come now before your Lordships accredited by the unanimous decision of the House of Commons, because when they were submitted to its judgment there was no Division challenged on them, and therefore I say they come before your Lordships with the full authority of the other House, after full examination of the details, and after discussion, when every opportunity was given for argument, and for the consideration of reasons which might be urged against them, when the Chairman of the Committee of the House of Commons (Mr. Hastings) took part in the discussion, as I collect from reading the papers this morning, and expressed his approval. The clauses now come before your Lordships. The objections which have been taken to them, presented on behalf of the Government by the right hon. the Chief Secretary for Ireland, were objections which I thought, until my noble Friend who has just sat down spoke, were admitted to be, not of principle or substance, but were all, if I may say so, without disrespect, merely drafting objections—that is to say, that the drafting of the clauses was not adequate or complete, or quite satisfactory, and that these amendments were necessary to carry out the benevolent design which underlay the clauses; that the clauses could not be carried out because they would not work. I believe I have not misrepresented the general opinion upon that point, and I say that the noble Earl or the noble Duke had nothing to urge in principle against these clauses, but that they were merely pointing out objections to their workableness, and indicating that if there was time they would require some probably far-reaching amendments.

THE DUKE OF WESTMINSTER: I do not admit that at all.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR OF IRELAND: I have no intention of misrepresenting the noble Duke or the noble Earl in a single detail of their interesting speeches, but I think my noble Friend's objection was directed to what will occur if there should be a hiatus, or if difficulty arises hereafter owing to the non-existence of the clauses. I do not think they went to the substance of what has been done. I have no inten-

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tion in the slightest degree of misrepresenting the purport or minimising the importance of the argument my noble Friend addressed to your Lordships; but, my Lords, it is necessary to remember that you have before you clauses which deal, although in a Private Bill, with a public and Government Department. It is true these clauses were presented to the House of Commons in a Private Bill. The measure was challenged by those who actively opposed these rating clauses, as to which I am sure it will be admitted there was a very strong feeling shown. It was indicated, and there was great force in the argument put forward by the objectors, that this was a matter which should be dealt with in a public rather than in a Private Bill. That was the argument in the House of Commons, and those whose duty it was to deal with it came to the conclusion that, although it did deal with a Government and public Department, it was a matter which was competent to be dealt with in a Private Bill, and it comes before your Lordships accordingly in the form of a Private Bill. But the substance of it remains. It is a Private Bill which, no doubt, deals in some of its most important provisions with a Government Department, and that is the reason why my right hon. Friend the Chief Secretary for Ireland and his Colleagues felt that they were called upon to take an active part in the legislation with regard to that Public Department; a fact which has been made plain by my noble Friend who has already spoken, the Lord Privy Seal. Well, that being so, this being a matter of much importance to those who have the working of Public Business in Ireland, it became important to consider what had been done before the Committee of the House of Commons. I should like to refer to one portion of the evidence before that large and mixed Committee which dealt with the matter. That Committee was not composed entirely of those who are opposed to me in politics; it was presided over by a gentleman who is a Liberal Unionist in politics, and it had many members who entirely concur, I believe, with my own way of thinking in politics, and it had others to whom I am opposed. Being such a large and mixed Committee, it arrived unanimously at the following conclusion:—"That the Com-

mittee are of opinion that it is not reasonable to refuse to the Corporation of Dublin the rights of levying and collecting any of their own municipal rates, rights which are enjoyed, as the Committee believe, by every other Municipal Corporation in the United Kingdom; they have, therefore, inserted provisions in the Bill conferring this right on the Corporation; the decision of the Committee on this point was unanimous." That finding of the House of Commons Committee is of the highest importance. It underlies all that is contained in these clauses; and when it came before the Committee of your Lordships' House, so well presided over by the Duke of Westminster, who has spoken so ably to-day, that finding of the House of Commons Committee was not dissented from in one singular particular. On the contrary, it was rather adopted in silence and accepted without question; but it was indicated that, sound as it might be in principle, it could not be applied, as there was not the necessary machinery provided for it, and that to supply that machinery would cost a great deal of money. Therefore, they came to the conclusion that it was desirable to throw out the Rating Clauses. I do not think I have misrepresented—and I am very far from intending to do so—the grounds on which your Lordships' Committee proceeded when this Bill was before them. I agree with all that has fallen from the Lord Privy Seal as to the respect due to the Committees of your Lordships' House, and the respect due to the able way in which they do their work, and certainly not less for the Committee which was presided over by the noble Duke. But, my Lords, bear in mind what the noble Duke has told you to-day. He has not indicated that they dissented in any particular from the findings of the House of Commons' Committee on the important point which I have read, which was that it is not reasonable to deny to the Corporation of Dublin the right which is enjoyed by every other Corporation in the United Kingdom. The ground on which your Lordships' Committee threw out the Rating Clauses was not on any point of dissent whatever in regard to principle, because they agreed with the principle; but they said it would be expensive to carry out; that it would cause expense to carry out the principle; and that there was

no financial provision to be found within the corners of the measure submitted to us to enable it adequately to work. My noble Friend, the Lord Privy Seal, has intimated to your Lordships that he is willing, on behalf of the Government, to meet that objection, so far as there is substance in it, by expressing his willingness to remove the limit of 2½ per cent. which is found in the Bill of 1849, subject to the sanction of the Lord Lieutenant in Council, which would prevent any possibility of there being any want of ways and means for the working of the Collector General's Department after the separation has taken place. That being so, is it too much to say that if such an amendment had been included in the clauses now before your Lordships it would not have removed the objection which I have stated to your Lordships was made by the noble Duke, and that the result would have been different? The noble Marquess who last addressed your Lordships has indicated a fear that if these clauses are adopted the Corporation of Dublin would be found so wanting in duty, so wanting in the recognition of the propriety of public life as to be parties to a working and manipulation of the rate-books which would operate upon the franchise against their opponents. My Lords, that is a fear which, I am aware, has been expressed in some quarters, and I am aware that it has been held in Dublin also, where, of course, as in many other places, a strong party feeling prevails. The majority of the Corporation hold strong political views which are opposed to the views that I myself and many others of the citizens of Dublin hold. But look, my Lords, at what is the fear that is expressed by the noble Marquess, and look at all that has to be overcome before that fear is to be realised. I do not put aside what I have stated in the first instance, that this is a matter which affects the Corporation of the Metropolis of Ireland in exercising its duties before the public, amenable to public criticism, acting under the surveillance of an active public press, and with keen party antagonists. But I say more; I say that the Corporation of Dublin would not only be knaves, but fools, if they could ever propose to act in such a way as that it could be said there was any real ground for the fear expressed by my noble Friend, because

if they abstained from collecting the rates in order to disfranchise their political opponents, they would be acting against every atom of their own self-interest, they would be depriving themselves of thousands of pounds of rates by leaving uncollected the comparatively small proportion of the rates, the non-collection of which might disfranchise their opponents. As I have said, in doing that they would, at the same time, be leaving uncollected a very substantial sum, which would otherwise have found its way into their own pockets. But, my Lords, it does not rest there. There are other checks. The officers of this Department will act not under the control and surveillance of the Corporation; they will still act in future, as at present, under the control of the Collector General, who is a Government official. And if they so conduct themselves, so flagrantly and so unscrupulously misbehave as to be willing to leave uncollected rates for some fraudulent and improper purpose, of course they would be at once dismissed, with the approval of every right-minded man in the community. And more than that, there is this provision in the clauses, that if this system of joint working is found to be unsatisfactory, it can be determined at any moment by the Lord Lieutenant as well as by the Corporation. The Government has the power of determining this arrangement, and leaving the Corporation to collect its own municipal rates, keeping in the hands of the Government officials, and under their own control, the collection of the poor's and other rates, and avoiding the possibility of the existence of any form of improper practices. Therefore I venture to think it would be impossible, and that these checks and safeguards are real. They are important, and they are distinctly to be borne in mind as an answer to the fears which have been expressed by my noble friends, and which I am aware are entertained in some quarters, and entertained by many of those whose opinions I value in the city from which I come. Now, what really is the character of the amendments which are submitted to your Lordships? They are susceptible of very ample and very plain statement. They recognise as an underlying fact, what has not been gainsaid by any one

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in your Lordships' House, and the noble Marquess himself has not ventured to call in question—that which was the unanimous finding of the Committee of the House of Commons, assented to practically by the Committee of your Lordships' House, sent to us in this House unchallenged by Division last night in the House of Commons—that it is fair and reasonable that the Corporation of Dublin should have granted to it the right which is exercised by every other Municipality in the United Kingdom. That is the underlying principle of every one of the clauses before your Lordships, and that is besides the scheme of the Bill as it is worked out. In addition to that, objection has been taken by the noble Duke that it is advisable to postpone this in order to see if some *modus vivendi* can be adopted—that it might possibly be found that some other method could be adopted, and that it is advisable to postpone the measure in order to see whether both parties cannot go on under some cheaper system than this—that it would be well to avoid this expensive method of giving the Corporation the right to collect their own rates by a separate machinery. But it is said that you have provided such a cumbrous method that it will be too expensive, and that the clauses are open to objection upon their drafting details. But is that so? What is the system that is provided? It is proposed that at some future time, if either the Corporation on the one side, or the Government on the other, think it desirable for their interests, or on account of public expediency, that there should be any separation, that then it shall take place; and it is considered that that is right in principle. But what is the machinery that is provided before that remission is determined upon? It is to be subjected to the tests and teachings of experience. If it breaks down upon the teaching of experience, that will show that it is necessary to have the separation; but are not these clauses reasonably and temperately drawn, if there is to be any form of experience in order to avoid the expense of creating any separation now? It provides that it is to be subject to the control and discipline of the Collector General, who is a Government officer. The collectors remain under the supervision of the head of the whole

Department, all the officers of that Department, whether appointed by the Corporation or by the Lord Lieutenant, are amenable to his discipline, and while this lasts there is to be a Department under him, under his discipline, and amenable to his control. The authority and control, and the power of supervision in the Department, and the power of inspecting and looking at the books, are matters to which evidently the Corporation attach very considerable weight. That allegation, whether well or ill-founded, I am not now concerned to discuss. I am not to be taken as assenting to the views which have been expressed by the Corporation, but they are allegations of the grounds upon which they desire to have some form of supervision. They say they being the principal authority in Dublin, are entitled to have an opportunity of supervising the books in connection with which these rates are levied and collected, and that it is reasonable they should have the power of seeing and understanding how it is that certain large arrears have been allowed to accumulate in Dublin. The Collector General is of opinion that those arrears accumulated owing, I suppose, to normal causes. But the Corporation say that however that may be, as those are arrears in respect of taxable premises within their own authority they have the right of examining and considering how the arrears have grown up and of making the necessary checks, and therefore a machinery is provided; not, I should say an expensive machinery at all, for I should think it could be limited to two or three officers under the control of the Collector General, but appointed by the Corporation, who would have the power of examining the books, and who would have that power of supervision to which my noble Friend the Lord Privy Seal has referred. It is obvious that some such clauses are expedient in the interests of economy. It is perfectly plain that whenever a separation takes place, it must in the nature of things cause expense. You cannot have two separate Departments without causing expense, and you practically say to the Corporation of Dublin, "You are never to have this right, which is admitted to be reasonable by the House of Commons Committee and by the House of Commons itself, which has been assented to by the Com-

mittee of your Lordships' House, and which is not traversed by any Member of your Lordships' House who has taken part in the debate upon this Bill." Of course it cannot be granted or carried out without costing something. It must be a more or less expensive process; it will be expensive to the Corporation and expensive also to the Government, but not, I should think, in any serious degree. That is, this staff will have to work the whole Department with funds not so extensive as at present. That represents the last objection that has been taken. It was taken by the noble Earl who spoke after my noble and learned Friend, Lord Herschell, that there is no machinery (and this is a point which was also taken by the noble Marquess) for the working of the Collector General's Department after the separation takes place. I am informed by my friend, the Attorney General for Ireland, who has looked very closely into this matter—and I may say that my own judgment, as far as I have had an opportunity of looking into it, coincides—that this Bill does provide ample machinery, in addition to the fact that it leaves untouched the other clauses of the Act, 1849, and that the Department in so far as it is affected by this new arrangement will go on, will have its staff provided for, and its salaries paid; and there is ample machinery under existing legislation unaffected by the new legislation, which will enable the new Department to go on after the separation. That leaves the point which was taken by the noble Earl and the noble Duke untouched—that the funds are not sufficient; but my noble Friend, the Lord Privy Seal, met that point, and it is the only point which I think really requires to be dealt with, speaking without disrespect to the other portions of the argument. My noble friend, the Lord Privy Seal, stated that the Government are prepared to insert a clause at the end which would prevent the possibility of there being any hitch in regard to the amount of the funds requisite for the payment of the staff of the Collector-General. The only hitch that could arise would be if the 2½ per cent. payable upon the sum collected under the existing legislation should be found insufficient, or when so large a sum was required that that difficulty would have to be removed by



taking away that power and giving it to the discretion of the Lord Lieutenant in Council as at present. I am not aware that there has been any other point presented to your Lordships upon which, I think, I might be able to offer the House any assistance. I venture to present to your Lordships that the objections which have been taken before have all conceded, or left absolutely unchallenged, the governing principle of these clauses, that the main portions of the objections have been to the inadequate framing of the clauses—that they are not workable, which I venture to call drafting objections, and objections to the mere form of the clauses. The other objections are those which have been taken by my noble Friend, which I have endeavoured to meet by indicating all the checks of public opinion, self-interest, discipline, and the controlling power of the Lord Lieutenant, which I venture to think will prevent the fear of, undoubtedly, a very grave character which has been expressed being realised. Therefore I hope your Lordships will assent to the clauses which have been presented by my right hon. Friend the Chief Secretary for Ireland, and which were framed after much consideration.

\*THE EARL OF MORLEY: I do not propose to make any lengthened remarks upon the merits of this Bill, but I do desire to make a few remarks upon the position in which it stands at present in your Lordships' House, and upon the position in which it stood in the Committee over which the noble Duke behind me presided. A good deal has been said to-night about the action which was taken in re-committing the Bill to the Committee on Unopposed Bills. I am entirely responsible for that action. I think it is desirable that I should say two or three words upon the subject. In the first place, I understood that the clauses as they came up from the House of Commons were rejected by the noble Duke's Committee simply because, in their opinion, they would not work. Nothing was said in opposition to the principle which, I believe, has been conceded generally, which, at any rate, I have not heard opposed by any noble Lord who has spoken, namely, that the Corporation of Dublin, if they desire to do so, should have power to collect their own

*Lord Ashbourne*

rates. Believing that that principle was not opposed in Committee, and finding that the clauses, either in their existing form or in the form which the Committee might think desirable, might lead to a satisfactory solution of the question, it appeared to me that the opportunity should not be lost of endeavouring to arrive at an arrangement, and I think your Lordships would have accused me of perhaps excessive deference to rule if I had refused when I was asked to do so to recommit the Bill. But, my Lords, the clauses which were then introduced again did not meet with the approval of the Committee. The Committee's decision is unquestionably deserving of all approval and support from your Lordships' House, as indeed are the decisions of all Private Bill Committees, and I am quite sure this Committee was far from being an exception to the general rule, for it took great pains and trouble in the examination of the scheme which was presented before it. But I think it is to be regretted, I am bound to say, that the Government did not take an earlier opportunity, when the Bill was committed to the Opposed Bills Committee, of opposing the clauses then in the Bill. It was quite at the last moment that that opposition was brought before the Committee, and then not in a satisfactory manner. The Government placed the Committee in a position of no little difficulty, and it placed upon the Committee a responsibility which I think it was hardly fair to place upon them. But may I ask your Lordships for a moment to consider what the position of affairs is at present. The principle, as I said before, has been generally conceded, that if the Corporation of Dublin desire to collect their own municipal rates they should be allowed to do so. The Committee objected on various grounds to the proposals by which that principle was to be carried into effect. The last objection, and the one which I think the noble Lord who moved that the Amendments should not be agreed to, laid especial stress upon was that in the event of the arrangement for the joint collection officers falling through there was no machinery or means of paying for the divided collection of rates, and this appears to me to be a good, a valid objection. Now

I understand that the noble Lord the Lord Privy Seal is prepared to introduce a clause to remedy that defect, and that appears to me in great measure to meet one of the main objections brought forward in the noble Duke's Committee. But I would point out this fact: that though this is a Private Bill, and in spite of what has been said, it is quite competent in a Private Bill to alter a public measure, especially when that public measure relates to only one locality. Still, I think it might have been better if it had been introduced as a public measure first of all. It deals with a public, a Government office, and with persons who are to be appointed and to be dismissed by Government, and it appears from the arguments on both sides that the Committee to whom the Bill was referred would be justified without retracting the opinions which they had formed (and I think they have shown good reasons for the opinions which they formed), and without any loss of dignity whatever, refuse to take upon themselves the responsibility of opposing a change in a public office which has been supported by Government, and of which the Government must take the whole responsibility. That seems to me to be the position with regard to the Committee itself. I need not assure your Lordships that I shall always be, as I hope my predecessors were, jealous of any interference with the decisions at which Private Bill Committees arrive. I think any attempt at reversing their decisions should be most jealously guarded, and, indeed, hardly ever allowed; but, as I said before, this is a very peculiar case, and I think, without any loss of dignity whatever, this Committee might assent to a reversal of its opinion, having heard the alterations which the Government propose to make in the clauses to which they objected. In this way I think we may fairly say the Committee would be entirely relieved from all responsibility in regard to the opinion they have expressed; and when the Government tells your Lordships, as they have told you, that the change is one which is desirable on public grounds, and that the scheme is one that will work, and is one for which they will be responsible, and they alone, I think, without either any loss of dignity to the Committee, or danger of establishing a

precedent in future, your Lordships might agree to the Amendments proposed.

\*THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: My Lords, I only wish to say a word or two. This Bill is perfectly new to me, and I do not hold myself competent at all to express an opinion on the very detailed questions which have been handled in this Debate. If only a Private Bill interest were involved I should say the Government would be behaving very improperly in interposing at all in the deliberations of the House upon the subject, but it is evident, from what we see, that there is something more than a Private Bill interest in this matter—that there are public interests concerned on one side and another; and it is with reference to that side of the question and that aspect of it that I desire to say one word. I do not think that mere questions of private and local interest are sufficiently large to have attracted all the attention that this Bill has attracted either in this House or in the other. What I wish to say refers to the opinions of some of my noble Friends behind me. The Irish Office has a very difficult task to perform. Nobody recognises that more fully than my noble Friend opposite. There are great differences of opinion as to the mode in which that task has been performed, but I think I may say that on this side of the House there is a general opinion that the mode in which the Irish Office has been conducted is worthy of commendation. [*Ministerial cheers.*] Yes; but if that is your opinion you must give effect to it. You cannot accept a policy and take little bits out of it at your pleasure. If the Irish Office is not worthy of your confidence, if you do not approve of the way in which it is conducted, if its general spirit is alien to your views, I have not a word to say against any opposition you may bring against it; but if the contrary of all that is the case, and if in the case of a measure which, though apparently a Private Bill, has yet obviously public features very strongly marked which have been of sufficient importance to induce the Government to interfere and themselves to move changes in the Bill—if in that matter you withdraw the good opinion which you previously held and try to make an isolated altera-

tion, I think you will see that you do that which you would not like to do with any person whom you employ in any department of life, and that you would hesitate very considerably before you interfered in a matter of which your knowledge is necessarily imperfect, and in which you must be guided by the information of those whom you trust. Therefore, my Lords, I think on that ground alone my noble Friends will take a very great responsibility if they give a vote to night which means a vote for the dropping of the Bill. But there is one further consideration which I would impress upon their minds. The loyal minority of Ireland is not strongly represented in Parliament, not so largely as its numbers by any means deserve, but it receives a very considerable addition to its representation by the condition of opinion in this House; and the votes of my noble Friends are looked upon as the expression of the opinion of the loyal minority. Divested of all technicalities, the form in which the announcement that this Bill has been lost by the vote of the House of Lords will be to say, "In spite of the efforts of the Government the House of Lords has thrown out the Dublin Corporation Bill." What is the impression that will give of the attitude of those of your Lordships who sympathise with the loyal minority towards the Government? Will not the feeling be in Ireland that we have not only to contend with the bitter and relentless hostility of a large portion of the population, but also that we have lost the confidence of those with whom we have been hitherto supposed to be in deepest sympathy? And remember that you strike that blow at our moral credit at a moment when we have very heavy tasks before us—tasks that will require beyond everything else the cordial support of all those who generally sympathise in the policy that we pursue. Both, therefore, my Lords, on account of the individual Bill itself, and on account of the interpretation which will be put upon the attitude of this side of the House to the Government in Ireland, I hope that your Lordships will not be persuaded to give a vote that will reject the Bill.

\*THE EARL OF CAMPERDOWN: I rise to ask the indulgence of the House for the purpose of addressing a  
*The Marquess of Salisbury*

question with regard to a statement as to a matter of fact which has been made by Lord Cadogan and the Lord Chancellor of Ireland just now in reference to the Bill. They said with regard to dealing with the deficiency which will be occasioned in the salaries of the Collector General's Office that they are prepared to introduce a clause for that purpose. In the event of the collection of the municipal rates being taken over by the Corporation of Dublin, the collection of £200,000, or two-thirds of the rates, will go to the Corporation of Dublin, and one-third will remain under the control of the Collector General. Now, what I want to ask is this: Does the noble Lord (the Lord Privy Seal) mean by that that he will make this arrangement with regard to the salaries—that he will increase the poundage upon the £100,000 and make that £100,000 of rates, or rather the persons who pay that £100,000 of rates, whoever they may be, in that way liable for the deficiency in the salaries of that Department?

EARL CADOGAN: The answer is, Yes.

THE DUKE OF WESTMINSTER: If the noble Lord will pardon me for one moment, might I ask whether it would not be possible to make it certain that the rest of Dublin shall not suffer, but that the whole rate shall be placed upon the City of Dublin as well as upon the outside townships. It is very hard upon the outside townships if it cannot be placed on the whole of the £300,000. I think it would be more fair if that could be done.

LORD HERSCHELL: My Lords, I was appealed to by the noble Duke in rather an inquiring fashion as to whether the support which I have given to Her Majesty's Government on this occasion could be reckoned on by them in future in their dealings with Ireland. I can only give this answer—that I support them on this occasion because, honestly, I believe they are in the right. If that conviction arises in other matters on any future occasion in regard to any of their proposed dealings with Ireland, I can only say that they may count upon the same hearty support; but, my Lords, I cannot help feeling that this is a matter which does very seriously concern your

Lordships' House, and I certainly have not made this proposal from any desire to serve any party end. It appears to me, with the views which I entertain as to the necessity for some greater change than many think desirable, or necessary in the Government of Ireland, that the very best thing that could possibly happen would be that the noble Earl who commenced this debate should succeed, and should carry his rejection of the proposal which I make to the House. I do not think that that success would be a good thing for your Lordships' House. I believe it would be mischievous, and that is one of my motives in making this proposal, and in urging it upon your Lordships. I have no desire to see anything done that would diminish the credit or impair the future usefulness of your Lordships' House, but if I were actuated by political motives, I confess it does seem to me that I have every reason to desire that my motion should not be successful. I have always adopted this attitude with regard to the government of Ireland. I believe great changes are necessary, but, at the same time, so long as those changes cannot be made, I have always felt that I ought not to cast any difficulty in the way of the administration of the Government in Ireland—at all events, unless some deep question of principle is involved; and on this occasion, it seems to me, it would be adding to the difficulties of any government in dealing with Ireland, if when the Irish Government and an important Corporation—the Corporation of the chief city of Ireland—are agreed upon a particular matter such as the collection of rates, your Lordships were to interfere—if Parliament were to interfere and determine, although they had come to such an agreement as this—although they have thought it workable and satisfactory, that it should not come into operation. Although I cannot be actuated by the appeal of the noble Marquess opposite, who urged that those should support this proposal who had unalloyed confidence in the Irish Government—although I cannot profess to entertain that unalloyed confidence, or to be influenced by that in my action to-night, yet I have this confidence, that if the Irish Government and the Corporation of Dublin are agreed upon a matter, having regard to their extreme

opposition in political views, and in regard to the administration of the Government, that affords in the highest degree the fullest probability that the result which they have arrived at is a correct and sound one. And when we are told that this scheme is unworkable, what impresses my mind is this: I mean no disrespect to the noble Duke's Committee in saying it, but I would rather have on a matter of this kind the joint opinion of the Irish Government and the Corporation of Dublin than that of any four noble Lords of this House, whoever they may be, especially if they are altogether unconnected with Ireland, and know nothing about the collection of rates, or about the Dublin Corporation. That is my reason for asking your Lordships to believe that this arrangement is a more workable one than has been suggested. But I should like to add this. I have read the evidence to which the noble Duke called attention with regard to this scheme being an unworkable one, that is to say, the evidence of the Collector General himself, and it seems to me that it was rather an over-statement of the case to say that he represented the scheme as unworkable. He said that it depended upon how it was worked, "whether the Corporation are to act independently of my office or by way of supervision; if the former is intended, it will be unworkable." The noble Duke said the words might be understood to intend that. But, then, he was asked—"What would you suggest if that is to be intended?" and he said, "It might be used for the superintending and the applotting and levying of the Municipal rates." In the clause now before your Lordships that objection has been met. Something very like those exact words have been adopted, namely, that for the word "superintend," which he used, the word "supervision" has been adopted. I say, therefore, that has been met by the altered form in which the clause has been submitted to your Lordships' House from that in which it was submitted to the Committee. Therefore, it cannot be said that the opinion of the Collector General was pronounced upon exactly this form of the clause, and you will not, therefore, be following his guidance if you vote for the rejection of the clause. I will not trouble your lordships further,

except upon one point. I cannot understand how any human being can bring himself to believe that it would be possible under these provisions, even if it were at all probable, for the Corporation officials to manipulate the rates, and so disfranchise their political opponents. It seems to me the wildest idea that ever entered human imagination; but that it has actuated the minds of many noble Lords there can be no doubt, because what else can have brought so many noble Lords down to the House? I cannot otherwise understand the whips that have been issued and the large attendance of noble Lords to-night. I am unable to discover whence these ideas can have sprung; but, however, there they are; and, what is more, the noble Marquess, with an absence of the reticence which was displayed on this side of the House, has plainly advanced them. On what ground has it been supposed that this would be done, even if it could be done? What motive is there on the part of the Corporation for doing it as has been suggested? I can understand the anxiety of noble Lords on this side of the House, and I sympathise with them in their desire not to have any diminution in the number of Liberal Unionists to be found in Dublin; but, really, when one considers it for a moment, what motive could there be for it? This is not a case in which opposing political views are nearly, or anything like nearly, balanced; and it is ridiculous to suppose that people are going, without motive, to disfranchise their political opponents, even if they could. Is it reasonable that such a suggestion as that should be made? What sort of feelings would be excited among the majority by the adoption of such a course? The noble Marquess speaks for the Loyalist minority, but does he think nothing of, and care nothing for, the majority? And, yet, what is he suggesting? He says: "These votes may be manipulated by whoever has the collection of the rates; therefore, let us keep the collection of the rates strictly and exclusively in true Loyalist hands." Does he think that other people may not suspect that the collection of the rates may be manipulated for political purposes just as much by their opponents? Do you think there is no probability of anything of that sort?

*Lord Herschell*

I do not at all believe in either party doing it; but it seems to me there is something rather outrageous in the objection that now all is pure because the collection of the rates is for the most part in the hands of the Loyalist minority, but that it would become impure if it passed into the hands of the political majority. Is it wise to put forward such a view as that? But, my Lords, in truth, the view is an impossible one, and I venture to say it is absolutely chimerical. If they wanted to do it they could not do it. Let the experiment be made as the Bill provides; and I venture to say that it is impossible it can be worked for the disenfranchisement of people in Dublin, whatever their political views may be. I assure my noble Friends, whatever political party it may serve, if I thought it could be used for such a purpose, I should not be found supporting it, because nothing would be further from my views or my desire; but I think these clauses may well be adopted, and that there is not any foundation for the fears which have been expressed by some noble Lords opposite, and by some also on this side of the House. Though I do not know that I have any right to appeal to them, I would remind them of what was said by their Leader in the other House only yesterday. He said that the land legislation of the Government was going to be followed by another form of legislation, and he said that this is a necessary preliminary to a complete and liberal extension of Local Self-Government. I would appeal to his followers in this House whether they think it wise as their contribution to this question of Local Self-Government in Ireland, to take part to-day in rejecting provisions the loss of which will be so much regretted by an important local body in Ireland, and the rejection of which will be believed, I will venture to say, to be fatal to the prospects of any satisfactory scheme of Local Government. My Lords, I will conclude by moving the adoption of the first of the Commons' Amendments in regard to the formation of a separate department in the office of the Collector General of Rates for the supervision of the applotting and levying of municipal rates, and providing that the power of collecting such rates should be vested in and exercised by the Corporation.

On Question, their Lordships divided :  
—Contents 29 ; Not-contents 21.

Resolved in the affirmative.

The rest of the said Amendments agreed to.

**EARL CADOGAN :** My Lords, I move to insert the following after Clause F, as a new clause :—

"If at any time it appears to the Lord Lieutenant, after investigation, that the expenses specified in Section 27 of the Collection of Rates Act, 1840, in relation to the rates for the time being collected by the Collector-General, regard being had to due and reasonable economy, are such that the limit of £2 10s. in the said section mentioned will not be sufficient to discharge such expenses, the Lord Lieutenant may, by order made by and with the consent of the Privy Council, direct that the said limit shall, for a period to be named in the order, be such amount greater than £2 10s. as shall under the circumstances be necessary to discharge such expenses, and therefore the said section shall, with respect to such period, be read and construed as if the amount specified in the said order were inserted in the said section in relation to the rates in this section before-mentioned, instead of the amount of £2 10s."—(*Earl Cadogan.*)

Agreed to.

Bill returned to the Commons.

#### BILLS OF SALE BILL.—(No. 51.)

Returned from the Commons agreed to, with Amendments. The said Amendments to be printed, and to be considered on Thursday next. (No. 268.)

#### BANKRUPTCY BILL.—(No. 237.)

Returned from the Commons with several of the Amendments agreed to, and one disagreed to, together with the reason for such disagreement. The said reason to be considered on Thursday next.

#### BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

Standing Orders Nos. XXXIX. and XLV. considered (according to order), and dispensed with for the remainder of the Session.

#### TENANTS' COMPENSATION BILL. (No. 264.)

Read 3<sup>a</sup> (according to order), with the Amendments.

**THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY :** There is one amendment I wish to move. I think it is to meet a *casus omissus* in the Bill. The effect of the Bill as it now stands

would be that if a bit of land which had been held with another farm was taken separately, and the new tenant proceeded to drain it and to build farm buildings upon it, he might entirely oust a mortgagee who had executed the mortgage without any idea of the danger he ran. For instance: £10 per acre would be spent upon farm buildings; £7 per acre would be spent on drainage; I take it that £17 per acre is more than, or quite as much as, any mortgagee would now lend upon land—ordinary land. The result would be that the mortgagee would be put to considerable danger. What I propose is that these charges shall not operate against a mortgagee unless they have been registered before the mortgage is executed. When they are registered, of course, the mortgagee is taken to have obtained all necessary information, and it is his own fault if his charge is ousted. As the matter now stands, I think it would be a serious injustice to the mortgagee, and would throw a considerable amount of discredit upon land as a mortgageable security.

\***LORD STANLEY OF ALDERLEY :** This Bill only comes into effect in case of a mortgagee having foreclosed; and, when a mortgagee forecloses, if he does so according to legal forms, after he has foreclosed, he ceases to be a mortgagee and becomes owner absolutely. All this Bill does is to confer upon this new owner the full rights and duties of an owner. The noble Marquess has always said that Parliament will not do anything to injure the rights of the mortgagee; therefore, I expected some opposition from him to this Bill, just as, in any case where the remainderman is touched, Lord Bath always came forward to the rescue. One is tempted to believe that the noble Marquess is bidding for Membership of the Liberty and Property Defence League, in order that he may rebut the insinuations of the noble Lord on the Cross Benches as to Socialism. I wish to ask the noble Marquess whether he has consulted with his Minister of Agriculture on this point, because Mr. Chaplin was very strong some time ago upon the subject—that if this Bill does not pass as it is, all the tenants will be requiring from the landlords, before taking land, inquiry into their title, and putting ques-

tions which will be very troublesome. In the part of the country with which I am connected, I do not think there is likely to be any difficulty of this sort; but it appears that in the Eastern Counties that would be the case. The noble Marquess, no doubt, has seen what has passed at the Central Chamber of Agriculture. There the opinion of a conveyancing barrister was read. He said that there might be some difficulty in passing a Bill in the case of old mortgages, but he did not think that as to future mortgagees there would be any trouble. That is exactly the reverse of the noble Marquess's proposal. He proposes to safeguard the future mortgagees.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: No—the old mortgagees also.

\*LORD STANLEY OF ALDERLEY: I mean, those improvements registered previously to the execution of the mortgage. I am not quite sure how that is. In many cases tenants may have to do, as the noble Marquess has just stated, trifling improvements, such as drainage; and he would have to lose those because of the necessity of safeguarding the mortgagees, or what were mortgagees. Can the noble Marquess say that his Minister of Agriculture approves of this Amendment?

LORD HERSCHELL: I think that the effect of the proposal of the noble Marquess would go beyond what he intends, because it would destroy the effect of this part of the clause altogether. The evil that the Bill is intended to meet is this:—It very frequently happens that a mortgagor in possession lets his land. I suppose a great number—the majority, probably, one may say—of the estates in this country have some mortgages upon them, and at present the mortgagor is generally treated as the owner. He makes his leases, and there is no inquiry as to whether there are mortgages existing or not. Under the existing law, if the mortgagee comes in and takes possession, the rights of those persons who took from the mortgagor are ousted. Now, if you exclude from the operation of this clause all those cases in which improvements are not registered before the mortgage, you will exclude nearly all the cases with which the Bill intends to deal. Because the evil to be met is this: The

*Lord Stanley of Alderley*

tenant who takes knows nothing about a mortgage; he supposes he is dealing with the mortgagor, and he takes the land of him, and makes improvements on the faith that they are improvements made in respect of which he will get the ordinary compensation at the end of his tenancy. Then a mortgagee comes forward and takes possession, and he is deprived of all these improvements, and of all the payment in respect of them which he would have had if the mortgage had not existed, and if the mortgagor in possession had been absolute owner of the property. Now, you do not get rid of the evil at all by simply providing that if, before he takes, the mortgage is registered, he shall be protected. He knows nothing about the mortgage, and had never heard of it, and, therefore, he is not in a position to protect himself, except, of course, by making inquiry; lessees might all make inquiry whether their lessor was a mortgagor, and if so insist on the concurrence of the mortgagee in the lease; but I am quite sure the noble Marquess and noble Lords opposite would say that that would not be likely to facilitate lettings, and that there would be considerable objection to the necessity in every case of the concurrence of a mortgagee in the lease wherever there is any mortgage on the property. It is certainly desirable to avoid that necessity. But after the recent decision, tenants will be likely to insist, unless they are afforded the protection of this Act, upon knowing whether their lessor has mortgaged his property or not, because without knowing it they will not have the slightest security when they become tenants. Now, an objection—and I admit it has some force—has been taken to the wording of this clause as it stands. I think the objection has been a little exaggerated, because fears were expressed lest, if the mortgagor had let upon a fine, the mortgagee might not be made to pay back to the tenant the fine which he paid to the mortgagor, as being expenditure which he has made in expectation of holding the land for the term of his contract of tenancy. I do not think myself that such a construction would be probable, but, at the same time, I think there is reasonable ground for suggesting that an Amendment be made; and that is, that after “ex-



penditure" the words "upon the land" should be inserted. Then there is another point to which objection has been taken, and I think also with some reason. Allowance is made to the tenant for expenditure made in expectation of holding the land for the full term of his contract of tenancy, and for which he has not been recouped. A man may not have been recouped for a very inexpedient expenditure, which really does not improve the land at all. The reason why he has not been recouped may be because it is expenditure that ought never to have been made. I think there is some reason in that objection, and that that might be met by substituting for the words "for which he has been recouped" the words "in so far as the improvement resulting therefrom is not exhausted at the time of his being so deprived." It would then rest in this way: that if the mortgagee came in and deprived him otherwise than in accordance with his contract of tenancy—of course if the contract of tenancy covered it, it would be dealt with in the ordinary way—but if the mortgagee came in and deprived him on the notice that this Bill permits, then he should pay compensation for any expenditure upon the land which the tenant has made in expectation of holding the land for the full term of his contract of tenancy, in so far as the improvement is not exhausted at the time of his being so deprived. In other words, if there remain an additional value given to the land, by reason of his expenditure, at the time he is deprived, to that extent he should get compensation. I was myself about to suggest those two Amendments, which I think do hit a little blot in the Bill.

**THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY:** I was only going to ask this. If an improvement confers no value on the land, can you talk of its being capable of being exhausted? Would it not remain unexhausted to the end of time?

**LORD HERSCHELL:** That might be met by changing the word "the" into "any." My suggested Amendment would then read, "in so far as any improvement resulting therefrom is not exhausted at the time of his being so deprived."

**THE LORD CHANCELLOR:** This seems to me to be a question rather of political economy. There is no doubt as

to what the law is. A mortgagee might be ousted of the full security of his mortgage by reason of the expenditure; when he forecloses he finds that a great deal has been done which he has got to pay for practically, and in some way or other that ought to be met. If there are any better words than those suggested, of course one would gladly adopt them, but that it ought to be met in some manner seems to be quite manifest. Otherwise, no mortgagee would be likely to advance his money on land unless he has security against the mortgagor and the tenant between them practically building him out of his mortgage. There are a great many farm buildings and so forth, technically called improvements, which the experience of many noble Lords will show have not very much added to the value of the estate, but, in point of justice, because they ought to be paid for, the man himself and his mortgagor have agreed to be erected at his own expense. But there is a third person to be consulted—a mortgagee who has had no notice. He finds that his security has been diminished by an expenditure which, upon the hypothesis, gives additional value to the land. That is the sort of thing that ought to be provided for, otherwise it would be unjust; and, because it is unjust, it would have this effect upon the letting value of the land as a security upon which money could be advanced, that it would discourage people from advancing money on mortgage to the extent to which it is found that mortgagees are injured by that sort of process. Therefore, that in some way or other that difficulty ought to be met is quite manifest. I am not at all prepared to adopt the particular words of the noble Marquess, but it is quite clear that some words which shall provide against that contingency are necessary for the working of the Bill, and for the keeping of land as a good security for money.

**THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY:** I do not wish to press my Amendment after what has been said by the noble Lord, whose views on a legal matter are, of course, much more likely to be correct. I should rather be inclined to urge him to put off the Bill till Thursday, in order that the words may be given notice of and carefully considered. But that is a

matter for his consideration. My only fear is that the first part of the Agricultural Improvements Act of 1883 gives liberty for a series of improvements which may or may not confer value upon the land. There is the limitation introduced into the Act that they must not be adopted without the assent of the landowner; but under the present theory the landowner is really impecunious, and to him it matters very little. The mortgagee, who is really the person interested, has not got to give his consent under the Act. Therefore I think you are running the risk of a very serious injustice unless you adopt some such measure as I have proposed, or has been proposed by the noble and learned Lord opposite.

**LORD HERSCHELL:** I have had a good deal of conversation on this matter with those who have had very great experience in dealing with the lending of money upon mortgage, as well as with these estates; and they are perfectly agreed upon the Amendment, which I proposed, together with another to which personally I do not see any objection, because I think these are the cases intended to be dealt with. They said they should have no apprehension at all if these Amendments were adopted. The one is that to which I have just called attention. The other is, to provide that the sub-section should only apply where the contract was for a tenancy from year to year, or for a term of years not exceeding 21, at a rack-rent. Of course, if the tenant paid his rent, the mortgagee would have no desire to dispossess him, and therefore he would not need to come in and put an end to the tenancy. On the other hand he has the power, if circumstances should require it, but only in that case, which would be an exceptional case. I think that with those two provisions, there would be a complete safeguard. I understand that the promoters of the Bill do not object to those provisions, which are really only carrying out their purpose and object.

**THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY:** I will accept the Amendments of the noble and learned Lord, but it will be better to take the final stage on Thursday.

Bill to be further proceeded with on Thursday next.

*The Marquess of Salisbury*

**METROPOLIS MANAGEMENT AMENDMENT ACT (1862) AMENDMENT BILL**  
(No. 213).

Bill read 3<sup>a</sup> (according to order) with the Amendments; a further Amendment made: Bill passed and returned to the Commons.

**METROPOLIS MANAGEMENT AND BUILDING ACTS AMENDMENT BILL, NOW METROPOLIS MANAGEMENT ACTS AMENDMENT BILL.—(No. 252.)**

Read 3<sup>a</sup> (according to order) with the Amendments.

**\*LORD STANLEY OF ALDERLEY:** I had given notice of an Amendment of a sanitary nature with regard to the removal of gravel, in consequence of the last London School Board scandal, when the offensive refuse had to be removed at a certain school from under the floor at a cost of £150. Since I have come into the House I have been informed that the Bylaws of 1879 of the old Metropolitan Board of Works, which are binding upon the County Council, provide entirely for this defect, but what is the use of those Bylaws, if, as in that case, the District Surveyor does not carry them out? I therefore do not propose to move my Amendment.

An Amendment made.

Bill passed, and returned to the Commons.

**EXPIRING LAWS CONTINUANCE BILL**  
(No. 264.)

**PUBLIC WORKS LOANS BILL.—(No. 265.)**

Read 2<sup>a</sup> (according to order), and committed to a Committee of the Whole House on Thursday next.

**EDUCATION OF BLIND AND DEAFMUTE CHILDREN (SCOTLAND) BILL.**  
(No. 123.)

Commons Amendments considered (according to order), and agreed to.

**PARLIAMENTARY REGISTRATION EXPENSES (IRELAND) BILL.—(No. 249.)**

House in Committee (according to order): An Amendment made: Then (Standing Order No. XXXIX. having been dispensed with) Amendment reported, and Bill read 3<sup>a</sup>, with the

Amendment, and passed, and returned to the Commons.

House adjourned during pleasure; and resumed by the Earl of Morley.

**TRAMWAYS ORDER IN COUNCIL (IRELAND) (SOUTH CLARE RAILWAYS) BILL.—(No. 251.)**

House in Committee (according to order); Bill reported without Amendment: Then (Standing Order No. XXXIX. having been dispensed with) Bill read 3<sup>a</sup>, and passed.

**LOCAL TAXATION (CUSTOMS AND EXCISE) DUTIES BILL.—(No. 251.)**

House in Committee (according to order): Bill reported without Amendment: Amendments made: Then (Standing Order No. XXXIX. having been dispensed with) Bill read 3<sup>a</sup>, with the Amendments, and passed, and returned to the Commons.

**POLICE BILL.—(No. 262.)**

House in Committee (according to order); Bill reported without amendment: Then (Standing Order No. XXXIX. having been dispensed with) Bill read 3<sup>a</sup>, and passed.

**POLICE (SCOTLAND) BILL.—(No. 263.)**

House in Committee (according to order); Bill reported without Amendment: Amendments made: Then (Standing Order No. XXXIX. having been dispensed with) Bill read 3<sup>a</sup>, with the Amendments, and passed, and returned to the Commons.

**PUBLIC HEALTH ACTS AMENDMENT BILL.—(No. 260.)**

House in Committee (according to order): Amendments made: The Report thereof to be received on Thursday next.

**LONDON COUNTY COUNCIL (MONEY) BILL.—(No. 248.)**

House in Committee (according to order): Bill reported without amendment: Then (Standing Order No. XXXIX. having been dispensed with) Bill read 3<sup>a</sup>, and passed.

**RESERVE FORCES BILL.—(No. 260.)**

Read 3<sup>a</sup> (according to order), and passed.

House adjourned at twenty minutes before Nine o'clock, to Thursday next, Three o'clock.

**HOUSE OF COMMONS,**

*Tuesday, 12th August, 1890.*

**PRIVATE BUSINESS.**

**LONDON STREETS (REMOVAL OF GATES) BILL.—(by Order.)**

Order read for consideration of Lords Amendments.

\*(3.5.) Mr. LAWSON (St. Pancras, W.): Nobody regrets more than I do that at this late period of the Session it should be necessary for the House again to consider the London Bars and Gates Bill, but I do not think that the fault lies with the London County Council. If the Bill passes in its present shape, I have no hesitation in saying that it will be absolutely nugatory and of no effect. It will be more than that, because, according to the learned counsel who appeared before both Houses of Parliament, it will establish a novel and vicious principle in legislation which will perpetuate what is proverbially acknowledged to be a public nuisance. I wish to call attention to the extraordinary procedure which has been adopted in the case of this Bill. The measure was considered first of all by a Committee of the House of Commons, and after the Second Reading it passed through all its further stages, and was sent to the other House, where it was considered by another Committee, who heard counsel and examined witnesses. It was then read a third time, and, on the Motion that the Bill should pass, Amendments were inserted in Clause 4, which incorporate the whole of the provisions of the Lands Clauses Consolidation Act. Those who advise the London County Council contend that the adoption of those Amendments open up a way to an unlimited number of claims on the part of the owners and occupiers in the neighbourhood of these street improvements to an unlimited amount of compensation. The words incorporated are those which deal with property which is injuriously affected within the meaning of the Lands Clauses Act, and no public body in London would venture to impose on the ratepayers they represent a liability so large and so indefinite as that which is undoubtedly

created by the Lords Amendments to the 4th clause of this Bill. I do not know whether it is worth while arguing again the reasons which have prompted the London County Council to bring this Bill forward. If hon. Members will look at the evidence which was adduced and the arguments that were used before the Committee upstairs, they will see that tables were produced showing the vehicular traffic, and proving how public conveyances, and even fire engines, have been stopped by the existence of these barred gates. One of them is on the main road from Hampstead to Holborn, and another upon the main line of traffic from the great railway termini to the southern districts of London. But the real point at issue is, that Parliament is now asked for the first time to establish as a basis for compensation the creation, or the diversion, or the alteration, of a line of traffic. It was asserted before the Committee by Mr. Fletcher Moulton that this is absolutely a novel principle; and the learned counsel quoted a Judgment of Lord Westbury, to the effect that Parliament had never conceded any such claim to be a ground for compensation. Lord Westbury laid down that the owners and occupiers of property must take both the benefit and burden which attend the alteration of routes of traffic when public improvements are made. Such a ground of compensation has never yet been recognised; and in the western district we have had lines of traffic, particularly of omnibus traffic, diverted past our own residences without the question of compensating us having ever been dreamt of. There is this curious fact, that the lessees and occupiers of the houses in these streets have no covenant to protect them from the abolition of the gates and bars. Every one of the bars can be removed with the consent of the ground landlord, without the lessees having the right to claim anything. The Duke of Bedford, who is the ground landlord in the case of three of these gates, did not appear as a petitioner against the Bill in the House of Lords. Counsel before the Commons Committee said that he did not care whether the Bill passed or not, but that he only appeared in deference to the wishes of his tenants. The reason why these gates were originally set up was that, prior to 1855,

*Mr. Lawson*

London was a patchwork of Paving Trustees, the residents paying for the construction and maintenance of the streets and roads in each area. They did not wish them to be used by outsiders, because persons would get the benefit of them who contributed nothing towards their maintenance. In 1855 the maintenance of the streets of London was made a general charge. The Paving Trustees were abolished, and the Vestries and District Boards were made the authorities. It is quite true that a clause was inserted in the Metropolis Local Management Act providing that nothing should affect the existence of gates and bars. That, however, was for the protection of the residents for the time being, and must not be quoted as an argument in favour of compensation for the owners and occupiers. I propose to move that this House shall disagree with the Lords Amendments, because I contend that those Amendments introduce a novel and mischievous principle into our private Bill legislation. They impose a new and indefinite liability upon the ratepayers of London, and their adoption would probably postpone, for a long period, any action on the part of the Local Authority in opening up free communication between different parts of London which now so badly need it. I appeal with confidence to hon. Gentlemen opposite who represent Metropolitan constituencies, and who are always deploring any tendency towards extravagance on the part of the Local Authorities to support us on this occasion, because it is clearly our duty to open up the lines of traffic which already exist rather than to construct others at an immense charge upon the Metropolitan rates. I beg to move "that we disagree with the Lords Amendments."

In reply to Mr. COURTNEY (Cornwall, Bodmin),

\*MR. SPEAKER said: The proper course, before taking the Motion of the hon. Member, will be to dispose of the Amendments on the Paper to the Lords Amendments.

\*(3.15.) CAPTAIN VERNEY (Bucks, N.): I beg to move, in Clause 4, page 3, line 20, after "if," to leave out "any lands," and insert—

"By the removal of any such gate, bar, rail, post, or other obstruction under the powers of

this Act without the consent of the owner thereof, the adjoining lands of such owner."

The House of Commons recommended that no compensation should be paid to any person at all, either to the owner or occupier of the lands that would be affected by the removal of these gates; Amendments introduced in another place do in effect give compensation to the owner and not to the occupier. I believe there is no dispute that that was the object of the additional words of the clause which were inserted by the House of Lords. The Amendment which I now move is one which entirely accepts that principle. I should prefer to have the words altogether omitted, and shall, therefore, afterwards vote for the Motion to omit them; but, failing that, I altogether accept the principle of the Lords Amendments and say that compensation shall be paid to the owner of the land if he demands it, but not to the occupier. That, as I have said, was the real object of the Lords Amendments; but there is some doubt whether the words themselves are sufficient to debar the claim of the occupier, while giving power to the owner. If hon. Members will look at the wording of the Bill they will see that, genuinely and *bona fide*, it is intended to carry out that object, and on that ground I ask the House to accept the Amendment.

Page 3, line 19, "Provided that if any lands shall be taken or injuriously affected by anything to be done under or by virtue of this Act without the consent of the owner thereof, compensation shall be made for the same by the Council in the manner provided by 'The Lands Clauses Consolidation Act, 1845,' and the Acts amending the same, the provisions of which Acts, so far as relates to lands taken otherwise than by agreement and to compensation for lands injuriously affected, shall be deemed for that purpose to be incorporated with this Act." The words, 'injuriously affected' shall have the same meaning as in the said Act," the first Amendment, read a second time.

Amendment proposed to the Lords Amendment, in line 1 of the Amendment, to leave out the words "any lands," in order to insert the words—

"By the removal of any such gate, bar, rail, post, or other obstruction under the powers of this Act without the consent of the owner thereof, the adjoining lands of such owner."—(Captain Verney.)

Question proposed, "That the words 'any lands' stand part of the Lords Amendment."

\*(3.20.) THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. RITCHIE, Tower Hamlets, St. George's): I agree with the hon. and gallant Gentleman who has moved the Amendment when he says that the object which the House of Lords had in inserting this Amendment in the Bill was to protect the owners of the property; and anyone who reads the construction which was put upon it by the House of Lords at the time it was moved must be reasonably satisfied that that was the intention of the House of Lords in inserting it. The clause itself would probably only go to the extent which the other House intended, but I do think there is a possibility of its being interpreted rather more widely than it was intended to be interpreted by the other House; and there is also the possibility, as the hon. Member for West St. Pancras (Mr. LAWSON) has pointed out, that the occupiers of property in streets not directly affected by the removal of bars might claim to be injuriously affected by the diversion of traffic. For fear that the clause might be interpreted in that way it is desirable that it should be made clear, and that words should be inserted to make it clear that it is only intended to give to the owners of the land injuriously affected the right of compensation. I am, therefore, prepared to recommend the House to accept the Amendment proposed by the hon. and gallant Member for North Bucks (Captain Verney), which, in my opinion, carries out to the fullest extent the intention of the other House. There is only one point of difference which I have with the hon. and gallant Gentleman. He proposes, in his next Amendment, to leave out the words "taken or." I think their retention can do no harm. As far as the present Amendment is concerned, I am prepared to support it.

\*(3.22.) MR. McLAREN (Cheshire, Crewe): I have also upon the Paper an Amendment to this clause. We spent about a week in the Committee in discussing the Bill, and we failed to find that there ought to be any claim for compensation, even on the part of the owner. For that reason I prefer the Motion of the hon. Member for West St. Pancras, which is to disagree with the Lords Amendments altogether, to the proposal of the hon. and gallant Member for North Bucks. There is no substan-

tial claim on the part of the owner. We took nothing of value from him. We received everything with an open mind; heard everything that was to be said on the subject; and decided that neither the occupier of a house, nor the Duke of Bedford, nor any other owner should be able to make a claim for compensation. In the Lords Committee the owners did not put in any claim for compensation at all, and I am afraid that by accepting the Amendment of the hon. and gallant Member for North Bucks we may be doing more than we have a right to do. It is a matter much to be regretted that the Bill should have been so materially altered after it had undergone the trying ordeal of consideration by Select Committees of this and the other House. Both Committees sat for a long time; and if the decision at which they arrived is to be upset, and their recommendations, which were a judicial finding in fact, are to be entirely disregarded, I do not see why we should appoint Select Committees at all. At the same time, I am prepared to accept the present Amendment, although I do so with a strong protest against the Amendments which have been inserted by the House of Lords.

\* (3.25.) MR. T. H. BOLTON (St. Pancras, N.): I very much object to the Amendment which the hon. and gallant Member has proposed. I believe it would open the door to large claims for very serious compensation. I understand that the House of Lords, when they considered the Bill and inserted this provision, looked upon it as the assertion of a principle rather than the giving of a title or the recognition of a serious claim to substantial compensation. If there is really a serious claim to substantial compensation, surely the occupiers and lessees would have a far greater claim to consideration than the Duke of Bedford, who will succeed to this estate 20, 30, or 40 years hence. I take it that the insertion of the clause was to prevent the establishment of a precedent that might be found to be destructive of the just claims of vested interests; but the alteration now proposed seems to me to convert the assertion of a principle into a very serious claim for compensation. The clause provides—

*Mr. M'Laren*

"That if by the removal of any such gate, rail, bar, or post, or other obstruction under the powers of this Act without the consent of the owner thereof, the adjoining lands of such owner shall be injuriously affected, compensation shall be made to such owner of the same for the injury inflicted on the adjoining lands of such owner."

In this case the "adjoining lands" of the owner are the whole of the lands of the Duke of Bedford in Bloomsbury, and, as far as he can show that his estate is prejudicially affected by the removal of gates and bars, he will have, I take it, under the clause as it stands, a very serious claim to compensation. It is not merely the assertion of a principle, but the insertion of a proviso that will let in serious claims on the part of the Duke of Bedford in respect of the whole of his estate. If that is what the hon. and gallant Gentleman means, then all I can say is that I do not sympathise with him. I do not sympathise with a proposal to compensate the Duke of Bedford upon any such principle or any such scale, and I put it to the Government whether it is not a very serious question for the consideration of the House? I would very much prefer the course recommended by my hon. Friend the Member for West St. Pancras, that we should disagree entirely with the Lords Amendments. The outcome, then, would be a conference with the Lords, who would insert a clause more clearly defining the mere principle they desire to assert. Under these circumstances, I shall oppose the Amendment of my hon. and gallant Friend the Member for North Bucks and to support the proposal of my hon. Friend the Member for West St. Pancras.

\* (3.30.) MR. SHAW LEFEVRE (Bradford, Central): The question now before the House is whether we are to amend the Lords Amendments. When they have been amended it will be for the House to say whether the Lords Amendments shall be agreed to or not. For my own part, I shall vote for the proposed Amendment, and when the Lords Amendments have been amended, I shall vote with the hon. Member for West St. Pancras in favour of the rejection of the whole provision. The object of this Amendment is, I take it, to make it clear that the leaseholders are not to get any compensation. The object of the Lords Amendments was to do that; but as it

appears rather doubtful whether that object has been accomplished, and as the Amendment is to make it quite clear that the leaseholder or the occupier is not to get compensation, I shall vote for the Amendment. When the clause has been amended, I shall vote for its rejection altogether.

\*(3.31.) THE SOLICITOR GENERAL (Sir E. CLARKE, Plymouth): I think that the speech which has just been delivered by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) should be quite sufficient to satisfy the House that this Amendment ought not to be assented to. He says the effect of the Amendment is to make it perfectly clear that, while the Duke of Bedford is to be compensated, the leaseholders on the Bedford estate are to get nothing. I say that that would be the worst possible result we could arrive at, and I am in entire agreement with the hon. Member who spoke before the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford that as the Bill now stands with the clause, as it came down from the House of Lords, there is a clear and intelligible principle. In 1845 the Lands Clauses Consolidation Act was passed, and in the Preamble of that Act there is a statement that it is usual in private Bills to insert clauses giving compensation to those whose lands are taken or injuriously affected by anything that Parliament allows to be done; and that it is desirable to put similar clauses in other Acts passed for the furtherance of other purposes. Since the Lands Clauses Act was passed in 1845, in almost every Act which Parliament has passed, such as the Artisans' Dwellings Act, the Public Health Act, and so on, the Lands Clauses Act has been incorporated. No question is decided by that Act as to what person shall receive compensation; but the law has distinctly laid down the general rule, which I take to be indisputable, that whenever private interests are injured by the execution of works for the benefit of the public at large, the persons who are injured shall receive compensation. I am, therefore, surprised that my right hon. Friend the President of the Local Government Board should have accepted the Amendment of the hon. and gallant Member for North Bucks, which proposes to do that which is absolutely unjustifiable. If the Amendment is accepted, it

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will give to the Duke of Bedford more than is given to him by the Lands Clauses Act, for the reason that he will not be under that Act, but will have new, special, and exclusive rights to compensation. I venture to say that that is absolutely unjustifiable. The Duke of Bedford's estate has been let on very long leases. I myself hold one of the leases on the estate far enough away from these gates and bars to prevent me from being seriously affected; but it enables me to know that all over that great estate very long leases are held, and that they were bought under conditions which then existed. But I think it is indisputable that if compensation is to be given, then all persons who hold leases under the Duke of Bedford, as well as the Duke of Bedford himself, should be permitted to claim compensation. Perhaps there are not any persons on the Bedford estate who would be able to establish their right to compensation under the Lands Clauses Act. I do not attempt to decide that question at all; but I venture to press on the House of Commons that if we are going to do what I think we ought to do, namely, make that provision in this case which is made in every other case, as far as I know, when land or property is taken for public purposes, then we ought to do it for all and not for one individual alone. I confess that there would be some difficulty in justifying this clause if it is to be cut down as the hon. and gallant Gentleman proposes. It has been said that the House of Lords has guarded the interests of one of its own Members, and one of its own Members alone. The House of Lords has not done that; but as the Bill left the House of Lords, all the persons whose property was injured would have a right to come in. I can hardly believe that this House will make such an Amendment in the clause as to strike out all possible benefit to the leaseholders on the Bedford estate, and to include simply the personal interest of the Duke of Bedford. I hope the Amendment of the hon. and gallant Gentleman will not be accepted, but I trust that when the further question is put, the House will accept the Amendment of the House of Lords on the intelligible ground which I have stated, that it decides no question as to personal title to compensation, but applies to this



case the same law which Parliament has already applied in the Artisans' Dwellings Act, the Public Health Acts, and other Acts which have been passed since 1845.

(3.40.) MR. COURTNEY: I am afraid we are rather at sixes and sevens, when I find the learned Solicitor General replying to the President of the Local Government Board. As far as I understand the case, I entirely differ from the view of the Solicitor General, and am of opinion that the Amendment proposed by the hon. and gallant Member for North Bucks, and supported by the President of the Local Government Board, is consistent with common sense and ordinary justice. What is the effect of this Bill? We have a clause—Clause 3—which enables the London County Council and the owners of any of these bars to come to an agreement. Supposing that they do, where are the leaseholders and the other persons who may be interested, and whose comfort may be at stake, in the removal of the bars? They would have no right to compensation at all, and would not be regarded at all. Here, on the one hand, is a person who possesses a gate. There, on the other, is a County Council who want to remove that gate. The two parties agree, and the whole thing is over. The next clause makes provision that, in a case in which the two parties do not come to an agreement, the County Council shall have their own way. The proposal of the hon. and gallant Member for North Bucks simply says that if, despite the will of the owner of the bar, the County Council insist on removing the bar, then the owner shall be able to go to a jury and say, "For this act, done in my despite, and affecting my property, I claim to have compensation." The compensation may be considered to be worth nothing; but, at all events, the principle is simple, straightforward, and consistent with everything we have done before. I apprehend that, although many of the inhabitants might be able to show that their comfort and convenience were affected by the removal of the bars, they would have no legal *status* to demand compensation. If they have, then their remedy would be against the owner of the bar. The whole thing would be settled in that way. I shall certainly support the hon. and gallant Member

*Sir E. Clarke*

his Amendment. The House may then take issue upon the proposal of the hon. Member for West St. Pancras.

\*(3.45.) MR. LAWSON: I rise for the purpose of making an appeal to some of my hon. Friends on this side of the House. The Solicitor General says that he intends to vote against the Amendment, and then to support the Lords Amendments, which incorporate the Lands Clauses Act, so far as the interests of the landlord and the lessees are concerned. Now, I think that the view which has been expressed is founded upon an entire misconception. From one end of the Bill to the other there is no proposal to take property, and, therefore, the Solicitor General's argument founded on the Lands Clauses Consolidation Act falls to the ground. If the hon. and learned Gentleman will read the evidence given before the Committee, he will find that in the Bedford leases there is no covenant for the preservation of that peace and quiet which some people contend is guaranteed by the keeping up of these bars. The Duke of Bedford did not think it necessary to oppose the Bill in the House of Lords, because he was, apparently, converted by the reasons which had been given before the Committee in the House of Commons.

\*(3.46.) MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton): I should vote that we disagree with the Lords' Amendments, if that were the issue before us. But the issue presented for the moment requires a little more attention, because we are in a difficulty. The President of the Local Government Board and the Solicitor General absolutely disagree, and there are also some of the arguments of the Chairman of Committees which require close consideration. I always listen with great respect to all that falls from so high an authority, but in this case I am not able to follow him as I generally do. I understood him to say that if there is any right to compensation in the leasehold tenant at all, that right can be enforced against the landlord. Surely, if that were so, the probability of such an enforcement would be a matter to be measured in the compensation the Duke of Bedford would have a right to claim, if the clause, as amended by the proposal of the hon. and gallant Member for North Bucks, were carried. Therefore, I have not been so much convinced as I

generally am by the observations which have fallen from the right hon. Gentleman the Chairman of Committees as to what it is my duty to do. I prefer to consider that there are other injuries that would have to be compensated for. I mean to act on the assumption that if there is injury, the person to be compensated is the person injured. A leaseholder who lives near one of those gates has written to me to say that the removal of the bar will reduce the value of his house from £150 to £120 a year. I do not know whether that would be so or not, but if it is, I understand the hon. and gallant Member for North Bucks to say that the Duke of Bedford would have a right to claim compensation for the loss of that £30 a year, and deny it to the tenant, who would really suffer the injury, if injury existed. I regret that the House should have been embarrassed by the addition of the Amendment. The issue raised by the hon. Member for West St. Pancras is a clear and distinct issue that we can all understand; but, personally, I cannot understand the refusal of compensation to one of the persons, the tenant, who sustains an injury, while we grant it to another, the landlord.

\*(3.39.) **MR. GAINSFORD BRUCE** (Finsbury, Holborn): I also mean to support the Lords' Amendments, and to vote against the Amendment of the hon. and gallant Member for North Bucks. I do not understand why hon. Gentlemen opposite should propose to give the whole of the compensation to persons who would not be injuriously affected. Wherever works are constructed which injuriously affect property, whether in the hands of the owner or occupier, the person really injured is entitled to compensation, and I do not see why we should make an exception in this case. Still less do I understand upon what principle the compensation should be given to the person whose interests are in the least degree injuriously affected. The persons most affected will be the tenants, and the Amendment objected to, do no more than give them the ordinary remedy conferred upon persons whose interests are injuriously affected. The observations of the Chairman of Committees always carry great weight in this House, but as to the suggestion he has thrown out, that the tenants would

have a remedy against the Duke of Bedford, I venture to assure him that they would have no such remedy, because what the Duke may do pursuant to the provisions of this Act he will do under the compulsion of the law. I do not agree that it is necessary to prove a right founded upon express covenant in order to confer upon the leasees the right to compensation. If property is let to a tenant, and after it is let the approach to it is so altered as to affect the property injuriously, the tenant would have a right to compensation even in the absence of any covenant. The well-known case of *Ford v. The Metropolitan Railway Company* establishes that principle. I do not think that this House, in the present case, ought to make any exception from the recognised principles of the law.

\*(3.43.) **MR. M'LAREN**: With the indulgence of the House I wish to explain that the evidence before the Committee showed that the Duke of Bedford has an absolute right under the Statute of 1885 to remove these gates at his own pleasure, without giving compensation to anybody, and that there is no covenant under which he is bound to maintain the gates.

(3.44.) **MR. J. ROWLANDS** (Finsbury, E.): The great advantage of this clause is that it will create a considerable crop of law suits by which the legal profession are likely to profit. We have had learned authorities on both sides giving different opinions, and all it comes to is that there are certain hon. Members who are anxious to afford as many facilities as possible for harassing the London County Council. I shall vote for the Amendment because it only gives to one person the power of harassing the County Council, and when the further question of disagreeing with the Lords' Amendments is put, I intend to follow my hon. Friend the Member for West St. Pancras into the Lobby. If we strike out the Lords' Amendments altogether, we shall, as far as possible, reduce the annoyance to a minimum.

(3.55.) The House divided:—Ayes 77; Noes 71.—(Div. List, No. 246.)

**MR. RITCHIE**: I beg to move "That the House do agree with the Lords' Amendments."

\*(4.3.) MR. LAWSON: I wish to know whether my Amendment for the rejection of the Lords' Amendments, as a whole, comes in now?

\*MR. SPEAKER: The general rule is to put the Motion that the House do agree with the Lords Amendments. The hon. Member would vote against that Motion.

\*MR. McLAREN: As a point of order, I wish to know whether I am not now entitled to move the proviso which stands in my name on the Paper?

\*MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Member can move it now.

\*(4.5.) MR. McLAREN: Then I beg to move the following Amendment—Clause 4, at end, to add—

"Provided also that no claim for compensation under this section shall be made by any person other than the owner of such gate, bar, rail, post, or obstruction unless such person claims to have had at the passing of this Act a legal title to prevent the owner of such gate, bar, rail, post, or obstruction from removing the same. And provided also that if any person other than such owner of an obstruction shall claim compensation, and shall allege such title as aforesaid, it shall be lawful for the County Council forthwith to refer the question of title for the determination of the Queen's Bench Division of the High Court of Justice as if the same were a matter in dispute under Section 29 of the Local Government Act, 1888, and the claimant shall be entitled to adduce evidence and to be heard thereon, and such judgment shall be final and conclusive, and shall be binding on all parties for the purposes of this Act, and the costs shall be at the discretion of the Court."

This Amendment does not traverse the same ground as the Amendment which has been rejected, and I think that it entirely meets the objection which was raised by the learned Solicitor General. The difference between it and the Amendment which has just been rejected is that the former would have prevented the tenants, under any circumstances, from obtaining compensation, and would have left the Duke of Bedford and the other owners the only persons who would have a right to claim compensation, whereas my Amendment allows the tenants to get compensation if they have any legal right to it, which is a very different matter indeed. My proviso is that no claim for compensation shall be made by anyone other than the owners of the gate, bar, rail, post, or other obstruction, unless such person claims to have had a legal title to prevent the owner of the

gate from removing it. It also provides a simple and inexpensive way in which the question may be tried by referring the question of title to the determination of the Queen's Bench Division of the High Court of Justice, as if it were a matter in dispute under the Local Government Act of 1888. That will prevent the County Council from being shot at year after year, and will enable them to have a case tried as a test case. I trust that the House will accept this Amendment.

Amendment proposed, at the end of the said Lords' Amendment, to add the words—

"Provided, also, that no claim for compensation under this section shall be made by any person other than the owner of such gate, bar, rail, post, or obstruction, unless such person claims to have had at the passing of this Act a legal title to prevent the owner of such gate, bar, rail, post, or obstruction from removing the same. And, provided also, that if any person other than such owner of an obstruction shall claim compensation and shall allege such title as aforesaid, it shall be lawful for the County Council forthwith to refer the question of title for the determination of the Queen's Bench Division of the High Court of Justice, as if the same were a matter in dispute under Section twenty-nine of 'The Local Government Act, 1888,' and the claimant shall be entitled to adduce evidence and to be heard thereon, and such judgment shall be final and conclusive, and shall be binding on all parties for the purposes of this Act, and the cost shall be at the discretion of the Court."—(Mr. Walter M'Laren.)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

\*(4.10.) MR. E. CLARKE: I hope in a very few words to be able to satisfy the House and the hon. Gentleman that this is not an Amendment which ought to be persisted in. The meaning of the Division which has just taken place is that the House has decided that if compensation is to be given at all it is to be given to all persons entitled to it. The hon. Member proposes to give compensation to those only who have legal rights, and he is endeavouring to put in new words instead of the provisions of the Land Clauses Consolidation Act, which have been perfectly well understood for 45 years. In the last part of the Amendment the hon. Member endeavours to apply to the matter a procedure which is totally inapplicable. You would have a number of persons with different interests and different

claims, and it is impossible to suggest that any any one individual could bring the question before a tribunal and take a decision that ought to be binding upon all other individuals whose interests and circumstances may be totally different. I hope that the hon. Member will not encourage litigation by putting in new words to define rights long ago defined. I submit that the Amendment is entirely inapplicable, and ought not to be persisted in.

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\*MR. M'LAREN: I beg to withdraw the Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

(4.15.) Another Amendment proposed, at the end of the said Lords' Amendment, to add the words—

"Provided, also, that no claim for compensation under this Act shall be made after the expiration of six months from the date of the notice served upon such owner under the provisions of this section."—(*Captain Verney.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

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not only have been served, but "duly published."

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MR. TOMLINSON (Preston): I rise to a point of order. Have the remarks of the right hon. Gentleman anything to do with the question before the House?

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\*(4.3.) MR. LAWSON: I wish to know whether my Amendment for the rejection of the Lords' Amendments, as a whole, comes in now?

\*MR. SPEAKER: The general rule is to put the Motion that the House do agree with the Lords Amendments. The hon. Member would vote against that Motion.

\*MR. M'LAREN: As a point of order, I wish to know whether I am not now entitled to move the proviso which stands in my name on the Paper?

\*MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Member can move it now.

\*(4.5.) MR. M'LAREN: Then I beg to move the following Amendment—Clause 4, at end, to add—

"Provided also that no claim for compensation under this section shall be made by any person other than the owner of such gate, bar, rail, post, or obstruction unless such person claims to have had at the passing of this Act a legal title to prevent the owner of such gate, bar, rail, post, or obstruction from removing the same. And provided also that if any person other than such owner of an obstruction shall claim compensation, and shall allege such title as aforesaid, it shall be lawful for the County Council forthwith to refer the question of title for the determination of the Queen's Bench Division of the High Court of Justice as if the same were a matter in dispute under Section 29 of the Local Government Act, 1888, and the claimant shall be entitled to adduce evidence and to be heard thereon, and such judgment shall be final and conclusive, and shall be binding on all parties for the purposes of this Act, and the costs shall be at the discretion of the Court."

This Amendment does not traverse the same ground as the Amendment which has been rejected, and I think that it entirely meets the objection which was raised by the learned Solicitor General. The difference between it and the Amendment which has just been rejected is that the former would have prevented the tenants, under any circumstances, from obtaining compensation, and would have left the Duke of Bedford and the other owners the only persons who would have a right to claim compensation, whereas my Amendment allows the tenants to get compensation if they have any legal right to it, which is a very different matter indeed. My proviso is that no claim for compensation shall be made by anyone other than the owners of the gate, bar, rail, post, or other obstruction, unless such person claims to have had a legal title to prevent the owner of the

gate from removing it. It also provides a simple and inexpensive way in which the question may be tried by referring the question of title to the determination of the Queen's Bench Division of the High Court of Justice, as if it were a matter in dispute under the Local Government Act of 1888. That will prevent the County Council from being shot at year after year, and will enable them to have a case tried as a test case. I trust that the House will accept this Amendment.

Amendment proposed, at the end of the said Lords' Amendment, to add the words—

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Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

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bitter end, it means, in plain English, that no bar shall be abolished, and that the present state of things shall remain. The idea of compensation to every individual is absurd. The practical decision is that the bars shall continue, and that the public who maintain the roads shall have no right to use them.

\*(4.20.) MR. BRADLAUGH: I rise to a point of order. An Amendment was moved by the hon. Member for the Crewe Division (Mr. M'Laren) to add a proviso in line 28, at the end of the clause. The Amendment now moved is to insert a proviso in line 27, and I ask, Sir, if it is regular?

\*MR. SPEAKER: The Amendment of the hon. Member for the Crewe Division was not put to the House, but was withdrawn. It is quite in order to move the present proviso.

\*(4.21.) MR. RITCHIE: I am afraid that the right hon. Member for Wolverhampton has taken a somewhat strong view of what has occurred. I regret very much, in the observations which I made, that I did not receive the support of my hon. and learned Friend the Solicitor General; but it would be straining Party loyalty too much if Private Bills were made Party questions, and subjected to Party Divisions. Nothing of that kind was intended in this case. I only thought it respectful to the House that it should be made apparent that I, as President of the Local Government Board, had considered the matter, and I therefore stated what my view was. But before taking upon myself to speak upon a point which is, to some extent, a legal point, I consulted the Lord Chancellor and the Prime Minister upon the subject, and what I said was with the full concurrence both of the Prime Minister and the Lord Chancellor. From what occurred between those Gentlemen and myself I am satisfied they both considered that when the House of Lords adopted the clause they did so on the clear understanding that it would only give compensation to those whom they deemed entitled to it, namely, the owners. I may add that it is believed that as the clause stands now it would only give compensation to the owners. That being so, I thought it was only fair and right to put in words to make the intention of the House of Lords perfectly clear. With regard to the present Amendment, I my-

*Mr. H. H. Fowler*

self think that it is a reasonable one. It was a proviso which I was prepared to accept among the other Amendments of the hon. and gallant Member for North Bucks. I think the House will do well to assent to it.

(4.22.) MR. SYDNEY BUXTON (Tower Hamlets, Poplar): I think we have some reason to complain of the action of the President of the Local Government Board, because if he had said, in the first instance, what he has just said, I think the majority would have accepted the Amendment. He now informs us that, in the opinion of the Lord Chancellor and of the Prime Minister, it was the intention of the House of Lords to give compensation to the owners only. If he had said so before I believe the decision of the majority would have been different.

\*MR. RITCHIE: I thought it was perfectly clear, from the discussion which took place in the House of Lords, that that was the intention of that House, and I stated so in my remarks. I did not, however, mention any particular individuals.

\*MR. GAINSFORD BRUCE: Is it in order to discuss the opinions expressed by noble Lords in another place?

\*MR. SPEAKER: It was not unreasonable for the President of the Local Government Board to state the opinion of certain Members of the Government.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON: It is to be regretted that while the opinion of the other House was in favour of compensating the owners and no others a majority of this House should now have declared that all persons are entitled to be compensated.

\*(4.25.) MR. T. H. BOLTON: The clause does not refer to the owners of the gates and bars, but to the owners of property in the wider sense of the word. The clause, as it would have been amended by the hon. and gallant Member for North Bucks, would have clearly compensated owners of land—the Duke of Bedford, for instance. The clause refers to the owners of lands adjoining, and not merely the owners of the gates and bars. It is only leading the House off on a false scent to suggest that hon. Members opposite only mean that the owners of the gates and bars should be compensated in respect of those gates and bars.

\*(4.26.) MR. CREMER (Shoreditch, Haggerston): I gather from the remarks



of the hon. Member for Poplar (Mr. S. Buxton) that those who went into the opposite Lobby from him went there without a perfect knowledge of what they were doing. I want to make it perfectly clear that I and my friends knew very well what we were doing, and that no further explanation from the right hon. Gentleman opposite would have induced us to do anything else. We voted not only against compensation to the landlords, but also to the leaseholders. We deny that either landlord or leaseholder ought to be compensated for the removal of these gates and bars, which for years have been of the greatest inconvenience to the Metropolis. In St. Pancras we long tried, but in vain, to effect some honourable arrangement with the Duke of Bedford for their removal, and now, after years of agitation upon the subject, it is endeavoured to set up a monstrous claim for compensation.

\*MR. BRADLAUGH: Surely we may accept the Solicitor General's addition to the Amendment and go to a Division.

\*CAPTAIN VERNEY: I am willing to accept the addition.

Proposed Amendment to the Lords Amendment amended, by adding at the end thereof the words "and duly published."

Words, as amended, added to the said Lords Amendment.

Question proposed, "That this House doth agree with the Lords in the said Amendment, as amended."—(*Mr. Ritchie.*)

\*MR. LAWSON: It is our wish and intention to divide on this question, which raises the whole matter; and I hope the Government will say what course they propose to take.

\*THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. H. SMITH, Strand, Westminster): It is not a matter for the Government to express any opinion upon. It is a Private Bill, and in matters of that kind the Government leave their supporters at liberty to do what they like, a rule which, I believe, applies to the supporters of right hon. Gentlemen opposite.

(4.29.) MR. SHAW LEFEVRE: I think, under the circumstances, that it would be wise to adjourn the further consideration of the Bill, which is one of

deep importance to the London County Council. The decision arrived at is practically to give compensation to all persons whose interests may be interfered with, and the effect will be to prevent the gates from being removed at all. If compensation is to be given, the County Council will not take any action in the matter. I think it would be desirable to adjourn the Debate, at all events, for a day. The President of the Local Government Board has acted perfectly fairly in the matter. I understand he had an interview with the representatives of the London County Council to hear their views in the matter, and he then had an interview with the Lord Chancellor, and came to the conclusion that the course proposed was reasonable and right.

\*MR. RITCHIE: I think it as well I should say I have not had an interview with anybody.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE: In any case the right hon. Gentleman has obtained the views of the members of the Council in writing, and it was arranged that the Amendment proposed by my hon. and gallant Friend (Captain Verney) should be adopted, a course which met with the approval of the Lord Chancellor and the Prime Minister. Inasmuch as the House has come to a different conclusion, on the recommendation of the Solicitor General, I think some time ought to be given for consideration. I, therefore, beg to move the adjournment of the Debate.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned."—(*Mr. Shaw Lefevre.*)

(4.33.) MR. COURTNEY: There is one reason for the adjournment of the Debate which I would submit for the consideration of the Solicitor General. I do not understand what the clause with the addition made by the Lords, and the addition agreed to be made on the Motion of the hon. and gallant Gentleman (Captain Verney) means. Three references have been made to the owner, and all in a different sense. I really cannot understand the meaning of the clause.

\*MR. T. H. BOLTON: Allow me to call the right hon. Gentleman's attention to the words "such owner." "Such owner" refers to the owner previously mentioned. The words of the clause are

"if any land should be taken or injuriously affected by anything done under or by virtue of this Act without the consent of the owner thereof"—that is the owner of the land. The word "thereof" here can only by any common sense interpretation of the clause apply to the owner of the land.

\*MR. LAWSON: It seems to me my hon. Friend relies too much on his common sense interpretation, because if hon. Members turn to the clause as amended, they will see that compensation is to be given for land injuriously affected, which may be land other than that of the owner of the bar. It is quite possible houses three streets off may be held to be injuriously affected.

\*(4.36.) MR. H. H. FOWLER: For the sake of the efficiency of the conduct of the business of the House, I appeal to the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury whether it is wise that we should be forced to agree or disagree with the Lords Amendments. This is a very difficult business, and the House is placed in a peculiar position. The Committee of this House refused to insert a clause for compensation. The Committee of the House of Lords refused to insert a clause for compensation. Subsequently upon the Third Reading in the House of Lords words were introduced in order to give compensation to the owner, not to the owner of the bar, but to the owner of the land injuriously affected. Doubts have arisen as to what is the true construction of the Amendment inserted in the Lords, but there can be no doubt the President of the Local Government Board was right as to what was the intention of the House of Lords in introducing the words. This Amendment is proposed here in order to make clear beyond the possibility of doubt that the proposed Amendment shall not go further than we originally intended. In a snatch Division, without notice given, and under a great deal of misconception, and, by the narrow majority of six, this House has approved that compensation should be given to every possible claimant, whether he be leaseholder, or tenant from year to year, or anybody who may object to the removal of these bars. I do not ask the House to repeal anything the House of Lords has done, but simply to adjourn the Debate, in order that the meaning of

*Mr. T. H. Bolton*

the words that are to be inserted should be clearly seen, and that the London County Council may have an opportunity of determining what course they will take. Unfortunately, the Chairman of the County Council is not here, but I think the County Council is entitled to as much respectful consideration as any other public body. The Chairman of the County Council has a right to express his view on this question, and I shall support the Motion of my right hon. Friend.

\*MR. BARING (London): The right hon. Member need not hope that the Chairman of the County Council will be able to express his view, because he has gone abroad.

\*MR. W. H. SMITH: This is a question rather for the promoters and opposers of the clause than for the Government; but so far as the Government are concerned, we do not object to the adjournment of the Debate if an adjournment is really desired by the House.

\*MR. LAWSON: We shall be glad to accept the right hon. Gentleman's offer, and have the Debate on this question adjourned.

Question put, and agreed to.

Debate adjourned till Thursday.

#### THE STANDING ORDERS.

(4.44.) MR. COURTNEY: I have some Amendments to move to the Standing Orders, in regard to which it is proper I should say a word or two. The first of the Amendments simply extends the provisions of the Standing Order which now refers to the schemes for making cemeteries or burial grounds, for making sewage farms, destructors, or hospitals for infectious diseases, and for works for the manufacture and conversion of residual products. The next Amendments provide that, in case of Bills which affect the delimitation of local areas, copies of the Bills shall be deposited with the Registrar General as well as certain other Authorities, in order that the Registrar General may know from time to time what alterations are proposed to be made in local areas. Then it is proposed that where streams of water are taken for public purposes, a continuous and uniform flow of water shall be reserved for the use of those at present interested in the

streams. Some difference of opinion may exist as to the next alterations in the Standing Order. Hon. Members know that now the promoters of Railway Bills are required to make certain deposits as security that the undertaking will be carried through. If the undertaking be not carried through within a certain time, the deposits may be forfeited, and go to the benefit of Her Majesty's Exchequer. These forfeitures are scarcely ever insisted upon. The promoters often come again to Parliament, and they go to the Exchequer to get a remission of the forfeiture, and, except in rare instances, the remissions are always made. The Department feel the burden of examining into these cases, and desire to be relieved of it. They wish that, instead of the forfeiture being insisted upon, a clause should be inserted in Railway Bills providing that if the undertaking is not carried through in the time specified, the sum deposited should be applied in satisfaction of any claims which may arise on the company in consequence of their compulsory powers, next to the satisfaction of any debts that may be owing, and next should be handed over by the High Court of Justice to persons interested in the deposit. There may be some difference of opinion as to the policy of this alteration; if there is, I will not object to the matter standing over for a few days for further consideration.

(4.50.) A number of Amendments made.

### QUESTIONS.

#### NEW TYPE OF SHELLS.

MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton) (on behalf of Mr. GOURLEY): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Admiralty whether France, Italy, Russia, and other Continental nations, are prepared with shells of large capacity already charged with high explosives, and others ready for any more destructive bursting charge that may hereafter be discovered; whether any such shells are ready in England; and if patterns of such shells have yet been provided by the Admiralty or War Office?

THE FIRST LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY (Lord G. HAMILTON, Middlesex, Ealing): It is known to what extent

Continental nations have carried out experiments with shells of large capacity charged with high explosives. Experiments with such shells are in progress in this country. It would be undesirable that I should give any further information on the subject.

#### INDIA—RATE OF EXCHANGE.

MR. TALBOT (Oxford University): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India whether there is an absolute rule fixing for a year the rate of exchange at which furlough pay and absentee allowances are issued in this country; and, if not, whether the Secretary of State will consider the propriety of fixing for the remainder of the current financial year a more equitable rate than that now ruling, the effect of which appears to be that officers on leave are losers to the amount of 9 per cent. as compared with the rate of exchange in India?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Sir J. GORST, Chatham): Yes; there is a rate of exchange fixed at the beginning of each financial year, which is not altered whether exchange rises or falls. Officers can draw their furlough pay in India if they consider it advantageous to do so.

#### UNIVERSITY OF TRINITY COLLEGE, TORONTO.

MR. SIDEBOTTOM (Cheshire, Hyde): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies whether the Law Officers of the Crown have yet reported upon the question of the powers possessed by the University of Trinity College, Toronto; and, if so, whether he can now state if the Royal Charter granted to that University gives it authority to examine candidates, and to issue degrees in the faculties of arts, medicine, divinity, law, and music, outside the diocese of Toronto?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Baron H. de WORMS, Liverpool, East Toxteth): The Law Officers have reported; but the matter is one on which only a judicial tribunal can give an authoritative opinion, and Her Majesty's Government are considering with the Law Officers whether, and how, the question can be brought before such a tribunal.

# WORKMEN IN GOVERNMENT OFFICES AND PARLIAMENT.

MR. CREMER (Shoreditch, Haggerstone): I beg to ask the First Commissioner of Works when the contract entered into between the Government and Messrs. Brass, for the supply of workmen to Government Offices, expires; whether, on its expiration, the Government will engage the workmen of the Houses of Parliament, the British Museum, the Admiralty, and other Government Offices without the intervention of a contractor; whether there are any advantages in having two classes of men employed in Government offices; whether one class is engaged directly by the Government, under the control of the "Clerk of the Works," and paid in full the amount voted by the House of Commons; whether the other class is supplied by a contractor; and what deductions the contractor is allowed to make in the wages of the workmen which he supplies?

A LORD OF THE TREASURY (Sir H. MAXWELL, Wigton): Perhaps the hon. Gentleman will allow me to reply. The contract between the Government and Messrs. Brass for the supply of workmen to Government Offices will expire on March 31 next. A Departmental Committee is now sitting to inquire into the question of the terms upon which new contracts for such services should be made, and, pending the Report of that Committee, it is not thought desirable to discuss the matter further.

\*MR. CREMER: Can the hon. Gentleman state when the Departmental Committee are likely to report; and will the House have a chance of expressing an opinion before any new contract is entered into?

SIR H. MAXWELL: It is hardly possible to say when the Committee will report.

# CONTRIBUTION OF MYSORE TO THE INDIAN ARMY.

SIR G. CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India whether, at the time of the creation of the present Mysore State in 1799, the Maharajah was bound by Treaty not only to pay for a British subsidiary force, but also in time of war to contribute to the expense of the

British Forces; whether in 1807, by another Treaty, the latter obligation was commuted to the constant maintenance of 4,000 efficient Horse, at all times ready to accompany and serve with the British Armies; whether those obligations remain in force to this day; why, by way of indulgence, the number has now been reduced so low as £1,200; and whether the present arrangement is subject to the distinct understanding that the obligation for the support of the entire number required by the Treaty, should it at any time be deemed expedient to enforce that obligation, was not in any released, as stated in the Preface to the *Mysore Treaties*, published by the Government of India, Vol. V., page 250?

SIR J. GORST: In Parliamentary Paper, Mysore, No. 1, of 1881, the hon. Member will find the answer to the first and second questions. The answer to the third is, Yes. At page 129 of the Parliamentary Paper above mentioned, the hon. Member will find that as long ago as 1880 the number was reduced to 1,000.

SIR G. CAMPBELL: May I ask whether the number is permanently reduced to 1,000, or can it be increased?

SIR J. GORST: The hon. Member will find all the information on the page of the Blue Book I have mentioned.

# IRELAND—OUTRAGE NEAR BALLINCOLLIG.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether his attention has been called to a report in the *Times*, and other newspapers, of an outrage perpetrated near Ballincollig on Thursday last, by which the tongue was cut out of a horse the property of a farmer named Murphy; whether it is true that Murphy's conduct in trying to get possession of a derelict farm, from which his brother was evicted two or three years ago, has recently been discussed by the local branch of the National League; and whether the maiming of helpless animals shows a tendency to increase in certain districts, and if any special steps can be taken to prevent cruelty of this character?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.): The Constabulary Authorities re-

port that it is the case that on the night of the 7th or morning of the 8th instant a brood mare, the property of Cornelius Murphy, with foal at foot, was maliciously injured by some person or persons unknown by having her near fore leg broken just above the knee joint and a portion of her tongue cut off. The animal had subsequently to be shot. Murphy's action has frequently been brought before the local branch of the National League by his brother with a view to having him boycotted, but there is no evidence that the branch supported him. The maiming of animals has recently shown a tendency to increase in certain districts, but I cannot yet say whether this is more than the ordinary passing variation which statistics of crime frequently show.

Dr. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid): Has the right hon. Gentleman's attention been called to the fact that the local branch of the National League immediately after this outrage denounced it in the most emphatic way, and expressed its sincere hope that the perpetrator would be brought to justice.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: I am not aware of that fact, Sir.

#### IRELAND—EDUCATION.

Mr. MAC NEILL (Donegal, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether, till recent years, candidates for First of First and candidates for Second of First, as teachers under the National Board of Education were examined in the same papers, the minimum per-centage to obtain the former class being 65, and to obtain the latter class being 55; whether, in recent years, separate sets of questions of exceptional difficulty have been set to candidates for First of the First Class, the same per-centage of answering, namely, 65, being required, as was formerly requisite when the papers for candidates for the First of the First and Second of First were identical; is so high a minimum laid down for any other non-competitive examination in the United Kingdom; and whether, considering the altered circumstances, he will recommend the Board to reduce their minimum per-centage of answering for candidates for the First of the First Class to 55?

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: The Commissioners of National Education report that the facts are as stated in the first paragraph; also that it is the case that in recent years different sets of questions, but certainly not of "exceptional" difficulty, have been given, as stated in the second paragraph. They have deemed this course advisable in view of the fact that the first division of First Class is virtually a different class from that known as the second division of First Class, and carries absolutely an increase of £17 for masters and of £15 per annum for mistresses over the second division. The Commissioners have not information to answer the inquiry in the third paragraph. No reduction of the standard of answering is contemplated by the Commissioners.

#### DUBLIN TELEGRAPH DEPARTMENT.

Mr. MAC NEILL: I beg to ask the Postmaster General whether he can state when the revision of the Supervising Staff of the Dublin Telegraph Department, promised by him in March last, will be issued; and whether, considering the delay which has taken place since the new scheme was applied to Liverpool and Manchester, the provisions of the revision will be retrospective in its application to Dublin?

Sir H. MAXWELL: The question of revising the salaries of the Dublin Supervising Staff will be considered as early as possible in connection with similar questions elsewhere; but it is impossible that improvement, should improvement prove to be necessary, will take effect from a date anterior to that on which the authority of the Treasury is given.

#### THE CASE OF THOMAS ELLIOTT.

Mr. MAC NEILL: I beg to ask the Postmaster General whether his attention has been called to the case of Thomas Elliott, who was engaged as an assistant in the Lurgan Post Office from 22nd April, 1889, till 19th May, 1890, and discharged without notice; whether he is aware that during the time Thomas Elliott was so engaged charges of embezzlement were brought against another assistant, who was dismissed after due investigation of the matter by a surveyor from the General Post Office; can he explain on what grounds Thomas Elliott,



having worked a year without pay and having been appointed as *locum tenens* to one of the clerks during his vacation, a period of three weeks, was at the end of the first week summarily dismissed; on what grounds was the said Thomas Elliott so dismissed, and was his dismissal connected directly or indirectly with the said embezzlement; and, inasmuch as his character has suffered, will an inquiry which he has demanded be granted for the investigation of the circumstances connected with his dismissal?

SIR H. MAXWELL: Thomas Elliott was a servant not of the Post Office, but of the postmaster of Lurgan, to whom he acted as unpaid assistant, one of the conditions of his employment being, it is understood, that his services might be discontinued at any time without notice. In the course of the investigation referred to by the hon. Member, Elliott admitted that he had concealed certain facts which it was his plain duty to disclose to his employer the postmaster, and it was on this ground alone that the latter discontinued his services. In these circumstances, the Post Office cannot undertake to make any further inquiry.

#### THE DEVON ESTATE ACT.

MR. SEALE-HAYNE (Devon, Ashburton): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether he is aware that a public auction of the ground rents and reversions of about three-fourths of the town of Newton Abbott was advertised to take place on the 7th instant, under "The Devon Estate Act, 1884," that no information was given them that the vendors reserved the right of previous sale by private contract; that many of the tenants who were intending purchasers, and most anxious to improve their houses, were informed that prices would not be quoted before the auction, and that, nevertheless, the whole property was purchased by the Corporation of Governors of Queen Anne's Bounty immediately before the advertised day of sale; and whether the Corporation of Governors of Queen Anne's Bounty have obtained powers of purchase of reversions of land for investment purposes as distinguished from the powers of purchase and acquisition of land for the specific objects of the Corporation, namely, the provision of parsonages and glebes, and

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augmentation of the maintenance of the "parsons, vicars, curates, and ministers" officiating "where the liturgy and rites of the Church, as now by law established, are or shall be used and observed," conferred upon the Corporation by 2 & 3 Anne, c. 11; 1 Geo. 1, c. 10; and 43 Geo. 3, c. 107; and, if so, whether, having regard to the established policy of the Statutes of Mortmain, and the recommendations of the recent Report of the Town Holdings Committee, he will take some steps to discourage or prevent such accumulations of land in the hands of an Ecclesiastical Corporation?

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON, Leeds, N.): I am not aware in what way the Secretary to the Treasury has any responsibility for the action of the Governors of Queen Anne's Bounty, and I can therefore only give the hon. Member the information as to the facts of the case which the Secretary to that Corporation has been so good as to furnish to me, leaving untouched the questions of law and policy referred to in the second part of the hon. Member's inquiry. I am informed that by the published conditions of sale the vendor reserved

"The right either before or at the auction of amalgamating or subdividing any of the lots and of varying the order of sale, and withdrawing any lot or lots."

and that the High Court of Justice had fixed a reserve price for sale by private treaty.

#### LONDON AND DUBLIN POSTAL EMPLOYÉS.

MR. P. O'BRIEN (Monaghan, N.): I beg to ask the Postmaster General, in view of the fact that yard overseers to the sorting office, General Post Office, London, are paid wages ranging from £2 12s. to £3 2s. per week, while officers engaged in exactly similar work in the General Post Office, Dublin, are paid from £1 3s. to £1 5s., one only receiving £2 10s. per week; whether he can explain this important difference in the rate of wages; and if he will place the officers in the Dublin Office on an equality with those in London?

SIR H. MAXWELL: Between the duties of the yardmen in Dublin and those of the overseers of the yard in London there is a wide difference. In London the overseers supervise and control

the whole of the work of the yard, which work, I need hardly inform the hon. Member, is on an extensive scale. In Dublin, the yardmen load and unload the mails, work which in London is done by porters. The difference of pay as between the two classes is amply justified.

#### CUSTOMS ADMINISTRATION.

MR. BRADLAUGH: I beg to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether he has been informed that the outdoor Customs officers (some 60 in number) stationed at Gravesend, where all ships entering the Thames are first boarded for Customs examination, desired to make a special representation to him in connection with the inquiry which he is now conducting into Customs administration; and whether two outdoor officers deputed to make the representation were, upon the circumstance becoming known to the Board of Customs, removed from the Gravesend Station?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. GOSCHEN, St. George's, Hanover Square): The hon. Member's question is founded on a misconception. Two outdoor officers at Gravesend who desired to make a special representation have since been selected for short periods of special duty at Dover and Deal. Selection for special duty is a distinction, involving as it does subsistence allowance, and is very far from being regarded as a punishment. It is considerably sought after, and one of the officers in question had actually applied for it immediately before he had been selected. One has returned already. The selection, therefore, of these officers was not penal, and was in no way connected with the representation they made, nor will any officer, as I stated when I promised the inquiry, suffer for tendering evidence.

#### NIGHT WATCHMAN MEAGHER.

MR. J. O'CONNOR (Tipperary, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that on the 4th instant Night Watchman Meagher reported to the Town Commissioners of Tipperary that he had been recently interfered with in the performance of his duty by three policemen, one of whom addressed him, saying—

"If he had his hair cut he is fit to cut one's throat,"

and,—

"He is one of the greatest blackguards in the town;"

whether, when Meagher complained to District Inspector Rafter, and asked to be allowed to identify the man who interfered with him by parading the men who were on duty at the hour the incident occurred, the Inspector refused, saying he would parade all the policemen in the town or none at all; why did the policemen interfere with the official watchman of the town; and why was he refused reasonable facilities to identify his assailants?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I am sorry I have not been able to obtain a Report.

#### THE CASES OF MR. WALSH AND MR. POWELL.

MR. JOHN O'CONNOR: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that Mr. Walsh, the proprietor and editor of the *Cashel Sentinel*, was last week sentenced to three months' imprisonment with hard labour, for having printed in the news columns of his paper a speech delivered by Mr. John Kelly, and for which Mr. Kelly had been previously sent to prison for four months, and that Mr. Powell, editor of the *Midland Tribune*, was on Friday last sentenced to six months' imprisonment with hard labour for publishing as news the proceedings of a meeting of the National League; and whether it is intended to enforce these sentences?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I understand that it is the case that Mr. Walsh was convicted as stated in the question. He appears, however, to have taken steps to appeal. Mr. Powell has not been sentenced to six months' imprisonment with hard labour. He was charged with publishing in his papers notices calculated to promote boycotting and intimidation in connection with the taking of evicted farms, and was ordered by the Bench of Magistrates to find bail, but elected to go to prison in default. The law, of course, will be enforced.

MR. J. O'CONNOR: Was there any editorial comment beyond what appeared in the news columns?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I cannot answer that question without notice. My



impression is that there was no editorial comment.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.): I would ask the right hon. Gentleman to confer with the Attorney General as to the desirability of using the Coercion Act in these cases, so that where a man gets a month's imprisonment he will have the right of appeal. By using the abominable Act under which these editors are imprisoned, there is no right of appeal whatever. The right hon. Gentleman promised the right of appeal in every case. Why does he not avail of the Coercion Act, which he declares to be necessary to put down intimidation—his own brand new Statute, which gives some right of appeal?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I could not promise the right of appeal under other Statutes than that of the Crimes Act of 1887, and I never suggested that offences of this kind could only be dealt with by a particular Statute. It is quite clear that we must use such means as the law affords to put down all kinds of crime.

MR. J. O'CONNOR: I wish to know whether, in the case of Mr. Walsh, he simply re-produced language which was a quotation by the Speaker, of observations that had been used in this country?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I do not understand that to be so.

#### CONSTITUTION HILL.

CAPTAIN VERNEY (Bucks, N.): I beg to ask the First Commissioner of Works whether he will give orders that, during the Recess, when there is but little traffic, cyclists may be allowed to pass along Constitution Hill?

SIR H. MAXWELL: I beg to refer the hon. and gallant Gentleman to the answer given by my right hon. Friend on the 24th March last.

#### COLONEL MAITLAND.

MR. BALLANTINE (Coventry): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether Colonel Maitland, late in command of the 2nd Battalion Grenadier Guards, was allowed to be heard in his defence before the Court of Inquiry; whether he applied for a Court Martial; whether he resigned his command of his own free will, or under compulsion; and whether, when the Commander-in-Chief

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examines the cases of the privates in the same battalion, who were sentenced to imprisonment, with a view of remitting part of their sentences, the case of Colonel Maitland will also be re-considered?

\*THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (MR. E. STANHOPE, Lincolnshire, Horncastle): Before I answer this question, I wish to read to the House a letter I have received from Colonel Maitland—

“Guards' Club, S.W., Aug. 7.

Sir,—Having this forenoon seen a notice of a question proposed to be put by Mr. Ballantine regarding my case, I desire to represent as strongly as possible that I deprecate the action of anyone in bringing the case before the House, and that I should be glad if the questions were not put at all, and, if put, were not answered.

I remain, yours faithfully,

D. M. C. MAITLAND, Colonel.”

After hearing that letter, I wish to ask the hon. Member whether he still wishes me to answer the question?

MR. BALLANTINE: Certainly, Sir.

\*MR. E. STANHOPE: The Court of Inquiry was conducted in accordance with the regulations, and I am not prepared to recommend the re-consideration of the case of Colonel Maitland.

#### COLONEL JOHN HARRISON, J.P.

MR. COBB (Warwick, S.E., Rugby): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether his attention has been called to the report in the *Standard* of yesterday of the proceedings at the Croydon Petty Sessions on Saturday last, from which it appears that Colonel John Harrison, a Justice of the Peace and Deputy Lieutenant of the County of Stafford, was charged and convicted of an assault upon a gentleman named Mills, living at Streatham Common, and that Colonel Harrison conducted himself in such a manner in the Court, and used such language that the Chairman of the Bench felt obliged to rebuke him several times; and whether he will draw the attention of the Lord Chancellor to the conduct of Colonel Harrison?

\*THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (MR. MATTHEWS, Birmingham, E.): I have seen yesterday's *Standard*, from which I gather that the gentleman named seemed to have lost his temper, and used strong language in Court. The same sources of information

are open to the Lord Chancellor as to me, and I do not feel called upon to direct his Lordship's attention to the matter.

#### SOUTHAM MAGISTRATES' CLERK AND THE HOUSE.

MR. COBB: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether he received an official letter from the clerk to the Southam Bench of Magistrates, dated 31st July, and, since then, a Report of the observations made officially and publicly by the clerk at the meeting of the Bench on 4th August; whether, in such observations as reported, the clerk to the Magistrates publicly and officials insinuated that—

"The manners and morals of the chosen of the people at St. Stephen's have fallen to a very low ebb indeed."

and specially attacked the conduct of the Liberal Party in the House of Commons; whether the official letter, after replying to questions from the Home Office, and (*inter alia*) truly stating that the Lord Lieutenant of the county was exceedingly careful to see that the Commission of the Peace only contained the names of gentlemen—

"Free from any suspicion of bias through local, personal, or Party feeling,"

went on at considerable length to attack the public and political conduct, and to impugn the motives of the Member of Parliament for that division of the county; whether he is aware that a very strong feeling exists in the district that it is not conducive to the impartial administration of justice, or to the proper conduct of the business of the Bench, that the clerk should be permitted publicly, and in his official capacity, to write letters or make observations showing any party bias or attacking either Political Party; and whether he will communicate with the Lord Lieutenant of the county, and the Chairman of the Southam Bench, with reference to the conduct of the clerk?

\*MR. MATTHEWS: The answer to the first, second, and third paragraphs is in the affirmative. I have no information on the fourth paragraph. The introduction by the Magistrates' clerk into his letters to me answering an official inquiry, of personal comments on the hon. Member, appeared to me unbecoming and improper; but it is no part of

my duty to inform the Lord Lieutenant or the Chairman of facts with which they are fully acquainted, and which are outside my jurisdiction.

MR. BUTLER, R.M.

DR. TANNER: I beg to ask the Attorney General for Ireland whether he is aware that, in the case of the policeman charged and proved to have been drunk when on duty in Mill-street on 22nd July, there was division of opinion on the Bench of Magistrates trying the case on the 5th inst.; whether Surgeon Major Leader, who dissented, is correctly reported to have stated that "a case was brought before them of false imprisonment by a policeman" at the prosecution of his District Inspector, "and that he thought they should go into it no matter what happened subsequently," and to have stated that, on the evidence of the head constable, the arrests were illegal; whether a conviction for illegal arrest can be given under the Act of Will. 3, c. 13, s. 19; and whether the attention of the Lord Chancellor will be directed to the action of Mr. Butler, R.M., in obtaining the dismissal, without prejudice, of the case against the policeman in question?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I have not been able to obtain the information. Perhaps the hon. Gentleman will put the question down again.

DR. TANNER: When?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: To-morrow.

#### CYPRUS.

MR. A. O'CONNOR (Donegal, E.): I beg to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer, with reference to the statement he made in this House on the 26th November, 1888, relative to the financial condition of the Island of Cyprus, whether it is the intention of Her Majesty's Government to relieve in any way the Cypriotes from the heavy burden of taxation imposed upon them owing to the annual payment of £92,800 to the creditors of the Porte; and whether it is possible to arrive at a financial arrangement for the commutation of the tribute or for its substantial reduction?

\*MR. GOSCHEN: So far as the first portion of the question is concerned, if it means to ask

"Whether it is the intention of the Government to relieve in any way the Cypriotes from

the heavy burden of taxation imposed upon them"

by any further grant or subsidies, I am afraid that I cannot answer in the affirmative. As regards the sum of £92,800 mentioned by the hon. Member, it forms a portion of the terms of the Anglo-Turkish Convention, and therefore Her Majesty's Government have no power of reducing it. As regards commutation, it stands as a different matter; and it could not be carried out without the consent of the Porte, on the one hand, and of France on the other. If the tribute were commuted and the Porte were willing to take a sum down, and if at the same time an arrangement could be made with France by which the present loan can be paid off and the money raised on cheaper terms, I think there would be a saving possibly of some £11,000 or £12,000. Such an arrangement could not be carried out without the consent of the Porte and France, but that is a matter which is under the consideration of the Government.

SIR W. LAWSON (Cumberland, Cockermouth): Would it not be possible for the Government to withhold the tribute from the Porte until the Porte fulfilled its Treaty obligations to Armenia?

\*MR. GOSCHEN: If we withheld it from the Porte we should not have assets in our hands to pay the liability in which we have engaged.

MR. A. O'CONNOR: Would it not be possible to lighten the burden by capitalising the charges, just in the same way as you propose to capitalise the charges payable by the tenants in Ireland, in discharge of all their liabilities to the landlords?

\*MR. GOSCHEN: Such an arrangement would require the consent of the Porte and of France, and if it could be effected it would result in a saving of £11,000 or £12,000 a year. It is a matter which is under the consideration of the Government.

MR. A. O'CONNOR: Could not a lump sum be paid to the Porte with the view of securing future relief?

\*MR. GOSCHEN: It would depend whether the lump sum was large enough to induce the Porte to commute.

MR. A. O'CONNOR: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies whether Her Majesty's Government are aware that the system of collecting the

*Mr. Goschen*

tithe in kind on wheat, barley, vetches, and oats, which has been introduced experimentally, at the request of the Archbishop and the elected members of the Legislative Council of Cyprus, has met with the general approval of the tithe-payers; and whether the Secretary of State will consider the advisability of recommending the High Commissioner to extend the system to the districts of Larnaca (Upper), Limassol, and Kyrenia and to the Nahiehs of Dagh and Deyrmenlik, in accordance with the frequently expressed desire of the tithe-payers in those parts?

\*BARON H. DE WORMS: The system of collecting tithe on cereals in kind is believed to be acceptable to the tithe-payers in Cyprus, and is being gradually extended. The Secretary of State will consult the High Commissioner as to extending it to the Nahiehs mentioned by the hon. Member.

MR. A. O'CONNOR: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies in regard to the statement he made in this House on the 8th August, 1889, "that since the British occupation, there has been a larger remission of taxation" in Cyprus, whether he is aware that the Elected Members have declared that statement to be inaccurate; whether it is a fact that, under the Government of the Sultan, the average revenue derived from taxation was £138,133, as against £182,967 a year collected under British administration; whether he is aware that the Superintendent of the Land Registry Office has admitted that the "selling price of land is often less than its assessed value"; and whether the Secretary of State will desire the High Commissioner to cause the "Verghi" assessments to be revised throughout the Island, with a view to their reduction to the actual value of the property assessed?

\*BARON H. DE WORMS: The statements contained in the first three paragraphs of the hon. Member's question are practically extracted from a Paper laid on the Table by me in April last, and are dealt with by the Secretary of State in his Despatch, printed at page 23 of Blue Book C, 6,003. No general revision of the Verghi assessments throughout the island can take place unless and until the Legislature consents to pass a law providing the machinery for such an

assessment in a form which the Government can accept. But the local Government have instructions to do what is possible under the existing law to redress individual cases of injustice or inequalities.

**MR. A. O'CONNOR:** Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that at this moment the agricultural population of Cyprus are reduced to the extremity of distress by reason of the heavy burden of taxation and the enforced sale of their property?

**\*BARON H. DE WORMS:** So far from a condition of extreme distress, the reports show their agricultural condition to be much improved.

**MR. A. O'CONNOR:** Is it not practically impossible to collect tithe in money, and would payment in kind, though possibly a loss to the island, not be a material relief to the population?

**\*BARON H. DE WORMS:** I stated that the Secretary of State has consulted the High Commissioner with the view of extending the system of collecting tithes in kind.

#### BURIALS — ASHTON-IN-MAKERFIELD.

**MR. CALEB WRIGHT** (Lancashire, S.W., Leigh): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether he has now received from the incumbent of the parish of Holy Trinity, Ashton-in-Makerfield, an acknowledgment that it has been notified to the inhabitants that breadths or graves are appropriated in the churchyard "only on condition that no other than the Church of England service is ever used;" and whether the incumbent has been informed that such an intimation is opposed to the intention of the Legislature, as indicated by the Burial Act of 1880?

**\*MR. MATTHEWS:** The rector does not deny that the condition quoted is attached to certain charges made for particular interments; but in all the cases where such condition is appended the burial was according to the rites of the Church of England, and in none of them was the rector asked to apply the provisions of the Act of 1880. The rector holds that he has an absolute power to order the position of every interment, and, moreover, that he cannot be compelled to sell or appropriate a grave to any one. These are questions

of law as to which it is not my duty to express an opinion. I have written to the rector to say that, in my opinion, to stipulate beforehand that a grave where the Church service is used shall be in any respect superior to a grave where the Church service is not used appears contrary to the spirit of the Act of 1880. In reply the rector assures me that in his churchyard all graves are alike as to position, and no one grave is in any sense superior to another, whether the Church of England service is used or is not used.

#### TITHE REDEMPTION.

**MR. GRAY** (Essex, Maldon): I beg to ask the President of the Board of the Board of Trade when the Government will be prepared to give an answer to the Memorial signed by nearly 70 Members of this House asking that

"A Commission may be appointed to inquire whether any, and, if so, what Amendment is necessary in the Law of Tithe Redemption?"

**\*THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE** (Sir M. HICKS BEACH, Bristol, W.): This is an important matter, and the suggestion contained in the Memorial deserves our careful attention, which will be given to it during the Recess, and I have no doubt I will be able to announce the decision of the Government upon it when the House meets again.

#### ATTACK ON CATHOLICS IN BELFAST

**MR. SEXTON** (Belfast), W: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he has received a communication from the Catholic Bishop of Down and Connor, with regard to the attack on a number of Catholics in Belfast on Wednesday last; and what measures have been adopted by the police with a view to the vindication of justice? Perhaps the right hon. Gentleman at the same time can answer Question 39.

**MR. A. J. BALFOUR:** I am not in a position to add to the reply I have already given to the second question. With regard to the other question, I have received a telegram from the Catholic Bishop of Down and Connor, and I have also received a communication from clergymen—priests, I think—giving an account of the transaction and certain

other information. We are now awaiting other details.

#### BANN DRAINAGE.

MR. LEA (Londonderry, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland if the Government intend to introduce any Bill next Session dealing with the Bann Drainage; and, if so, whether such legislation will be framed to avoid local opposition by restricting it to the dissolution of the Navigation Board, the opening of the flood gates, and to abolish the present tax on the district?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: My hon. Friend knows the character of the opposition with which my schemes for arterial drainage have been met, and he also knows that we are pledged to a legislative programme which will give in all probability a large share of Parliamentary attention to Irish matters next Session. I cannot, therefore, pledge myself to deal with arterial drainage, great as is my desire to carry out the recommendations of the Royal Commission.

#### CASE OF ERNEST HOWE.

MR. LABOUCHERE (Northampton): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether it has been reported to him that Mr. Ernest Howe, who is now undergoing a sentence of penal servitude, has lost, since his incarceration on 29th November, 1889, 66 lbs., and that the state of his health is so serious that it is doubtful whether he can safely suffer further confinement; and whether, under the circumstances, he will consider the advisability of releasing him?

\*MR. MATTHEWS: It is the fact that this prisoner has lost 66 lbs. in weight, but I am informed that his life is not considered to be in danger. I have, however, directed that his health shall be under careful observation and that medical reports shall be made to me from time to time. Upon their tenour it will depend whether I can recommend any remission of the sentence.

#### CASE OF THOMAS COX.

MR. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camberne): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department upon what grounds did Mr. Lushington, the Magistrate sitting at Bow Street yesterday,

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day, 11th instant, refuse to grant to Thomas Cox (now bound over to keep the peace for six months), a copy of the depositions in the case "*Regina v. Cox*," in order to enable him to lay an information against two witnesses for a warrant of arrest on a charge of wilful and corrupt perjury?

MR. MATTHEWS: I have ascertained from the learned Magistrate that he did not consider that, under Jervis' Act the defendant was entitled to a copy of the depositions, as the charge to which they referred was withdrawn. In the opinion of the Judge no case of perjury was made out.

#### MR. JOBSON'S INVENTIONS.

MR. CONYBEARE: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether he has had under his consideration the claims of Mr. Jobson, of Newcastle, for recognition of his invention of a shell, for which he alleges that Lord Armstrong received the payment due to himself; and what is his decision in the matter?

\*MR. E. STANHOPE: I am not aware of any claim from Mr. Jobson on account of a shell. As regards his alleged invention of a fuse, I can only refer to my reply of the 28th April last.

#### THE EVICTIONS ON THE BLASKET ISLANDS.

MR. E. HARRINGTON (Kerry, W.): I desire to ask the Chief Secretary whether the Local Government Board have sent down an Inspector to West Kerry in connection with the evictions which have taken place on the Blasket Islands?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The hon. Member asked me the question yesterday, and I at once telegraphed over, but since then I have not received any reply.

#### SAVINGS BANKS (CLERKS).

MR. PICKERSGILL (Bethnal Green, S.W.): I beg to ask the Postmaster General whether a Memorial addressed to the Treasury, and signed by 75 clerks of the 2nd Class of the Savings Bank Department, was sent to the Secretary of the Post Office to be forwarded on the 23rd July, but was not forwarded; whether the Secretary of the Post Office alleged as a reason for delaying and returning the Memorial to the signatories on the 7th instant, that in the interval a

"Treasury requirement" had rendered the Memorial inaccurate; and, if so, what was the nature of the "requirement" referred to; and whether the memorialists on the 8th instant addressed an amended Memorial to the Treasury; and, if so, will he, in view of the delay which has already occurred, kindly undertake that the second Memorial shall be forwarded forthwith?

SIR H. MAXWELL: The facts of the case are correctly stated in the hon. Member's question. The memorialists have already been informed that their second Memorial will be submitted to the Postmaster General as soon as possible.

#### THE DEFFORD CHURCH POOR LANDS.

SIR WALTER FOSTER (Derby, Ilkington): I beg to ask the hon. Member for Penrith, as representing the Charity Commissioners, whether he is aware that the original deed of the charity of the Church Poor Lands at Defford, in the County of Worcester, has been lost for generations, and that the document which recites that the Trustees are to be "the landowners of Defford which are of the best, largest, and ablest estates there" is of later date; whether he is aware that the ratal qualifications of £15 proposed in the new scheme of the Charity Commissioners would practically limit the choice of Representative Trustees to some seven persons; and whether, in consideration of the fact that a majority of the old Trustees and a large majority of the inhabitants of Defford are strongly opposed to the new scheme, the Charity Commissioners will make the qualification of Trustee such as to enable Members of the working classes to be eligible as Representative Trustees?

MR. J. W. LOWTHER (Cumberland, Penrith): The Commissioners are not aware whether the original deed of foundation is lost. The deed referred to in the former answer as original is the earliest deed providing for the qualification of Trustees among several deeds appointing Trustees and declaring Trusts. This deed is dated 1679. There is an earlier deed of 1644, which is understood to contain no such provision. The Commissioners are not aware that the proposed ratal qualification would limit the choice of Trustees to seven. The draft scheme is now in course of publication;

and, on the completion of the period of publication, the Commissioners will carefully consider all the objections elicited, and that of the rating qualification of the Trustees among the rest.

#### LAND PURCHASE ACT RETURNS.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE (Bradford, Central): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he will lay upon the Table of the House, on the re-assembling of Parliament, a Return up to the latest date, in continuance of Mr. Morley's Return, No. 115, of the present year, of the purchasers under the Land Purchase Act, 1885; also a Return showing the number of holdings, purchased where the advances have been £50 and under; from £50 to £100; £100 to £250; £250 to £500; £500 to £750; £750 to £1,000; £1,000 to £1,500; £1,500 to £2,000; £2,000 to £3,000; £3,000 to £4,000; £4,000 to £5,000; and above £5,000; showing also the aggregate advances made in such cases?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I apprehend it would be contrary to the practice of the House to now order a Return dealing with a period of some months at present unexpired. If the right hon. Gentleman will, however, move on the re-assembling of Parliament for a Return in continuance of Parliamentary Return No. 115, to which he refers, it will be then granted unopposed. A similar course will also be adopted as regards the second Return indicated; but in respect to this Return the Land Commissioners ask that, for convenience, a slight change may be made in the classification, so as to follow that used in their Annual Report. The modified classification would be as follows:—Advances not exceeding £50; advances exceeding £50, and not exceeding £100; advances exceeding £100, and not exceeding £200; advances exceeding £200, and not exceeding £500; advances exceeding £500, and not exceeding £700; advances exceeding £700, and not exceeding £1,000; the remaining classification being as indicated in the question. These Returns would be up to the 31st October, and would be in hand so as to be ready to be laid upon the Table at the earliest date practicable upon their being moved for by the right hon. Gentleman.

## ACHILL BRIDGE.

DR. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland why extra remuneration is not given to Patrick Sweeny, of Achill, for the extra labour given by him in the completion of the Achill Bridge; whether extra remuneration has been granted to the County Surveyor Cowen of £130 by the Board of Works for the same work; and whether the Grand Jury has accorded extra remuneration to the above contractor, and recommended the Board of Works, through its Chairman, Lord John Brown, in view of costly character of extra work done, to give an extra grant to Mr. Sweeny?

MR. JACKSON: I am informed that the contract was made with the Grand Jury, and, therefore, the contractor had no claim on the Board of Works. The answer to the second paragraph is, Yes. The answer to the first part of the third paragraph is, Yes; but no recommendation has reached the Board of Works.

DR. TANNER: Is it not a fact that this poor man, according to the first specifications, was only to carry the foundations down two feet, and yet had to carry them down 14 feet?

MR. JACKSON: I understand the contract was made with the Grand Jury and not with the Board of Works, and, therefore, I know of no fund out of which the contractor can be compensated.

DR. TANNER: Will the right hon. Gentleman look into the case if I place the documents in his hands?

MR. JACKSON: If the hon. Member will furnish me with additional information, I will consider the claims of the contractor.

CHARGE AGAINST MILLSTREET  
POLICEMEN.

DR. TANNER: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that a policeman named James M'Gouran was tried under a charge of violation of duty by improperly arresting certain persons, namely, William King, Timothy O'Keefe, and Michael Keleher, all of Millstreet, at Millstreet, on the 22nd day of July 1890, and that it was proved the policeman was drunk on the occasion in question; whether District Inspector Stevenson, in prosecuting, and asking

for the fullest investigation being made into the case as reflecting on the character of the police in Muskerry, was stopped by Mr. Butler, R.M.; whether Head Constable O'Brien stated that, after repeated communications as to the drunken condition of the policemen, King and Tully, finally proceeded to the house and found them there drunk; whether these men had revolvers on this occasion, and whether the head constable placed them under arrest; and, if not, can he explain on what grounds; and whether the arrests in question were made illegally?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR (Manchester, E.): I am informed that the facts are as stated in the first paragraph. District Inspector Stevenson did propose to call other witnesses in consequence of statements which had appeared in the public Press, but the Magistrates were unanimous in considering that they had sufficient evidence of what had occurred. The head constable's evidence was, I am informed, not as stated in the third paragraph, but was to the effect that upon statements being made to him in regard to the constables, he immediately proceeded to the place. Constable Tully had a revolver; Constable M'Gouran had no firearms. The head constable took the two constables to the barracks, and, acting according to the regulations of the Force, he did not put them under formal arrest, but placed them under the charge of two other constables. The arrests are presumed to have been illegal, as the persons were not charged with any offence.

## SWINBURNE'S ODE TO RUSSIA.

MR. P. O'BRIEN: I beg to ask the Attorney General whether it is an indictable offence in England to encourage, persuade, or endeavour to persuade, any person or persons to murder a foreigner residing out of Her Majesty's dominions; whether any person has been tried and convicted during the past 10 years of such an offence; and what was the name of such person, the particular form of offence, and the punishment awarded to such person?

\*THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir R. WILSON, Isle of Wight): In answer to the hon. Member, I may say that the acts alleged in the first paragraph of his question would be an indictable offence. The matter was fully discussed in the



case of "*Regina v. Bernard*" in the year 1858, reported in the first volume of *Foster and Finlaison's Reports*, at page 240; and also in the case of "*Regina v. Most*" in the year 1881, reported in the *Law Reports* at page 244 of the seventh volume of the Queen's Bench Division. Bernard was tried on a charge of murder, conspiracy to murder, and as accessory, and was acquitted. Most was tried under the Statute 24 & 25 Vict., c. 100, Section 4, and was convicted. He was sentenced to 16 months' imprisonment, with hard labour.

\*MR. P. O'BRIEN: Has the attention of the hon. and learned Gentleman been drawn to the fact of the publication in the *Fortnightly Review* of an "Ode to Russia" by Mr. Algernon Charles Swinburne which constitutes an incitement to the assassination of the Czar, and will he advise that the writer of the ode, or the editor or publisher of the *Fortnightly Review* shall be prosecuted?

\*MR. SPEAKER: Order, order!

#### APPEALS.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury if the attention of the Government has been directed to the multiplicity of appeals to Courts of no excessive superiority of numbers and weight as compared to the Courts below, illustrated in a recent case first decided by the concurrence of two Judges, namely, the Chief Justice of England, himself a Member of the House of Lords, and another eminent Judge, now also a Peer; then appealed to, and reversed by, three Judges of the Appellate Court, who were divided two to one; and thence again appealed to three Members of the House of Lords, who were again divided two to one; and if the Government will, during the Recess, consider the advisability of remodelling this system, so as to give fewer appeals, and those to a tribunal of overwhelming strength?

\*THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. H. SMITH, Strand, Westminster): A Judicature Bill has within the last few days passed both Houses, and in this Bill the question of appeals was dealt with. No increase in the numbers of the final Court of Appeal would prevent the chance of the Judges being nearly equally divided.

#### PUBLIC RECORDS.

MR. HOWELL: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether his attention has been called to the following paragraph in the 51st Annual Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records, on page 10, namely:—

"It is wasteful to present Members of the two Houses of Parliament with printed copies of lists which are intended for the use of Departments of State, and of lawyers and students of history;"

and whether he will tell the House by whose authority the paragraph was inserted in the Report, and also who is to be the judge whether Members of the two Houses of Parliament are to have copies of Papers issued at the public expense?

\*MR. W. H. SMITH: The arrangement and contents of the Annual Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records are, except so far as they are regulated by Act of Parliament, entirely in his hands. It is considered that it would be more convenient to the public to print the calendars to which the hon. Member refers separately, and, as opportunity occurs, to codify them and print them in larger type. The Act of Parliament 1 & 2 Vict., c. 94, Section 17, under which the Deputy Keeper makes his Reports, does not, I believe, require such lists to be appended to his Reports, and, as suggested in his last Report, the fact that the valuable information contained in these lists is hidden away in Appendices to Reports deprives them of much of their value.

#### THE ESTIMATES.

SIR G. CAMPBELL: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether if it is found inconvenient to discuss all the remaining Estimates at this late period of the Session, it would be possible to take them at a Sitting in the autumn, even after a prorogation, as is frequently done in the case of Supplementary Estimates, provided they are passed in the current financial year, and money for current expenses is obtained either from Votes already passed or by a Vote on Account?

\*MR. W. H. SMITH: The inconvenience to which the hon. Member refers must, I am sorry to say, be endured, as the Government have no intention of carrying over the Estimates till next Session.

## CUSTODY OF CHILDREN BILL.

MR. SEXTON (Belfast, W.): The right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury has stated that contentious Bills will not be proceeded with. Irish Members are opposed to the Custody of Children Bill, which has come down from the Lords. Is it intended to proceed with it?

\*MR. W. H. SMITH: It will not be proceeded with.

MR. CHANNING (Northampton, E.): Is not the right hon. Gentleman aware that this is a Bill in which a large number of persons take a great interest, as well as the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children.

\*MR. W. H. SMITH: I know that that is the case; but Members are aware that I have given a promise that I will not proceed with contentious Bills, and I am bound by that pledge, much as I regret that hon. Members should deem it right to oppose the Bill.

FINANCIAL RELATIONS OF THE  
THREE KINGDOMS.

MR. SEXTON: How is it that the Motion for the appointment of the Committee on the financial relations of the three Kingdoms is not down on the Paper for to-day as arranged?

MR. JACKSON: I am afraid I am responsible for the omission.

MR. SEXTON: When will it be taken, then?

MR. JACKSON: I hope the appointment of the Committee to inquire into the financial relations between the three Kingdoms will be taken to-morrow.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.): Surely it is not intended to have a meeting of the Committee this Session?

\*THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. Goschen, St. George's, Hanover Square): It will be desirable to have a meeting of the Committee in order that we may consider what line the inquiry shall take, and what information will be required from the Departments.

## THE MORFA COLLIERY EXPLOSION.

COLONEL BLUNDELL (Lancashire, S.W., Ince): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department, with reference to Paragraphs 34, 42, and 43

of the Report upon the Morfa Colliery explosion, whether he will take into consideration the propriety of requiring that whenever shot-firing in coal takes place in a "fiery" seam during a shift, whether inflammable gas has been reported or not, the explosive employed in firing a shot shall be "so used with water or other contrivance as to prevent it from inflaming gas," or be of such a nature that it cannot inflame gas?

MR. MATTHEWS: The question raised by my hon. and gallant Friend is one of extreme importance, and I propose to issue a Circular calling for the opinion of all the Inspectors on the subject.

## CASE OF MR. WALSH.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE: I beg to ask the Attorney General whether it was by his direction or sanction that Mr. Walsh, the editor of the *Cashel Sentinel*, was prosecuted on Friday, 1st August, for having inserted in his paper, on 7th June last, the report of a speech delivered by Mr. Kelly, at Bohercaheen, in which the following passage occurred:—

"Mr. Gladstone, a few days ago, when speaking of Mitchelstown, observed 'Why may they not use blackthorns against batons?' A voice, 'we'll be better prepared for them next time.' Mr. Kelly, 'Do, I beg you, be better prepared the next time, and let these cowardly rowdies who attack women, old men, and children in the open day feel the strength that alumbers in a Tipperary peasant's arm;'"

whether, when directing the prosecution, he was aware that Mr. Walsh made no editorial comments whatever on this report of Mr. Kelly's speech; that there was no other evidence against him; and that other newspapers, including Tory papers, reported the same passage; whether, under all these circumstances, he proposes to proceed further with the prosecution of Mr. Walsh in his appeal from the Magistrates, who have sentenced him to three months' imprisonment with hard labour; and whether, in the event of his proceeding with the prosecution, he intends to prosecute the editors of other newspapers who reported the same speech?

SIR R. WEBSTER: The question of the right hon. Gentleman relates to a matter which is the subject of a pending appeal, and I must, therefore, decline to make any statement on the subject.

## TELEGRAPH CHARGES TO GERMANY.

MR. HENNIKER HEATON: I beg to ask the Postmaster General whether a person can telegraph 100 words from Germany to this country (making allowance for the average rate of exchange) for 14s. 8d., whereas the same person must pay 16s. 8d. for telegraphing 100 words to Germany, the difference in the charge being thus  $13\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.; whether £1 sterling will pay for telegraphing 136 words from Germany to England, but only 120 words from England to Germany; and why this discrimination against England has been agreed to?

SIR H. MAXWELL: The charge for telegrams between Germany and England is fixed, not at a rate per hundred words, but at a rate per word, and the basis of the charge is 20 centimes. For the sum of 20 centimes there is collected in Germany the nearest convenient equivalent in German money, namely, 15 pfennige, and in England the nearest convenient equivalent in English money, namely, 2d. It is not in the power of the Postmaster General to alter the monetary systems of Germany and England so as to make it possible to collect in both countries the exact equivalent of 20 centimes.

## PUBLIC ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS.

Order [12th June] for a Return relative to Public Elementary Schools read, and discharged; and, instead thereof:—

## ELEMENTARY EDUCATION (SCHOOLS EXAMINED).

Address for—

"Return for all Public Elementary Schools examined during the year ending the 31st day of August, 1889, giving—

Name and denomination of School.	Number of scholars for whom accommodation is provided.	Average attendance.	Income from fees and books.	Income from subscriptions or rates.	Income from endowment.	Income from Parliamentary Grant.

"Any school receiving a grant for more or less than a twelvemonth to be marked with an asterisk."—(Mr. Mundella.)

## PUBLIC ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS.

Order [12th June] for a Return relative to Public Elementary Schools read, and discharged; and, instead thereof:—

## ELEMENTARY EDUCATION DEDUCTIONS.

Address for—

"Return showing, by Counties, all Cases where a Reduction has been made during the year, ended the 31st day of August, 1889, under Art. 114:—

Name of School, with denomination.	Average attendance.	Income from fees and sale of books.	Net income from Grant.	Income from subscriptions or rates.	Income from endowment.	Amount of deduction under Article 114.

## Summary.

## Schools with no income from subscriptions :—

Number of schools	..	..	..	..
Average attendance	..	..	..	..
Total nett grant	..	..	..	..
Total deductions under Art. 114	..	..	..	..

## Schools with an income from subscriptions not exceeding 2s. 6d. a head :—

Number of schools	..	..	..	..
Average attendance	..	..	..	..
Total nett grant ..	..	..	..	..
Total deduction under Art. 114	..	..	..	..
Total income from subscriptions	..	..	..	..

## Schools with an income from subscriptions of 2s. 7d. to 5s. a head, inclusive :—

Number of schools	..	..	..	..
Average attendance	..	..	..	..
Total nett grant ..	..	..	..	..
Total deductions under Art. 114	..	..	..	..
Total income from subscriptions	..	..	..	..

## Schools with an income from subscriptions of 5s. 1d. to 7s. 6d. a head, inclusive :—

Number of schools	..	..	..	..
Average attendance	..	..	..	..
Total nett grant ..	..	..	..	..
Total deductions under Art. 114	..	..	..	..
Total income from subscriptions	..	..	..	..

## Schools with an income from subscriptions of 7s. 7d. to 10s. a head, inclusive :—

Number of schools	..	..	..	..
Average attendance	..	..	..	..
Total nett grant ..	..	..	..	..
Total deductions under Art. 114	..	..	..	..
Total income from subscriptions	..	..	..	..

## Schools with an income from subscriptions of over 10s. a head :—

Number of schools	..	..	..	..
Average attendance	..	..	..	..
Total nett grant ..	..	..	..	..
Total deductions under Art. 114	..	..	..	..
Total income from subscriptions	..	..	..	..

—(Mr. Mundella.)

## LONDON SCHOOL BOARD (COST OF SITES).

## Return ordered—

“Of the amount expended by the London School Board in the purchase of Sites for Schools in the following form :—

Name of School.	Amount paid to the Vendors, including all claims for compensation.	Costs and charges of the Vendor's Solicitor.	Fees of the Vendor's Surveyor.	Costs and charges of the Solicitor of the School Board.	Fees of the Surveyors of the School Board.

## MESSAGE FROM THE LORDS.

That they have agreed to,—Parliamentary Registration Expenses (Ireland) Bill, with an Amendment; Police (Scotland) Bill; Local Taxation (Customs and Excise) Duties Bill, with Amendments; Metropolis Management Amendment Act (1862) Amendment Bill; Metropolis Management Acts Amendment Bill, *changed from* Metropolis Management and Building Acts (Amendment) Bill, with Amendments.

## MOTION.

## FARM SERVANTS (SCOTLAND) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Keay, Bill to provide for the Housing of Farm Servants on Farms in Scotland, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Keay, Mr. Caldwell, Dr. Clark, and Mr. Angus Sutherland.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 416.]

## ORDERS OF THE DAY.

## SUPPLY—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

## CLASS II.

1. Motion made and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding \$64,495, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending in the 31st day of March, 1891, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Office of Her Majesty's Secretary of State for the Home Department and Subordinate Offices."

(555.) MR. FENWICK (Northumberland, Wansbeck): On this Vote I wish to draw attention to recent colliery explosions. There have recently been three explosions, involving the loss of 326 lives. I regret having to draw the attention of the House to this important subject in the present languid and attenuated condition of Parliament; but it is one of vast importance, and that is my reason for bringing it forward. I think I may say that the painful regularity with which these dreadful calamities occur is a matter of serious concern to Members on both sides of the House. Although in 1887 a Bill was passed with a view to minimising these catastrophes, it is noteworthy that within the last two years have occurred three of the worst

colliery explosions we have ever had. This almost makes one despair of being able, by means of legislation, to avert these calamities. Certainly there is reason to believe that much loss of life is due to culpable negligence. I intend now to refer particularly to the gross mismanagement which is shown in the Report as to the Mossfield Colliery. I contend that no one who reads the evidence submitted at the inquiry can fail to come to the conclusion that the grossest mismanagement was apparent in connection with the working of that colliery, and yet the Government Commissioner (Mr. Harold Thomas) has failed, notwithstanding the verdict of the jury, to advise the Government to institute criminal proceedings in this case. I may quote from the Report of the Commissioner, showing the condition of the mine prior and up to the date of the explosion. According to that, it appeared that in the air courses of the mine the greatest possible obstruction to the ventilation was permitted to exist for weeks, and even for months, before the explosion occurred. For a fortnight also before the explosion took place there was an obstruction to one of the return airways, and it had not been travelled and inspected for 12 months. Such a state of things is scarcely creditable. Mr. Potts, the certificated manager of the colliery, admitted, when examined, that for a period of seven days at least before the explosion he had not entered the mine, although the law provides that a daily personal supervision of the mine shall take place, either by the manager or the accredited under manager. I acknowledge that Mr. Potts a short time before had met with an accident which prevented him, to some extent, from properly discharging his duty. But the manager admitted that at the time of the explosion he was sufficiently recovered to attend to his duties, and yet he never entered the mine to see that everything underground was in a right and proper condition. As has already been pointed out to the Committee, this was a fiery mine, for fires were again and again bursting out spontaneously. Notwithstanding the danger and risk incurred from this gas which was allowed to accumulate, no adequate effort was made to remove it. At the time that the explosion occurred it was known—I am

quoting now Mr. Thomas—that a month prior to it drift No. 2 was full of gas. I would also call attention to the fact that when an attempt was made to clear away the gas during the shift, no report was ever entered of the accumulation of gas in the Official Report Book, although the Act of 1887 distinctly provides by Rule 4 that when any such obstructions or accumulations of gas are met with in the mine they are to be entered in the Report Book. The Act is clear and explicit enough as to what are the duties of the Inspector in this respect. We have it on the authority of the Government Commissioner that no such entry was made of the accumulation of gas. The Committee will see that the mine at the time of the explosion was in a most unsatisfactory condition. Practically, there was no management at the colliery whatever. They had the additional difficulty of fire in the mine. There were indications to the management that a fire was in process of breaking out in No. 5 air course. These air courses are not far apart; so that you have in drift No. 2 accumulations of gas which are close to the incipient fire in air course No. 5. Where such a condition of things exists, it is usual to take prompt and vigorous measures to shut off the current of fresh air circulating in that portion of the mine, and to isolate it from other portions, with a view to preventing the further progress of the fire. Changing the current of ventilation in a mine is at all times a very dangerous and critical operation. It was rendered much more difficult in this case by the presence of fire about to break out. Managers, when they have this operation to perform, usually take the most elaborate precautions against accidents, even under ordinary circumstances. But how much more are these precautions necessary where you have large accumulations of gas and actual fire. The law has fairly provided against such a contingency by Rule 7, which provides that where a part of the mine is rendered dangerous by the presence of inflammable gases, the workmen shall be withdrawn from the mine, or the part which is dangerous. Was there any attempt to withdraw the men in this instance, while this dangerous and critical operation was being performed? No. The manager himself, either from cowardice or some other cause, refused to go into the

*Mr. Fenwick*

mine to superintend this critical operation, which was entrusted to others. In answer to Question 1724—"You are aware of gas having been reported for three days previous in No. 2. You were aware of the 'gob-stink' in No. 5?" Mr. Potts, the manager, replied, "I was fully sensible of the critical nature of the operation." Yet, with all this knowledge before him, Mr. Potts did not direct that these men should be withdrawn. He is asked, after admitting that the circumstances of the mine brought him within Rule 7, "Did you inspect the place?" "No. . . . I expected a Report." Why did he expect a Report, when he knew very well that he had not authorised anybody to make one? "Did you tell anyone to remove the men?" That really is the *cruz* of the whole question. In my opinion, Rule 7 is sufficiently clear on this point; it leaves the manager no discretionary power; it is peremptory that the men must be withdrawn. Yet, though Mr. Potts knew the danger existed, he neither by his own action, nor by instructions, took steps to have the men withdrawn. "Was it not your duty once you were within Rule 7 to have the men removed?" His answer was, "There was no danger." Sir, there was danger; and if the man had been worthy of his position, he ought at once to have ordered the men to be withdrawn until such time as the mine was declared to be perfectly safe for renewing operations. This is the point to which I wish particularly to call the attention of the Committee. After all these admissions on the part of the manager, the Commissioner declared that there was simply an error of judgment on his part in not withdrawing his men. In my opinion, his offence was far more grave and serious than a simple error of judgment. It was a direct violation both of the spirit and letter of the law, both of the general and the special rule, the latter, if possible, being more clear and explicit than the general rule. Why in this case there should not have been a criminal prosecution I fail to understand. The explosion at Mossfield was in October, 1889, when the House was not in Session. Immediately the House met in February I called the attention of the Home Secretary to the verdict of the Coroner's Jury, and to the rider to that

verdict, and I asked him what course the Government intended to pursue in view of the censure which the Coroner's Jury had passed upon the manager, Mr. Potts. The verdict, while exonerating Mr. Potts from culpable negligence, set forth that he was deserving of censure for not personally inspecting the mine for so long a time previous to the explosion. The answer which the Home Secretary gave to me was, that he had not received the Report of the counsel who attended on behalf of the Home Office, and that, therefore, he was not prepared to say what action the Government would take. I ask him now whether he does not think that some further steps should be taken in this matter, and whether he is satisfied with the state of things as existing at present? I may remind the Committee that workmen are again and again being brought before the Magistrates and being fined or imprisoned for trivial offences. I do not complain of that, because violations of the Mines Act, whether by workmen or manager, ought to be sternly dealt with. But when you have workmen being fined and imprisoned, and no steps are taken towards a criminal prosecution in circumstances such as I have described, such a state of things is apt to create in the minds of the workmen a contempt for law, and that is one of the last things which we ought to desire to see brought about in this country. Now that the right hon. Gentleman has had an opportunity of considering the whole of the evidence, I want to ask him what steps he is going to take? Will he order a prosecution? I am afraid things have gone a little too far. I am afraid, if the information that reaches me is correct, that the Government have permitted the guilty person to flee from justice. I am informed that Mr. Potts resigned almost at once, and has left the country, and it would now be impossible to get at him. I am informed that the owners have so far admitted their responsibility that rather than have proceedings entered against them for compensation under the Employers' Liability Act they have paid down the sum of £3,000 to be distributed amongst the relatives and friends of the deceased. That is a poor compensation for the loss of 64 lives. Had it been three times £3,000 I should have still

considered it my duty to urge the necessity of instituting further proceedings, so that the matter might be sifted to the bottom, and that if there were criminal negligence it might be brought to the notice of justice. Now that this man has left the country, have any steps been taken to suspend his certificate and to prevent his occupying such a responsible position again? Again, is the Home Secretary still of opinion that there is a sufficient staff of Inspectors? I call the attention of the right hon. Gentleman to page 26 of Mr. Atkinson's Report. Mr. Atkinson has only been 12 months an Inspector, yet he says that the collieries in this district cannot be said to have reached a high standard of management. If that is the case, there is reason to doubt whether there are sufficient Inspectors for the purpose of efficient inspection. There are 3,383 coal mines in the United Kingdom subject to inspection. We have 28 Inspectors and Assistant Inspectors. Now, if these gentlemen were at work three days in the week, it would only be two days for each mine in the course of the year. Such inspection, which consists of going to the bottom of the mine and consulting with the officers, is a farce and a sham. Assuming you have two days to each mine, you will only be able to cover two-thirds of the mines. But these Inspectors have 14 and 15 days clerical work to do, often sitting up to the early hours of the morning to overtake it. Under these circumstances, I should like to ask the Home Secretary whether he considers there is a sufficient staff of Inspectors. I am advised, Mr. Courtney, that if I move the reduction of the Vote it will permit of a continuous discussion on this subject. I move the reduction of the Vote by £100.

**THE CHAIRMAN:** It is not necessary to move, and I would remind the hon. Member that if he does so it will prevent the discussion of previous items of the Vote.

\*(6.30.) **THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT** (Mr. MATTHEWS, Birmingham, E.): The hon. Member has said truly that the law provides various precautions, yet somehow or other these precautions were neglected and an explosion occurred. The hon. Member will



see that the three months which is the period during which proceedings can be taken for breach of the rules, had elapsed before the Coroner's inquest was commenced. The accident took place on the 16th of October. Any breach of the rules was, of course, committed before that date, and the inquest did not terminate till the 30th of January. This leads me to make the observation that one of the earliest Amendments of the Act needed is the prolongation of the period during which proceedings can be taken in the cases of complicated and involved accidents, where special difficulty is found in deciding where there has been guilt. But, besides breaches of the rules, other and graver charges may possibly arise, and I have instructed the Solicitor to the Treasury to institute prosecutions if he should think it right to do so. I will say, in passing, that I think very little of the omission to appoint an assistant manager in writing. I gather from the evidence that there was an under manager in fact, although, from some erroneous view of the Act, the managers supposed there could not be two under managers appointed in writing at the same time. Fletcher was at one pit, and there was another under manager, Holmes, at another. Fletcher was a certificated man, and, therefore, *prima facie* a competent man. I am sure the hon. Member will agree that in face of the verdict of the jury and the findings of the extremely competent gentleman who conducted the inquiry for me, it would not have been expedient for me to have proceeded hastily to a prosecution. I do not wish to impugn the inferences the hon. Member has drawn from the evidence, nor do I wish to support them. It would not be becoming of me to suggest guilt while the matter is still in the hands of the Solicitor to the Treasury. If the law enables any prosecution to be brought with effect a prosecution will be brought. With reference to the question of inspection, it was impossible to isolate the shot-firing so as not to interfere with the ventilation of the mine, without the exercise of a great deal of skill. Can the hon. Member suggest that the Inspector should be responsible for such an operation as that? If so, he takes up a perfectly untenable position. It would

*Mr. Matthews*

be impossible for the Inspectors to take upon themselves the responsibility for such an operation without also taking on themselves the responsibility for the management of the mine. The Legislature has enacted, and I think wisely, that the managers of mines shall be capable and competent persons, whose competence is ascertained by proper tests. It has provided that a competent manager, or at least a competent under manager, should be daily on the spot. To carry out the hon. Member's suggestion it would require as many Inspectors as there are now managers. Therefore, largely as I sympathise with the kind of—I was going to say instinct—which prompts an hon. Member, when he hears of a bad accident, to declare at once that there should be more inspection, I say that it would not be expedient to transform the Inspectors into a vast army of managers. All we can hope for is, that the Inspectors shall from time to time give advice to the manager; that they shall, by surprise visits, find out whether the rules are observed; and that they shall criticise the special rules and see that they carry out the intention of the Legislature. All these things the Inspectors ought to do, and do, but it is impossible even to inaugurate a system of inspection by which the particular accident that occurred in this mine could have been prevented.

MR. FENWICK: What about the manager?

\*MR. MATTHEWS: He has resigned his post as manager. The question whether he ought to retain his certificate or not will certainly not be lost sight of.

MR. FENWICK: The law provides for it now, but it is for the Home Secretary to set the law in motion.

\*MR. MATTHEWS: Yes, I may make an inquiry if representations are made to me by an Inspector or otherwise that a manager, by reason of incompetence or gross negligence, is unfit to perform his duties. At present I have only before me the verdict of the jury acquitting the manager of anything like negligence or gross incompetence, and the Report of the Inspector stating that there was want of judgment. That is the only censure that I have before me at the present moment.

Mr. FENWICK: You have Inspector Atkinson's Report on page 28.

\*Mr. MATTHEWS: Yes; but I do not find that that amounts to a declaration of the unfitness of the manager to perform his duties. The question is not a practical one at present. I thought it desirable to see if any criminal action could be taken against anyone, and, if so, against whom. The facts have not yet been ascertained; but as soon as they are known, I promise that the case shall be considered.

(642.) Mr. BURT (Morpeth): I think that even at this period of the Session it will be admitted that the House is not losing time in devoting an hour to a discussion of this kind. With regard to the reply of the Home Secretary as to the special case dealt with by the hon. Member for the Wansbeck Division, I think that, so far as it goes, it is satisfactory in regard to the prosecution of the manager. His answer, however, is far less satisfactory in regard to the question of the sufficiency or insufficiency of the number of Inspectors. But I will not dwell upon that, because I do not suppose that any amount of argument would bring the Home Secretary and myself and colleagues to an agreement on the matter. It is a remarkable thing that so soon after we have spent hours and weeks in passing such a measure as that of 1887, there should be such a series of disastrous explosions as those we have had last year and this year. The statistics for the first year, after the passing of the Act, showed uncommonly satisfactory results. There were only 49 lives lost by explosions in the United Kingdom—a smaller number than had been lost in any year since the passing of the Act of 1851. We find, also, that in 1873, the first year after the passing of the Act of 1872, there was a considerable diminution in the number of lives lost through explosions; and it will be found, in connection with the passing of nearly every Act, that immediately after its coming into operation, there has been a considerable diminution in the number of fatalities. Now, this must be something more than a coincidence. It must be due to the fact that, immediately after the passing of an Act, everybody is on the alert—both employers and workmen—so far as possible, to carry out the Act to the letter. My hon. Friend has

referred to the Mossfield explosion. In the year 1889 we find that the number of lives lost had risen from 49 to 148, and during the first three months of this year we have had two explosions in which no fewer than 262 lives were lost. In the case of the Llanerch explosion, there were 176 lives lost, and it was stated in the public newspapers that this accident was due entirely to the absence of locked safety lamps. In the case of the Morfa explosion, which occurred less than six weeks afterwards, we find that they had locked safety lamps; and though there cannot be much said, I fear, for the management of the colliery, it can be said that they had provided the very best lamps that are known, and which have stood the severest tests, namely, the Marsawt lamps. But it is an entire illusion to suppose that it is a wise condition that the miners should be entirely dependent on the safety lamp. I do not want to discount the value of the safety lamps, but a great deal depends upon the kind of lamp that is provided. In the Mossfield colliery I find that they had mixed lamps. They had the Muesler and the Marsawt. It is said in the Report that the Muesler lamp is a safe one, and goes out in gas. It is put very dogmatically; but the Commission, of which I had the honour to be a member, went very thoroughly into this question, and found that there were numerous cases in which the Muesler lamp had exploded in a few seconds. I agree that it is desirable always to have safety lamps in use by way of additional protection—and in this case I think there is serious ground for investigation, the Inspector of Mines having urged that safety lamps should be introduced—but the responsibility for the safety of the men rests upon the owners and manager of mines; and in cases where the men did not desire to have safety lamps introduced, their wishes ought not to be consulted. In the Morfa Mine there were all the elements of danger, and the Government Inspectors and others who investigated the cause of the explosion there, have not a shadow of a doubt that it was due to the firing of a shot. It was shown that the mine was a fiery one; that it contained a superabundance of coal dust, and that it was very dry; and though the evidence was not very conclusive as to the cause of

the accident, all the most experienced men came to the conclusion I have stated. It was shown that the shot-firing generally took place during the day shift, when a large number of men were in the mine. The Report on this explosion contains the following passage:—

"No explosive but gunpowder was ever used. Water cartridges were never tried, and there was no attempt to water for the purpose of preventing the ignition of dust. The shot-firing always took place during the shifts, and generally during the day shift, when there was a large number of men in the mine."

Here I wish to emphasise the fact that in connection with all the explosion, that have occurred in the present years there has been a gross violation of three or four of the chief rules laid down in the Mines Regulation Act. The first general rule makes it incumbent on the managers to see that an adequate amount of ventilation is provided, and that most important rule has, generally speaking, been violated. Then Rule 4 provides for the examination of the working places immediately before the commencement of a shift, and that rule was violated in one or more of these cases. The Home Secretary is aware how strongly we urged, when the Bill was in Committee, that long intervals should not be allowed to elapse between the examinations. The right hon. Gentleman did not see his way to accept an Amendment I moved; but he inserted an Amendment of his own, declaring that the inspection should take place "immediately before the commencement of work." In the special rules of the Mossfield Colliery it was enacted that the examination should be made at least an hour before the commencement of a shift, so that it might take place three or four hours previously. Everyone knows that gas accumulates very rapidly in mines, and it is most dangerous that a long interval should elapse between the examination and the commencement of a shift. General Rule 7 has also been grossly violated in the case of the Morfa Mine at least. Now, I admit that the Reports made on the explosions are ably and carefully compiled; but when it comes to a question of punishing the owners or managers, Coroners' Juries, as well as the compilers of these Reports, always find some excuse why prosecution should not take place. I am not

*Mr. Burt*

one of those who advocate punishment of a criminal kind; but when hundreds of valuable lives are lost year after year, and when there is a gross and systematic violation of the best provisions of an Act of Parliament, it is, I contend, the duty of the Home Secretary to prosecute in order to let it be known that such violations of the law are not to be tolerated.

\*(6.58.) COLONEL BLUNDELL (Lancashire, S.W., Ince): With regard to the subject of inspection, it is true that you must not relieve mine owners of their responsibility for carrying on the mines properly. You should not put the responsibility on the shoulders of the Inspectors; but, on the other hand, I think that if you have an inspection there should be Inspectors enough to inspect every mine once a year regularly, in addition to the occasional visits now made by Inspectors. That would not take away the responsibility of the managers and owners. In the Army every regiment is inspected every year by the General Officer, but that does not in the least absolve the Commander of a regiment from his responsibility. There are two reasons for the course I propose. In the first place, I think it is very necessary that the Inspector of a district should have a thorough knowledge of the district, so as to be aware of any waste of coal; and, in the second place, I think that such an inspection would periodically bring to the attention of managers the necessity of overhauling everything about their mines. I would strongly urge the necessity of an annual inspection of every mine.

(7.0.) MR. G. LEVESON-GOWER (Stoke-upon-Trent): I rise for the purpose of supporting what has fallen from the hon. Member for Wansbeck. The Committee must feel, after hearing the able *résumé* which the hon. Gentleman gave of the evidence adduced at the Coroner's inquest, that certainly a considerable, if not a culpable, amount of neglect took place in the management of the mine. I think the hon. Member's desire is not so much that there should be a vindictive prosecution as that there should be the means of enabling miners to feel that the Home Office is keeping an eye on whoever may be responsible for bringing danger into the mines, whether they be owners, managers, or miners,

and that if ever cause be shown, punishment will be meted out. I do not suppose any Member will desire to insist, as the right hon. Gentleman suggests, that an Inspector should become practically manager of a mine. What I think my right hon. Friend desires is that the Inspectors and Assistant Inspectors now existing should do their work in such a way as to justify a general feeling of confidence in the minds of those who are working in the mines. I would also ask the right hon. Gentleman to consider the practicability of appointing men who themselves have worked in the mines as Assistant Inspectors. I believe that that would create a very much greater feeling of confidence among the men. It is not that they feel any want of confidence in the Inspectors, but they think that a man who has been spending his life in a mine has almost an instinctive feeling when danger is threatened, and is able to point out when it may be guarded against. I believe the miners would be more ready to communicate with such an Assistant Inspector than with gentlemen drawn from other classes of society, and who have had no previous practical experience of mining, although they may have a great deal of knowledge in their profession.

(7.5.) MR. S. EVANS (Glamorgan, Mid): I wish to draw the attention of the Home Secretary more particularly to the Morfa explosion. I attended the inquiry myself on behalf of the men, and, therefore, am conversant with the facts. I wish to enforce the desirability of having more Inspectors of Mines than we have at present. I do not think the danger which the Home Secretary seems to anticipate from such a course would arise. What is wanted is periodical and more frequent inspections. The suggestion of inspections once a year is simply ludicrous. There was some difficulty in deciding what was the real cause of the Morfa accident, because it was impossible to get at the seat of it; but the conclusion arrived at by the Government Inspectors, and by the very able men who conducted the inquiry, was that it was caused by shot-firing. I wish to draw particular attention to the large amount of coal dust in this mine. The accident would not have been of so serious a nature but for this fact. There can be no doubt

that there was a large quantity of dust present at the time of the accident, and, according to the evidence, the explosion carried a large quantity of dust through the headings and up the shaft. Mr. Jeffreys himself said that he had no doubt the explosion was considerably contributable to the presence of the coal dust. Disasters will no doubt occur in the best managed mines; but where they can be prevented, everything should be done to keep the mines as safe as possible. If there had been more Inspectors, I have not the least doubt that the danger attending the presence of this dust would have been pointed out; and I appeal to the right hon. Gentleman to re-consider his decision, and beg him to appoint as Inspectors working men having a knowledge of the district. There are numbers of working men who would fill the post well, in whom the men would have perfect confidence, and whose services could probably be got at less cost than those of the class of men at present engaged. There has been a difficulty in getting prosecutions under the Act, especially in cases of accidents of the character I have referred to. Coroner's Juries cannot agree to fix the blame upon individuals. This would not be the state of things if prosecutions for breaches of the rules were made at a time when there is no accident in the mine. Then we would have the attention of managers more closely directed to the necessity of being absolutely careful as to carrying out the Act. As the hon. Member for Morpeth (Mr. Burt) has pointed out, there was not the same loss of life during the year after the last Coal Mines Regulation Act was passed. Why? Because the attention of those responsible for the safety of the mines was called to the necessity of observing the provisions of the Act. If working men were appointed, the miners would more readily open their complaints to them, and the number of these disasters would be very much diminished. I join in thanking the Home Secretary for his readiness to receive and answer complaints, and for the courtesy with which he invariably treats us.

(7.15.) MR. PICKARD (York, W.R., Normanton): I wish to address myself to the question of inspection. As a practical miner, I have come to the conclusion that the inspection of mines is not all

we could desire. I have not a word to say against the present Inspectors. They work very hard, sometimes their work is very dangerous, and, looking to the work they have to do above and below ground, no one can say they have an easy time of it. But I and many others consider that the inspection of mines pure and simple is a mere farce. We have heard of Inspectors going to certain places in mines and contenting themselves with simply questioning the workmen in that place. They make the most casual inspection; indeed, they really know nothing about the safety of the mines. This kind of inspection may satisfy the managers and the Inspectors, but it is not satisfactory to the miners or the public generally. If an Inspector did his duty, he would often spend eight days in examining a mine, and that is the sort of inspection that is required. If an Inspector does his duty, he will travel all round the workings and find out whether the law is observed in every respect. But with the present number of Inspectors this would be impossible. The number of mines is so great that this is a physical impossibility. I was glad to hear the suggestion that every mine should be inspected, at least, once a year, because I know that there are mines down which the Inspector has never been. A mine may be safe or what is called fiery, but, whether it is safe or fiery, the Inspector should visit it occasionally, if only to come in contact with the men and ask them whether any danger existed, and, if so, to take steps to remove it. Personally, I think it is practicable to have mines inspected once a month. Surely a country like this, especially in view of the enormous amount of money extracted from the working classes generally, can find the means to pay for the inspection of mines by persons who thoroughly understand the work, and who would do it not in the kid glove style in which it is now done. We want a different class of Inspectors. We want men taken from the mines; men who are thoroughly qualified to inspect a mine. We have to-day in the United Kingdom miners who have gone before the Board of Examiners, and who have certified as first-class certificated managers. We have others who have qualified as under-managers; and yet, whenever any of these miners have

*Mr. Pickard*

applied for inspectorships, they have never been called up to London in order that the Home Secretary might see whether they were fit persons to inspect mines. Under the present system mines are in the hands of deputies every day—in the hands of men who never passed any examination whatever. It is impossible to say we cannot find a sufficient number of practical men to appoint as Inspectors. What is really required is that there should be, say, ten men working under a chief, who shall direct and control them. Every mine ought to be inspected once a month, and matters should be so arranged that the managers should not know the day on which the Inspector would visit his mine. There should be no post-card sent in advance, but the Chief Inspector should so arrange the inspections that managers would be taken by surprise. There is one thing I should like to see, and that is, that the Inspector's Reports should contain some account of the results of casual inspections. An Inspector may visit a mine in the Barnsley district, and yet we never hear anything more of the visit. We often hear that wrong is being done, but we never hear of prosecutions being instituted. The Home Secretary speaks of privileged Reports, but we maintain that all Reports ought to be made public. I trust the right hon. Gentleman will do as the present Lord Cross did when he was Home Secretary. Certain statements were made to Lord Cross—similar statements to those we make now—and he instructed the Inspectors to do certain things. The mine managers assisted in preventing loss of life and serious injury. I hope the right hon. Gentleman will do something of the same sort, because I am sure, after what the hon. Member for the Wansbeck Division (Mr. Fenwick) and the hon. Member for Morpeth (Mr. Burt) have said, there are defects in the Act of 1887 which lead to great misconception. If such were not the case, I can hardly think we would have the condition of things we find now existing. There is at present an idea in the minds of managers and deputies that if they find gas in a mine, and they can for the moment remove it, there is no need to report the circumstance. There is every likelihood that this non-reporting the presence of gas results in serious explosions. I can only say I think the Home

Secretary should send a Circular to Inspectors stating that in every unreported case of gas a prosecution shall be instituted, so that the law may run an even course, and we may have a safeguard against accumulations of gas that we have not had in the past. We have a case in Yorkshire, to which I can only briefly allude. We have not reported it to the Government Inspector, simply because we have found that, when this is done, a prosecution does not follow. But the case is this: A certain number of men on descending a mine, and within 60 yards of their work, found the place blocked with gas so that they could not proceed. The deputy manager had reported the mine safe, and day after day wanted to force the men to work. When this case was brought to our knowledge, we resolved to put the section of the Act in force, as we thought this was a case of neglect coming within the section, by which the men can take the initiative. The case, no doubt, will go on. The owner has said if this had been brought to his notice, he would have done something in the matter. If these cases of non-reporting gases are allowed to pass unchecked, some unhappy day we shall have an explosion of accumulated gas in one of our large Yorkshire mines which will suddenly hurl a thousand men into eternity. Time is not misspent when we take the opportunity to draw the attention of the House and the Home Secretary to these matters in the hope of bringing about some safety in these mines. In the Llanerch explosion there was the old story—accumulations of gas neglected, until 176 persons lost their lives. Now, it is evident that in this case the accumulations must have been considerable, yet, take the Report of Mr. Green, you find him stating that no reports of gas accumulation were made, and, further, we find that the manager had two mines to manage. Now, that manager did not carry out Section 21, for I say it is impossible for a manager to discharge his responsibilities with this double duty, and that blame rests upon some one for the issue of the second certificate. We have it from Mr. Green that, although he finds that this manager did break General Rule 4 and special rules, yet he does not see how there is a case for prosecution, and tries to make out that he was under the im-

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pression that the men, the owners, and the manager, were satisfied the mine was safe. This is supposed to be the happy frame of mind with everybody, thinking that everything is quite right, until suddenly they find that everything is quite wrong. Yet, after all, no prosecution ensues. We had the Inspector's Report last week, and we find that on December 6th Mr. Martin advised the use of lamps, because a non-fatal explosion had occurred in the mine a few weeks previously. He was right, but it should have been a demand for the use of lamps. Yet the manager does not report the mine unsafe. I am strongly of opinion that in Coroners' Courts Inspectors should be witnesses, not prosecutors; and as showing the position they take, I may mention that, in a case not long ago, our lawyer inquired who was the gentleman—meaning the Inspector—who was assisting the defence of the owners. That is how the position strikes the ordinary legal mind accustomed to the action of Inspectors in Coroners' Courts. What I hope for—what I look for—is that the Home Secretary will take the matter in hand and do his best, as I have no reason to doubt that he will, to get our Inspectors to see that the law is carried out effectually.

(7.40.) MR. ATHERLEY-JONES (Durham, N.W.): I hope that the strong expressions of opinion in favour of an increase in the number of Inspectors from my hon. Friend the Member for Wansbeck and other hon. Members connected with mining constituencies will induce the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary to re-consider the position he has taken up. I have no hesitation in saying, and I do entreat the Home Secretary's attention to this—I speak not without experience—that inspection in the sense we understand it as applied to factories and workshops and to ships, is, in respect of mines, absolutely non-existent. I draw the right hon. Gentleman's attention to the fact that there are most startling discrepancies in the percentage of accidents in different parts of the country. In South Wales, which is probably the worst-managed mining district in Great Britain, I find the average of fatal accidents is 1 in 503 men. In Durham, which ranks among the best-managed districts, it is 1 in 703; and in the Midlands, the

average is only 1 in 1,005. Now, I have no doubt that a more effective supervision by Government Inspectors would tend to bring these figures to an approximate equality. Consider, for a moment, there are something like 46,000 people employed underground in the County of Durham, and for the supervision of the large area in which their industry is carried on there are one Inspector and two Sub-Inspectors. It is, I say, an absolute impossibility, let the Inspector be as energetic and industrious as man can be, that he can exercise proper supervision and inspection. What he does, when any complaint is made to him, is to come down and act as a sort of referee. He makes an investigation, and gives, I have no doubt, an honest independent judgment, and, if necessary, he sets the law in motion. But how widely different from the system of inspection of factories! Every proprietor in the district of a factory over which inspectorship exists is always on the look-out for a visit from the Inspector. Now, there are 33 Inspectors of Mines, and I suggest that it might be possible, leaving a wide margin, as undoubtedly there must be, in order not to trench upon the duty of managers, to add to the number of Inspectors by appointing experienced workmen. I quite understand the view the right hon. Gentleman holds; and I have heard him argue with great force that scientific knowledge is of vast importance, and so it is to an Inspector of Mines; yet there are many duties of an Inspector that could be efficiently performed by experienced workmen. I daresay the right hon. Gentleman will remind me that there is in the Mines Regulation Act a power given to workmen to inspect, but it is obvious that men who are dependent on the goodwill of the manager and owner of the colliery, cannot be expected to give a perfectly fair, impartial, and courageous opinion on the condition of the mine. By a decision of the Court of Queen's Bench it has been held that a check-weigher is not entitled under the Act to be an Inspector. If the right hon. Gentleman will not increase the number of Inspectors, I suggest he might bring in a Bill to enable a check-weigher, having practical knowledge, to be appointed as one of the persons who can go down on behalf of the work-

*Mr. Atherley-Jones*

men to inspect the mine. Such a provision would, in my opinion, considerably improve the machinery of one of the best Acts of Parliament that has ever been placed on the Statute Book.

(7.45.) MR. JOHN WILSON (Durham, Mid): Supplementing what has been said by my hon. Friend, I quite agree that the Inspector must have an independent position, but I would urge the right hon. Gentleman to appoint Assistant Inspectors from among the practical miners. Now, on the last appointment of Assistant Inspectors there was among the last four names that of a working miner who had qualified himself by his own exertions for the appointment; and in such a case as that, what I would urge upon the right hon. Gentleman is that he would relax the rules slightly; and though a candidate in this position should display rather less finish in his educational qualifications, yet that the fact of his practical experience should be counted as a qualification, and that he should receive the appointment. Stress has been laid on the possession of attainments and qualifications that shall put the Inspector on an equality with the manager with whom he may be brought into collision; but let me point out that the function of an Assistant Inspector with his practical knowledge, so valuable for the purpose, is to go over the mine, and, if he finds any defects, to report these to the Chief Inspector, between whom and the manager a settlement would be arrived at. We must speak feelingly on this subject. Those of us who are practical miners have been among the explorers and have seen the havoc wrought by explosions; but though we speak, therefore, with great feeling, we have no desire to be vindictive, or to punish for the sake of punishing, our object rather being, by seeing that inspection and inquiry are made thoroughly effective, to prevent those catastrophes in future, to save life and property as well, and so to bring about benefit both to employers and employed. Though the Home Secretary might be non-suited on a technical point, I venture to say that a prosecution against a manager who has disregarded the provisions of the Mines Act would have a most salutary effect. I cannot but regret the constant



use of the word "culpable negligence" in reference to these mining catastrophes. Surely if a manager with his responsibility for the lives of hundreds of men is negligent, his conduct must needs be culpable. In the Morfa explosion I cannot understand how any man who follows the evidence can say the explosion was due to accident. Rules and precautions laid down by the Act of 1887 were neglected. We who have traced the source of explosions on the spot and just after they have occurred, are practical men, and do not claim scientific knowledge; but I say, as Jacob Dixon said in relation to the explosion at the Alltofts mine, that there is more danger in the dust men tread under their feet than in the gas over their heads. I could point to many instances of explosions having been caused by the use of gunpowder in dusty mines. All our regard is for the safety of human life in the mining industry. When we go down the mine we put our trust in the honesty of the manager. We have worked on in the belief that those whose duty it is are watching over our safety. All we ask of the right hon. Gentleman is that he shall enforce the law enacted for our protection, and ensure that all the precautions are applied that Parliament has provided.

\*(8.0.) MR. TOMLINSON (Preston): I may remind the Committee, in reference to the suggestion of the hon. Member for the County of Durham (Mr. Atherley Jones), that check-weighmen should be the persons to inspect the mine on behalf of the workmen, that this idea was thoroughly discussed at the time of the passing of the Act of 1887, and it was then urged on the part of proprietors, as it is urged now, that while they have not the least objection to the nomination of practical working miners to the duty of such inspection when they are properly qualified, they do not consider that the check-weighman is so qualified. He has not generally had any recent experience of underground workings; his work is hard and engrossing, and from this reason he is less qualified to acquire the necessary knowledge of the condition of a mine. A man who undertakes this kind of inspection ought to have recent acquaintance with the system of mining adopted and the

mode of working in use in the mine and in the districts.

(8.2) MR. D. THOMAS (Merthyr Tydvil): Speaking as a colliery owner, I think there would be advantages in practical men undertaking the work of inspection, and I know that men properly qualified for the work could be readily found in South Wales. But it is perfectly obvious to any man who has the slightest knowledge of the subject that the present staff of Inspectors is wholly inadequate for the area they have to cover, and their necessary office duties.

\*(8.5.) MR. BROADHURST (Nottingham, W.): The Government cannot find much fault with the occupation of time upon this subject, and I think my hon. Friends have spoken much to the point, and with great clearness. I have always supported the proposal that Inspectors should be appointed where such can be found properly qualified from the workmen themselves. This proposal is gaining support rapidly. There is a growing desire on the part of the public that greater precautions should be taken for the protection of life in mines, and I am satisfied that the taxpayers will not begrudge the additional sum necessary to secure an increase in the staff of Inspectors. Some four or five years ago the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Derby, when Home Secretary, made a decided step in the direction of appointing practical men as Inspectors, and he brought down the examinations very considerably for the purpose, and to a point beyond which I believe Mining Associations thought it would not be safe to go. We seem to have advanced beyond that point now, and I am sure there will be no difficulty in finding plenty of capable men for the position. When travelling on an election tour in Durham recently, I remember a village near the collieries belonging to the hon. Baronet (Sir J. Pease), in which there were a considerable number of young men all qualified to hold manager's certificates, all possessing considerable scientific acquirements as well as practical experience, and many of them giving scientific lectures in the local institute to their younger neighbours. Education has rapidly advanced in recent years, and any difficulties that may have limited the appointments of working-men Inspectors at the time I

have alluded to, are now very much modified. When the hon. Member for Durham mentions the case of factory inspection as a system to follow, I am afraid he shows his want of practical acquaintance with the subject. There are thousands of workshops and factories an Inspector has never seen; nor is an Inspector likely to visit them under the present condition of things. Last year, in reply to my questions, the right hon. Gentleman said he was considering the circumstances with a view to an increase in the number of Factory Inspectors and an improvement of the Factory Acts, but he awaited till he saw the Report of the Sweating Committee. Well, the Report of the Sweating Committee has been presented for some months, and we have not heard more of the promised Factory and Workshops Amendment Bill. I hope the right hon. Gentleman will give an assurance that this matter has not been lost sight of.

\*(8.20.) MR. MATTHEWS: I will answer that question at once. Not only do I contemplate the introduction of the Bill the hon. Member refers to, but it is actually in draft. As to the various suggestions made by hon. Members, I am sure hon. Members will not expect me to enter into them now, but I will give them all careful consideration. I confess it does appear to me it would be a hazardous thing to appoint as Inspectors of Mines men without scientific knowledge. Practical knowledge I admit the value of, and to working miners—*qua* miners—there is not the slightest objection, but I do not allow that experience can compensate for want of scientific knowledge. As to the suggestion that there shall be a class of Assistant Inspectors whose duty it shall be to discover errors and report to the Chief Inspectors, I am bound to say the Inspectors whom I have consulted set their face strongly against such a proposal. I will, however, not be altogether put off from the idea, but will give further consideration to it, and take such advice as is at my disposal. But it must be borne in mind that appointments to the posts of Assistant Inspectors have been made after test of scientific acquirements, which it would not be just to the present occupants of the offices to dispense with in making new appointments. As to the appointments of working men to be In-

*Mr. Broadhurst*

spectors by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Derby, I think the term in those cases was a little strained. The present staff of Mine Inspectors is, I am assured, sufficient to meet any case of complaint made, and to anonymous complaints the most attention is given. I do not say there should not be an increase to some extent; but if supervision is to be substituted for inspection, the staff would have to be increased tenfold. I confess, with reference to the Morfa explosion, I find it difficult to come to the same conclusion as the jury; but as to the Llanerch explosion, I do not see that any foresight or inspection would have prevented the calamity. I hope it is not out of place if I mention here that it was the South Wales mining interest that prevented the retention of the provision in the original draft of the Bill to prevent the use of gunpowder in these mines. In any case, however, it would be useless to appoint additional Inspectors unless the men will consent to take precautions to secure their own safety. Thus in some coal mines the owners, the managers, and the men have determinedly refused to use safety lamps, although they have been pressed to do so by the Inspectors. If these are to be the conditions under which this great industry is to be carried on, I do not think that the appointment of a working-man Inspector here and there would prevent the deplorable accidents that have recently occurred. (8.30.)

\*(9.0.) MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton): I hope I shall have an early opportunity of appealing to the Under Secretary of State for the Home Department in relation to one or two matters which will not occupy the time of the Committee to any considerable extent, and on which I trust he will be able to give me an answer. Last year I alleged that some of the Inspectors of Factories were too old for the work which they had to do. I have some reason to believe that there has been a change effected since last year, but I wish to know precisely whether any changes have been made in the ranks of the Inspectors. With reference to the enforcement of the Truck Act, while I do not desire to complain of the Home Office or of the Solicitor to the Treasury this year, there are one or two questions to which I shall

have to draw attention next year, unless something is done in the matter. Trucking is dying away, but there are several parts of the country where it still prevails, and, I am sorry to say, prevails with the connivance of the Magistrates. The Truck Act provides certain fines. Under General Acts, the Magistrates have the right to reduce the fines below the amount specified by the Legislature; and this applies, I believe, not only to the Truck Acts, but also to every case of summary conviction. There are some districts where the fines adjudged are so ridiculously small that the Truck Acts are not properly enforced. I will not give particulars, because I am quite sure the Solicitor to the Treasury can supply the Home Office with full information, and I do not think there will be found to be much difference between myself and the Law Advisers of the Home Office on the point. A very serious aspect of the matter is that where the law is broken it is broken deliberately for the purpose of making huge profits; and in view of the object with which the law is broken, the Legislature provided that the penalty for a second offence should be more severe than that for a first offence, and that a third offence should be indictable. In the matter of a first and second offence, the Magistrates can deal with the cases summarily. It is almost impossible to get convictions for second and third offences, every offence, however often it may occur, being made a first offence, owing to a technical difficulty which arises in the way of proving second and third offences to have taken place within a certain period of time. I would ask the Home Office to direct its attention to some possible modification of the law. I cannot undertake a second edition of amending the Truck Act. If one is unfortunate enough to be a successful legislator one makes enemies all round, owing to the Amendments one is obliged to refuse. I would prefer that the Government should undertake the task that was distasteful to me at the time, and has been so unpleasant ever since. There is a much more serious point that has arisen in consequence of the decision of the Queen's Bench Division of the High Court of Justice.

THE CHAIRMAN: I do not think it relevant to this Vote to examine the Truck Act and its deficiencies. It can

only be dealt with so far as its administration by the Home Office is concerned.

\*MR. BRADLAUGH: I will accept the slightest intimation from you, Sir, but I would remind you that the Truck Act is to be enforced by the Inspector of Mines and Factories. The case I desire to refer to is one in which the Inspector of Mines sought to enforce the Act, but had a difficulty put in his way owing to the construction of the Act.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Inspector did his duty.

\*MR. BRADLAUGH: I will not press the matter unduly, more especially as I think the Inspectors of Factories and the Inspectors of Mines have given the best help they can to the enforcement of the law. I will, therefore, only ask the Home Secretary to be good enough to look at the Judgment in the case of "Redgrave v. Kelly," and see if any better enforcement of the Act can be undertaken in view of the decision of the Court. I do not think it will be necessary for me to press the matter any further for the moment. I would only ask the Under Secretary if he can give me any information.

\*(9.9.) THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. STUART WORTLEY, Sheffield, Hallam): The hon. Member does them no more than justice when he says that the Inspectors of Factories are as energetic as they can be in the enforcement of the Act. It is true that an important decision was given as to the interpretation of the Truck Act, and, having due regard to your ruling, Sir, I may say that that decision is occupying the serious attention of the Home Secretary. The hon. Member asks at the same time what changes have been made in the ranks of the Inspectors since last year. Changes that I think he will consider important have been made. Two of the Inspectors to whom he alluded last year have been retired on the ground of age, and another has been retired on the ground of ill-health. These officials have been replaced by men in the prime of life.

\*(9.11.) MR. PICKERSGILL (Bethnal Green, S.W.): I desire to call attention to the conduct of the Home Secretary in connection with capital cases, and I submit that the right hon. Gentleman has not always acted in accordance with

constitutional usage. The first case which I shall mention is that which is known as the Crewe murder. This case aroused public feeling to a considerable extent, as was shown by the fact that Petitions, signed by no fewer than 150,000 persons, were received by the Home Secretary, besides 1,000 letters and 2,000 telegrams. The extraordinary proposition has been laid down in high places that these manifestations of public feeling in favour of the extension of the mercy of the Crown constituted "illegitimate pressure" put on the Home Secretary. That assertion was made by no less a personage than the Chief Secretary for Ireland, who, in a speech on Primrose Day, threw his very powerful protection round the body of his colleague. I cannot but think that the Irish Secretary confused two functions which are united in the office of the Home Secretary. It is true he is sometimes called upon to fulfil the functions of a Court of Appeal, but he is also at other times required to advise the Crown in granting or withholding the Royal clemency, and the analogy the Irish Secretary desired to establish between the office of the Home Secretary and that of an ordinary Judge was singularly inappropriate in the Crewe case, because the application there was not to the Home Secretary as a Court of Appeal. No one has ever doubted the guilt of the prisoners, or that their lives were forfeited to the law. An appeal was made to the right hon. Gentleman as the Minister charged to advise the Crown in the exercise of the Royal clemency, and I, for one, protest against the monstrous doctrine that when the citizens of this country approach either the Crown or the Minister who advises the Crown with a plea for the exercise of the Royal clemency, they are bringing illegitimate pressure to bear. If this House had been sitting at the time I should certainly have moved the adjournment the day before the execution in order to draw attention to the case—a course which was adopted by Mr. John Bright in 1855, and by Mr. Fawcett in the case of the Manchester Fenians convicted of the murder of Sergeant Brett. The communications which were sent to the Home Secretary in the Crewe case were treated by him with indif-

*Mr. Pickersgill*

ference, not to say contempt, and when questioned in this House he refused, contrary to constitutional usage, to give full information. He declared that discussions are out of place in regard to the administration of Criminal Law, and that it was without precedent to answer questions in the House on these matters. Well, as to precedents I would refer him first to the case of Samuel Wright, as to which Sir George Grey—then Home Secretary—in 1864, on a Memorial from the Visiting Justices of Horsemonger Lane Gaol, stated fully the grounds on which he had proceeded. I would refer him also to the case of George Hall, in which Sir George Grey took a similar course at the instance of the Mayor of Birmingham. Then there is the case of George Townley, also in 1864. That is an extraordinary case, because the late respected Earl of Carnarvon placed on the Notice Paper of the House of Lords a Motion to call attention to the circumstances under which the Crown had been advised to commute the punishment of the prisoner, who was convicted of murder at the Derbyshire Assizes. It is true Lord Carnarvon did not proceed with that Motion. He did not do so because Sir George Grey anticipated him by making a full statement in this House. Sir George gave the House a full and detailed statement, including his correspondence with the late Baron Martin. No doubt these are old cases, but I presume the strength of a precedent is not weakened because of its age. But there is a recent case—the Maamtrasna case. The Archbishop of Tuam sent a Memorial to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland respecting the execution of the convict Myles Joyce, and the case of the other prisoners then in penal servitude. Lord Spencer replied in a long and circumstantial Memorandum, setting forth the reasons on which he declined to extend the clemency of the Crown to the prisoner. Well, these examples are sufficient to establish the right of the public to receive full information in capital cases. I come now to the reason given by the Home Secretary for distinguishing between the cases of the two lads in what is known as the Crewe murder. We have been expressly told that George Davies was spared on the ground of his youth. Why was not

the same plea applicable to his brother? When you are dealing with lads the elder of whom is only 19, it is ridiculous to split hairs. As a make-weight the right hon. Gentleman threw in the statement that "Richard Davies initiated the plot, and took the principal part in its execution." That was directly contrary to the finding of the jury. It may be said that the Home Secretary has to look at all the facts. And that is generally true. But when the jury have found a particular issue in favour of the prisoner, the Home Secretary strains the prerogative if (as here) he decides that very issue against the prisoner, and then alleges that decision as a ground for refusing mercy. Before I sit down I desire to say a few words respecting the Maybrick case. The verdict was either well-founded, or ill-founded. If the former, Mrs. Maybrick ought to have been hanged; if the latter, she ought to have been pardoned. The Home Secretary neither hanged Mrs. Maybrick nor did he pardon her. He took the middle course, which, for some minds, has an irresistible attraction, and commuted the sentence to penal servitude. In some quarters the proposition has been put forward that there may be, in some cases, a degree of doubt which renders it desirable that the capital penalty should not be inflicted, but which does not justify a pardon. That, I say, is not in accordance with the constitutional practice of the right hon. Gentleman's predecessors. In the Richmond poisoning case, which occurred about 30 years ago, a Dr. Smethurst was convicted of murder. Afterwards a doubt arose, and he was pardoned on the ground that there "was not absolute and complete evidence of his guilt." Now, I ask, on what ground has the Home Secretary rested his advice to the Crown in the case of Mrs. Maybrick. Presumably, the right hon. Gentleman thought that Mrs. Maybrick intended to administer poison to her husband. [Mr. MATTHEWS: Attempted.] Well, attempted to do so, with the intention of murdering him. It may be taken that as the result in the opinion of the Home Secretary the husband did not die of the attempt, or his action would not have been what it was. If that was so, then the right hon. Gentleman was bound to advise the Crown to pardon

the prisoner, so far as the conviction for murder was concerned, and he might afterwards have instituted a prosecution for the attempt to murder, as was done under analogous circumstances in the Saffron Hill case. In that case, which occurred about a quarter of a century ago, and in which Mr. Negretti put himself to great trouble to save an innocent man, an Italian named Pellizzioni was convicted of murdering a man on Saffron Hill. While Pellizzioni was actually lying under sentence of death, the Home Secretary of the day took steps to have him indicted at the Old Bailey for feloniously stabbing another man who had been wounded at the same time and place, as part and parcel of the same transaction. Pellizzioni was acquitted of that charge, and he was then pardoned for the other offence. Why did not the Home Secretary take a similar course in this case? As it is, Mrs. Maybrick remains in prison, I will not say contrary to law, because of course the right hon. Gentleman is able to shelter himself behind the Royal prerogative, but I do say contrary to the spirit of our constitutional practice. She remains a convict because the right hon. Gentleman thinks she has committed the crime of attempting to murder, for which she has never been put on her trial. That may be formally regular, as it cannot be impugned in a Court of Law, but it is really a gross irregularity which cannot possibly stand, and I have no doubt that in a year or two Mrs. Maybrick will be quietly smuggled out of prison. Now, Sir, I admit there may be some inconvenience attaching to a popular discussion of judicial decisions, but I think every man must feel that the public benefit far transcends any disadvantages which such a discussion may produce. At any rate, I am sure that as long as the spirit of citizenship survives in this country so long will such discussions continue. For my part I shall, as far as I can, endeavour to extend the public interest in the Criminal Law, so that that interest may not be confined, as I am sorry to admit it is now too much confined, to sensational cases, but may constitute a steady, regular, and persistent force. I think I have not said anything to which the right hon. Gentleman can fairly take exception. The gist of my complaint is

simply that the right hon. Gentleman does not appear to appreciate the wisdom of a rule laid down by one of the greatest of his predecessors, which was so to administer the law that public opinion might go along with its enforcement.

\* (9.38.) **MR. M'LAREN** (Cheshire, Crewe): I wish also to draw attention to the painful trial of the two lads Davies. I desire to express my approval of what my hon. Friend has said with regard to the refusal of the Home Secretary to give his full reasons for the decision he arrived at. The Home Secretary no doubt is responsible for that decision, but he is also responsible to Parliament, and if he refuses to give Parliament the reasons for his decision in so plain a case as this, and one which excited so vast an amount of public interest, then Parliament is deprived of one of the means of reviewing his conduct and pronouncing a decision upon it. This is not a tribunal, I admit, which is well fitted for reviewing decisions, but in a case of this peculiar sort where there are such very great reasons to believe that the clemency of the Crown ought to have been exercised in favour of both the lads, I think the Home Secretary ought to have given us the reasons for his decision. Local feeling was strongly in favour of the recommendation of the jury being given effect to. The Home Secretary received a communication from the solicitor to the boys, giving personal details, and assurances, based on conversation with them, that they were equally guilty, and that, if anything, the younger was the more guilty of the two. Certainly, there was no adequate ground for supposing that the elder brother egged the younger boy on. I do not want to say anything which would make the younger boy's position worse than it is, but it is not fair to the elder brother to say that there is strong ground for supposing that he was the instigator of the crime, and that it was also he who struck the fatal blow. Now, the difference in age between them was so small that they were equally well able to judge of the heinousness of their offence. The jury made no distinction between them, but recommended them both to mercy, and that was one of the reasons why the public in Cheshire and elsewhere felt very strongly about the Home Secretary's decision. They held, and I hold,

*Mr. Pickersgill*

although it may not be technically the case, that in a clear case of murder, as this was, where the verdict must be either to acquit the accused or to find them guilty, such a recommendation to mercy was part of the verdict, and ought to have been carried out by the Home Secretary. But I cannot help thinking that the right hon. Gentleman, in his decision, was not influenced by the merits of the case, but rather commuted, as a concession to public sympathy, the sentence on the younger boy, letting the elder brother be executed. This was a most unfortunate decision, and gave public opinion a very serious shock, at the same time creating a strong public feeling in favour of the abolition of capital punishment altogether. That, of course, was not the intention of the Home Secretary. I do not know whether the right hon. Gentleman felt that the boys ought to have been executed, because it was the murder of a father, but there were strong extenuating circumstances which were well-known to the Home Secretary. They received the very utmost provocation; they, in fact, committed this murder in defence of their mother. They were exasperated by the brutality of their father. That fact, I think, should have had weight with the Home Secretary. I now desire to express the hope that at some early time the remaining boy will have his sentence commuted, and be let out on good behaviour. I believe that result would meet with general approval, and it is partly to press that view on the Home Secretary that I have ventured to trouble the Committee with these remarks.

(9.45.) **MR. LABOUCHERE** (Northampton): I shall have later on a little case to submit to the Home Secretary, but, at this point, I am bound to state that I do not agree with the strictures of my two hon. Friends in regard to the cases they have cited. On the contrary, I think that the decision of the Home Secretary met with the general approval of the country. In the Maybrick case, it was, perhaps, possible that the woman did not actually kill the man; but there was no sort of doubt that she did administer poison to him. As to the Crewe case, my hon. Friend (Mr. M'Laren) is unable to see the distinction between the two boys who perpetrated this monstrous and hideous

crime. It is said they were induced to commit this murder in defence of their mother. If an attack had been made by the father on the mother, and they were actually defending their mother from violence when they committed the murder, I could have understood it would be regarded as a palliation of their conduct. But that was not the case. These boys constituted themselves the judges of their father's conduct towards their mother, and killed him. We cannot allow children to be the judges of their parents' conduct, and, in cases where they disapprove the act of the father, to slay him. I hope that the younger brother will not be let out on good behaviour. For my own part, I think it is doubtful policy to hang a boy of 16. I think that at the age of 18 a boy ought to be liable to this punishment, and I believe the majority of the inhabitants of this country are of opinion that the Home Secretary acted perfectly right in both the Maybrick and the Crewe cases.

(9.48.) MR. MATTHEWS: I cannot help feeling some difficulty in following the discussion. Though I do not say that the House of Commons has no right to interfere in the exercise of the prerogative of mercy, I cannot refrain from saying that in these, as in other cases that have happened, the interference of the House is calculated to be very mischievous. It is a constitutional doctrine that the prerogative of mercy in the Crown is independent of Parliament. In 1839 Lord Brougham carried in the House of Lords a certain number of Resolutions, by which he purported to govern and to lay down the principle that ought to guide the exercise of the prerogative of mercy. Lord John Russell, the Prime Minister of that day—a man who was not unmindful of the popular rights—protested in the strongest way against being bound by any such Resolutions, and he declared they were utterly inconsistent with the practice previously in force. He laid down emphatically that the prerogative was exercised, and wisely ought to be exercised, independently of the interference of Parliament. The reason of that was obvious. The prerogative, as it is now exercised, enables the Home Secretary to take into account circumstances which, as far as I know, no tribunal in the

country can consider. Sources of information are open to him which cannot be accessible to any other Court of appeal or tribunal. In the first place, he receives confidential Reports from the Judges, from the police in the district where the crime was committed, and from other quarters, both public and otherwise. He is able to test and sift cases in a variety of ways and by a variety of means not open to any Court, and thus to arrive at a conclusion, I will not say always absolutely true, but which is as satisfactory as human means will allow. All these sources of information are, of course, confidential; they cannot be laid open to the House of Commons or made public, and I can only say that persons often criticise the decision of a public official in such circumstances when they cannot know anything of the material on which that decision is based. With reference to the two cases in which my action has just been criticised, if I were to act consistently I should decline to enter into any discussion on the matter, especially on the invitation of the hon. Member for Crewe (Mr. M'Laren), who thought fit, in the midst of the excitement and anxiety of the Crewe case, to go down to his constituents and make an electioneering speech, and thought it decent and proper to try and make political capital among them out of the murder—who tried to ingratiate himself with the electors by making use of this dreadful crime as the topic of a speech.

MR. M'LAREN rose, but—

MR. MATTHEWS: I will not give way. The hon. Member has thought fit more than once to criticise me, and this is the first opportunity I have had of replying. The last criticism to which I would sacrifice one tittle or jot of my judgment is that of an hon. Member who can use a criminal case for electioneering purposes. I think the hon. Member has given little consideration to the subject. I do not know whether the hon. Member has taken the trouble to read the evidence. I do not know whether the hon. Member has studied, for instance, the diagram of the wounds on the murdered man which was drawn by the medical witnesses. The position of those wounds upon the head of the man gave most significant, and, to my mind, conclusive testimony as to the



position in which the striker must have stood. There were parallel perpendicular wounds above the right temple of the man, such as could not have been struck by a boy such as George was, standing in a trap on the left hand side of his father. They could only have been struck by a powerful youth, such as Richard was, striking with an axe at his father's head. These circumstances, I have no doubt, were deliberately weighed by the hon. Member before he made his electioneering speech. I dare say the hon. Member took the trouble to refer to the Judge before arriving at his hasty, crude conclusion. If not, his criticisms weigh with me very little. I weighed every word of the evidence over and over again, and with deliberate care and anxiety. I sought information from every source from which I could possibly obtain it. The conclusion I deliberately came to, and which I advised Her Majesty to act upon, was that the youth who should be hanged was the one who struck the blow, and about whom there was clear evidence that he had managed, contrived, and suggested the murder. I did my best. I took pains which, judging from his speech, the hon. Member has not taken; indeed, he has shown an utter want of appreciation of the material points in the evidence. Now, whether I met the popular view or not, I know not, and care not. I trust the day will never come when a responsible Minister of the Crown will advise Her Majesty in the exercise of the highest prerogative in order to suit some popular outcry.

DR. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid): How about Dungarvan?

MR. MATTHEWS: I do not know who the vulgar interrupter is.

DR. TANNER: I rise to a point of order, Sir. Everybody knows about the Home Secretary and his Dungarvan experiences.

THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member has risen to a point of order. He must address himself to that point of order.

DR. TANNER: I rise with indignation, Mr. Courtney. I rise to repudiate the charge the Home Secretary has made against me. I wish to ask you, Sir, whether the right hon. Gentleman has any right to call an hon. Member, though he be a Nationalist Member on this side of the House, a vulgar interrupter?

*Mr. Matthews*

THE CHAIRMAN: Order, order! The hon. Gentleman has not raised a point of order at all.

DR. TANNER: I wish to ask you, Mr. Courtney, whether the right hon. Gentleman is in order in applying the word "vulgar" to any interruption that is made by a Member on this side of the House.

THE CHAIRMAN: I am afraid that the epithet is certainly not outside Parliamentary usage, and sometimes not without Parliamentary justice.

DR. TANNER: I say the right hon. Gentleman is one of the basest and meanest skunks that ever sat upon that Bench. He has called me a vulgarian of the worst type. I say it is an outrage.

THE CHAIRMAN: Order, order! The hon. Member has failed to obey my order, and he must instantly apologise to the House for the language he has used, or I shall have to proceed to further measures.

DR. TANNER: I have been called a vulgarian by the right hon. Gentleman, and I say this much, that unless the right hon. Gentleman apologises—[*Cries of "Order" and "Name him."*] I appeal to your fairness, Mr. Courtney. What have I done to apologise for? I have been called a vulgarian.

THE CHAIRMAN: Order, order! I have called upon the hon. Gentleman to take a definite course, and if he is not prepared to take that course I shall have to take further steps. I ask him whether he is prepared to take that course.

DR. TANNER: Of course, I always bow to your order in the most implicit and obedient way, but I do appeal to the Chair on this occasion to protect me from such utterances as have been used by the right hon. Gentleman, who called me a vulgarian.

THE CHAIRMAN: There is no excuse for what the hon. Gentleman has done. The hon. Gentleman has not done what I desired him to do—namely, to apologise to the House for his conduct.

DR. TANNER: What have I done? If there is anything that I have done in an undue way, I shall certainly obey. [*Cries of "Order!"*] I am not going to be cowed by hon. Gentlemen opposite. I shall certainly follow your ruling, Mr. Courtney, and anything you tell me to do I shall do without hesitation.

THE CHAIRMAN : Order, order ! I have already directed the hon. Gentleman to apologise for the violence of his language and his conduct. If he will do that I shall be glad to hear him.

MR. SEXTON (Belfast, W.) : Will you allow me, Mr. Courtney, to intervene ! I would advise my hon. Friend, by the ties of long comradeship in this House, to withdraw, at your dictation, the expression he has used ; and when he has withdrawn that expression, I hope you will see that the interruption of "Dungarvan," although it may be irrelevant, did not entitle the Home Secretary to use the term "vulgar."

DR. TANNER : I shall implicitly and without hesitation follow the advice of my hon. Friend. If I have in any way offended, which, unfortunately, I fail to see, I shall of course express my due contrition for having offended. But at the same time, Sir, I must really say this, that I think the expression vulgar was a word that was uncalled for on the part of the right hon. Gentleman.

THE CHAIRMAN : Order, order ! Mr. Secretary Matthews.

MR. MATTHEWS : I shall always submit to the censure of the House of Commons if I have made a mistake, and still more if I have acted corruptly or carelessly. What I do protest against is the discussion in this House of the grounds of the decision in the two cases referred to. It is not possible to place before the House of Commons the sources of all the information on which a Minister most painfully and laboriously comes to a conclusion in regard to the exercise of the Royal prerogative of mercy.

\*(10.10.) MR. M'LAREN : I am perfectly ready to submit my conduct and remarks to criticism, even with that display of feeling which the right hon. Gentleman has introduced, but as he has given an incorrect representation of what took place it is due to him and to myself—for I do not suppose he desires to do me an injustice—that I should be allowed a word or two of explanation. The right hon. Gentleman has charged me with going down and making an electioneering speech amid the excitement of the case. The speech I made was after the case was over. I addressed my constituents at a meeting which had been fixed a considerable time before,

and had no connection with the case. The meeting was held, I believe, the evening after the execution. Naturally the case having excited the deepest interest throughout the whole country was foremost in the minds and conversation of the people of Cheshire. After I had finished my speech dealing with the ordinary topics of the day, I, in deference to a general feeling, expressed the great regret I felt at the decision the Home Secretary had come to. I spoke for five or ten minutes, and with extreme moderation. I expressly disclaimed any attempt or desire to make political capital out of the event. I may mention that my political opponent in the constituency, who is a London solicitor, made a speech there two days afterwards, and, repeating all I said, said he agreed with everything I had said. So that there was no attempt to make political capital. I read the evidence, certainly. Of course, I did not consult the Judge. It was no business of mine to do so, and I do not suppose the Judge would have answered me if I had. All the means of investigation in my power I availed myself of. I consulted the prisoners' solicitor, which the right hon. Gentleman did not do. The solicitor offered to come up to the Home Office, but the right hon. Gentleman would not ask him to do so. One means of information, then, I used which the right hon. Gentleman refused. In short, I have merely supported the verdict of the jury in advising mercy. I will not carry the discussion further. I only wish to defend myself from the charge of making political capital out of an execution, and I do not think the Committee believe that that charge can be established against me.

(11.12.) MR. CHANNING (Northampton, E) : I wish to say a word or two upon an entirely different matter. The Home Secretary has not taken any action yet, so far as I know, in the spirit of the recommendations and suggestions of the Committee which sat last year, and was presided over by Lord Aberdare, to consider reforms in the rules for the treatment of prisoners in England and Scotland. I wish to call attention to this matter in the interest of a certain number of persons—

THE CHAIRMAN : That is a matter that comes under the Prisons Vote.

(10.13.) **MR. LABOUCHERE:** I cannot quite admit that the Home Secretary exercises the prerogative of the Crown in far smaller matters than that of life and death in a manner entirely free from political bias. I have a case to mention in which I think it is shown that the right hon. Gentleman was influenced by political bias. I believe I am president or some such thing of a Liberal Association at Weymouth, and the Association have asked me to bring this case before the House. On June 18 last there was what was called an anti-compensation meeting held at Weymouth. The meeting was attended by the Liberals of the town; it was presided over by an Archdeacon, and altogether was of a highly respectable character. The publicans, Tories, and others, determined to break up this meeting, and paid their myrmidons to attend it. A riot ensued, and several respectable persons were seriously injured, not so much physically as morally. Seven men were fined before the Magistrates next day, and the money was paid from the Tory agent's office. One man, named Frank Mundy, against whom there were nine previous convictions, and who had been seven times in prison, was sent to prison for 28 days, with hard labour, for an assault upon a venerable old gentleman of 70. In this case a Petition was sent up to the Home Secretary, asking that this man should be let out of prison. The Petition was signed by no cleryman, officer of the Army, or medical man. The Home Secretary rightly sent the Petition down to the Magistrates and asked them to express their views upon it, which they did. They analysed the Petition, and out of 227 signatures 12 were those of respectable tradesmen or inhabitants, some of whom had taken an active part in the anti-temperance agitation; 10 of inhabitants strongly opposed to the objects of the meeting; 50 of men in the employ of two large brewers, and obtained mostly at the masters' demand; 20 of hotel or public-house keepers; 20 of men in the employment of people who had organised roughs to disturb the meeting; 34 quay loafers and others whose signatures were obtained in public-houses; four of convicted thieves; 16 of persons who had been convicted before the Borough Magistrates of various

offences; 10 of boys; 10 of friends of the prisoner; two of men of no credit in the town, bankrupts or insolvent; one who was fined for being drunk and disorderly after being ejected from the meeting; 10 were strangers, 10 were women of the labouring classes, four were men who were fined for taking part in the riot. Well, the Magistrates, having replied and given the Home Secretary this analysis of the signatures of the Petition, showing that it was signed by convicted thieves, Tories, and other discredited persons in the town, one might have supposed the Home Secretary would have been satisfied, if uninfluenced by political bias, that it was not an occasion for the exercise of the prerogative of mercy, and would have written to the Magistrates expressing regret for having given them so much trouble. But the Home Secretary was in the difficulty that this meeting had been disturbed by the Tories. After sarcastically thanking the Magistrates for their trouble, he told them that upon a review of the whole circumstances he had felt justified in advising Her Majesty to remit the remainder of the sentence. Looking at what has taken place in Ireland and in London, I would ask whether that is even-handed justice as between man and man. Here we have a respectable public meeting, an Archdeacon at the head of it, interrupted by a band of roughs subsidised by Tories, and the man who especially distinguished himself by violence towards an old gentleman of 70 years of age was sentenced by a Bench of five Magistrates, only one of whom differed from the decision and thought a fine would be sufficient, to 28 days' imprisonment, and upon a Petition of the character I have described, the Home Secretary intervenes and liberates the person. I think I need say no more. I have done my duty in bringing this case under notice.

\*(10.25.) **MR. MATTHEWS:** I can assure the hon. Member that the Petition had no weight with me, but I read the evidence, and it appears that this fishmonger, aged 70, was "bonnetted" by this man Mundy at a political meeting in a playful manner. He said that his hat had not been hurt, but that his dignity had been hurt, and that it was not a very serious assault. I had the curiosity to make some inquiry about the compo-

tion of this Bench of Magistrates. One was a promoter of this anti-compensation meeting, and another was the proprietor of the hall in which the meeting was held. One Magistrate said that this was only a little manifestation of horse play at a political meeting, and that a fine would meet the case; but the others, who were active members of the teetotal party, imposed this extravagant sentence of 28 days' imprisonment with hard labour. If Mundy had not been of my own side in politics, I should have had no hesitation in releasing him. Mundy had already suffered 10 days' imprisonment, with hard labour, for bonneting this ancient but respectable fishmonger, with whom, for my own part, I entirely sympathised. I do not defend the action of Mundy, but I do not think that he deserved more than 10 days with hard labour. The Mayor, in giving the sentence, said that he had not taken into consideration the previous misfortunes of Mr. Mundy.

\*(10.27.) MR. H. H. FOWLER (Wolverhampton, E.): I am sure that hon. Members from Ireland were interested to hear the remarks of the right hon. Gentleman, and must have contrasted his line of conduct with the sentences of four, five, and six months' imprisonment inflicted for similar exhibitions of horseplay in Ireland. I do not wish to prolong this Debate, but there are one or two things to which I wish to call attention. I think that one impression that will be left on the minds of the whole Committee will be one of the absolute necessity, and the supreme importance, of establishing a Court of Criminal Appeal. Nobody, whatever his side of politics, can for a moment contend that the House of Commons is a proper body to re-try criminal cases. Under the present system the House of Commons has a right to interfere, and no one can complain if it does. I wish to enter a protest against what the Home Secretary said in reference to the House of Commons interfering with the prerogative of the Crown. With all deference to the right hon. Gentleman, I think his words convey a misconception of the position of this House in interfering with the exercise of the prerogative of the Crown. The Crown acts on the advice of a responsible Minister, and

that Minister is responsible to Parliament for all the advice he gives to the Crown. There is no prerogative which the Crown has to exercise on the advice of a responsible Minister, which cannot be challenged in the House of Commons. Whether it be wise or prudent so to do is not the question. Nor is it any justification for a Minister to say he is in the possession of information which the House itself does not generally possess. Such a doctrine might be used with enormous force by the Foreign Minister, on almost every occasion on which his policy was challenged. The House of Commons has an undoubted right to question the manner in which the Crown exercises its prerogative of mercy, and the Home Secretary is as responsible for the advice he gives, as is the Foreign or Colonial Secretary, or any other Minister of the Crown. I do not for a moment question the purity of the motives of the right hon. Gentleman. Nobody would impute to him anything of a corrupt character, or say he does not give the best attention to the cases on which he has to come to a decision. No one would contend that he does not apply his highly trained intellect in the endeavour to arrive at a right conclusion in this matter. But what the right hon. Gentleman said was this, that in giving this advice to the Crown, he acted on information which he himself calls anonymous information. There was, therefore, what was practically a second trial, in which there was no publicity and the evidence at which was subjected to no satisfactory test, although it was a question of life or death. This, I submit, is not a satisfactory mode of working a Court of Criminal Appeal, sitting openly and before the world, and coming to its decision on legal and not on anonymous evidence. I am sure we shall never have a satisfactory administration of criminal justice until we have such a Court of Criminal Appeal, and to establish such a Court both sides of the House are pledged. The Home Secretary shakes his head, but I know that three or four years ago the present Attorney General brought in a Bill—

THE CHAIRMAN: Order, order! The right hon. Gentleman is perfectly in order in criticising the way in which the Home Secretary exercises his functions, but he cannot go into a matter

such as the establishment of a Court of Criminal Appeal.

\*MR. H. H. FOWLER: I apologise for having departed from the subject of the Vote. I did not, however, wish to criticise the manner in which the Home Secretary has exercised this most important and responsible duty, but I wanted to enter a caveat against his suggestion that he, as Home Secretary, occupied a different position from the rest of his Colleagues, and that the House of Commons have not the same right to criticise his action as they have to criticise the action of other Members. I also wanted to point out the present unsatisfactory mode of administering the Court of Final Appeal.

(10.36.) MR. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne): At the risk of being charged with irrelevancy I wish to re-call the attention of the Committee to the question of the management of coal and metalliferous mines. I had hoped to be able to speak on this subject earlier in the evening, but was unsuccessful in my attempt to secure an opportunity. The point I desire first to deal with is one seriously affecting the miners of Cornwall, and that is the question of the excessive mortality amongst these men, to which I have more than once drawn attention by questions in this House. I am not going to complain of the action that the local Inspector, Mr. Pinching, has taken in regard to this question, because I quite understood that, from the answers I received from the Home Secretary, Mr. Pinching was justified, or, at least, had reasonable grounds, for making the remarks which he did make, and to which I took exception. I regret, however, that up to this moment I have not received the Report which the Home Secretary promised me, and, in any case, I regret that a misunderstanding should have arisen upon the subject-matter of the Report to the Home Office, through the Inspector having made some premature observations upon it. I should like to thoroughly endorse what has been said this evening in connection with the question of an increase in the number of Inspectors. My own experience and the strong feeling among the miners of Cornwall amply justify the appeal that has been urged for an increased number of Inspectors of

*The Chairman*

Mines throughout the country. The Inspector for Devon and Cornwall has under his control one of the largest districts in England, and I believe that it is absolutely impossible for one man, however energetic, to properly regulate and control the mines extending over this large area. Here I may say, in reply to the Home Secretary, that I do not ask for any constant supervision in the sense of a daily supervision, which the right hon. Gentleman has said, and rightly said, would be impossible, but I do ask that the area of an Inspector should not be so extended, and should not contain so many mines, as to make it impossible for him to visit each of them at least once a year. It must be remembered that the Inspector, in addition to the duty of inspecting mines, has to attend Petty Sessions for purposes of prosecutions, and also coroner's inquests in cases of fatality. He has also a large correspondence dealing with details of Acts of Parliament relating to mines, and has to compile statistics relating to the outputs of mines, &c. In my opinion it is a physical impossibility for any one man to do all this, in addition to visiting each mine in his district in the course of the year. With respect to the scientific training of the Inspectors of Mines, I quite agree that Inspectors should have a scientific training. It is obviously necessary in the case of the Inspectors of Coal Mines, who have to deal with inflammable gases, but it is quite as necessary in the case of Mine Inspectors in Devon and Cornwall. I do not believe in rule-of-thumb men as Inspectors, but in Devon and Cornwall there are a number of men with a scientific training who are also practical miners, and who would make thoroughly competent Inspectors. The School of Mines is by no means as efficient as it might be, and compares very badly with the Schools of Mines in Germany. There are, no doubt, good schools in different parts of the country, and in Camborne we have a very efficient School of Mines, although its resources are limited. Gentlemen come down there to work as practical miners underground, and at the present time the son of a Member of this House is working in Dolcombe Mine in order to learn the business. I wish to draw the Home Secretary's attention to one or two points in Mr.

Pinching's Report. In the last paragraph it is stated that there is appended a list of the mines he has visited in the district, and I want to know why that list is not published? I have looked for it in vain. If such a list were published we should be able to ascertain exactly what amount of control the Inspector is able to exercise as far as the personal examination of mines is concerned. This question of personal examination enables me to raise the question of the mortality among the miners of Devon and Cornwall. This matter has been brought prominently before the public by an article in the *Lancet*, in which it is proved that the mortality of Cornish miners is in excess, not only of the coal miners, who have to run the risk of explosions, but of every other class of persons engaged in the mining operations of this country. I believe that the Report of the Registrar General shows that it is six to one, or something of that kind. This is a state of things which requires not only searching inquiry, but also that some speedy remedy should be applied. So great is this mortality among Cornish miners that Friendly Societies in the county refuse to take miners as members, and I think these facts are sufficient to justify me in urging upon the Home Secretary that something should be done. The authorities place the average age of miners at 45 years, but I have heard it put at a lower age. Mr. Pinching states in his Report that great improvements have taken place in the condition of the mines, and that the excessive mortality is, to a great extent, due to the carelessness of the men themselves. I take exception to this statement, at least so far as laying the blame upon the men is concerned. I do not mean to say that the men are not careless in many ways, but, taking all things into consideration, it must be admitted that the men have no power to secure for themselves those sanitary conditions which are necessary for the purpose of securing themselves from death. They cannot dictate to the adventurers or lessees how many shafts shall be sunk and what machinery shall be used. I readily admit that a great many evils have been remedied by the use of boring and other machinery, but a very great deal remains to be done. Lessees often have not got

it in their power to do as much as they wish to do for the men, owing to the large amount of royalties and dues to be paid. In regard to the accommodation for the men, I may say that in some of the smaller mines it is very bad indeed. Men, in the winter time, when a biting frost prevails, often have to come directly out of the heated underground atmosphere, streaming with perspiration, into the cold air, and walk some distance to the place where they have to change their clothes. As a consequence phthisis speedily develops. I urge the Home Secretary to give us an opportunity of placing all the facts before him. The public demand it, and the right hon. Gentleman will make a mistake if he does not accede to that demand. The Home Secretary has given assurances that a Bill dealing with metalliferous mines has been framed and will be brought in next Session. But I want to know on what grounds the right hon. Gentleman bases the provisions applying to Devon and Cornwall. We have a right to know on what evidence the Bill has been based. A reference has been made by the Home Secretary to a Report alleged to have been presented in the year 1888, and I have to ask what that Report was. I have searched the Reports of the Inspector of Devon and Cornwall, but cannot find such a Report. I contend that there has been no inquiry, and I am anxious that such an inquiry should take place, for I am confident that the right hon. Gentleman has nothing to fear from it. But such an inquiry would put us all in a better position to assist the right hon. Gentleman, and I, for my own part, shall be most happy to do all in my power to assist the promotion of a useful and efficient measure. Another point to which I wish to call the attention of the Home Secretary is that of the inspection of boilers. Many boilers in the Cornish mines have been in use a great many years, and are very unsafe. Attention was called to this matter in the Inspector's Report of 1888, and it was recommended that the examination of boilers by practical boiler makers, once or twice a year, should be made compulsory, and that no boiler should be allowed to be worked unless it had a clean bill from such a competent person. Now, I ask, has any attention been paid to that recommendation? There was a serious

boiler explosion at Redruth at the beginning of this year, and when one of the adventurers, who held a large number of shares in the mine, brought the matter before his fellow adventurers, he was subjected to a most insulting attack by the mine manager. This fact in itself shows the imperative necessity of further protection in this matter, especially as it is well known that many boilers are bricked up in such a way as to make inspection almost impossible. I believe that some mine owners do not insure their boilers, simply because the Insurance Companies are in the habit of sending an Inspector round once or twice every year, and they do not like the prospect of such visits.

(11.7.) MR. CAVENDISH BENTINCK (Whitehaven): There is one question which I desire to ask the Home Secretary, and for which I have the mandate of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Derby. It is with reference to the police buildings recently erected on the Embankment. I have no intention to discuss the architectural merits of these buildings; that would be foreign to my object. When, some time ago I asked a question on the subject, the right hon. Gentleman said that the buildings had been erected entirely on his own responsibility. I wish now to ask the right hon. Gentleman whether, when he decided on the design, he did it entirely of his own motion, or whether he consulted some authority on architecture. I have no doubt the right hon. Gentleman is aware that the buildings have been viewed with great disfavour by some authorities in the country. It seems rather extraordinary that the control of these great public buildings should not be vested in one Department, and that while some buildings paid for by public money are under the control of the First Commissioner of Works and other authorities, these buildings should be subject to the control of the Home Secretary. I wish also to know what amount of money has been spent upon them.

\*(11.9.) MR. MATTHEWS: The site was purchased by my predecessor and I had to cover it as best I could. I took the advice of high architectural and artistic authorities in London, persons who are at the head of art in this country. I asked them the name

*Mr. Conybeare*

of the best architect to employ, and, accepting their advice, I commissioned that gentleman to put up the best building he could for the money. The building cost £96,000.

\*(11.10.) CAPTAIN VERNEY (Bucks, N.): I have to ask the right hon. Gentleman to give an assurance that he will deal with a Petition which has been for a long time before the Home Office from the borough of Buckingham? A Petition was sent on May 6, 1889, to the Home Office, asking that the Court of Quarter Sessions might be abolished in that borough.

MR. MATTHEWS: It has been abolished.

\*CAPTAIN VERNEY: Then it must have been abolished within the last few hours, as I had a telegram from the Town Clerk on the subject only three hours ago. During a period of 10 years the Recorder has only been required to hold a Court there six times, and only on one occasion has there been more than one prisoner for trial. It is necessary, however, to summon 60 persons to attend on the Grand and Petty Juries. There is no gaol in the borough, and the prisoners have to be brought from Aylesbury. I complain of the delay on the part of the Home Office in acknowledging and dealing with the Petition. One letter remained unanswered from November 19, 1889, until the 24th April last.

MR. MATTHEWS: An explanation was then given of the delay.

\*CAPTAIN VERNEY: And when the answer came to hand we were told by the Home Office that if the office of Recorder were abolished the salary of £50 must continue to be paid as heretofore, although the learned Gentleman had only held the office six years. The Town Council objected to this, and, in order to arrive at some private arrangement with the Recorder, a deputation waited on him to ask whether he would accept a smaller sum than his full pay. The Recorder refused to come to any terms with the deputation. The Town Council offered to pay £20 a year to the Recorder for the remainder of his life. I ask the Home Secretary whether, under the authority vested in him, he will interfere to compel this Recorder, who is taking advantage of his position in order to suck the last farthing he can



get out of a small borough, to send in his resignation. I beg to move the reduction of the Vote.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Item A (Salary of the Secretary of State), be reduced by £50."—(*Captain Verney.*)

(11.20.) **DR. TANNER:** I wish to endorse the remarks of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Newhaven as to the new police building. I think nothing could possibly so thoroughly represent the constructive ideas of the right hon. Gentleman. It is in its essence and in its conception a vulgar interruption of the Embankment.

(11.21.) **MR. PRITCHARD MORGAN** (Merthyr Tydvil): I should like to call attention to the fact that the number of Inspectors of Mines is anything but adequate for visiting the collieries of the country even once a year. The Home Secretary has too much to do, and the Government ought to do what is done in every other country—namely, appoint a Minister of Mines, the duties of which might be tagged on to those of the Minister of Agriculture.

**THE CHAIRMAN:** Order, Order! That is travelling outside the scope of the subject of this Vote.

\*(11.25.) **SIR W. C. PLOWDEN** (Wolverhampton, W.): I have a Notice on the Paper which relates to the Vote for Vivisection. Now the Act regulating Vivisection was the result of the Report of a Royal Commission which went thoroughly into the question of Vivisection, and in the proposals they made they stated it was essential that the Secretary of State should have complete power of efficient inspection, and of obtaining full Returns and accurate records of all experiments made. Two clauses in the Act, namely, Clauses 9 and 10, gave the Secretary of State these full and adequate powers, and my complaint is that the Secretary has not exercised the full powers he possesses, and that the inspection, which this Report stated ought to be thoroughly efficient, is neither complete nor satisfactory. I think it is easy to show that this is the case. In the first place, what is the number of Inspectors that we have? For 12 years there was but one Inspector, but last year an addition was made, and

an Assistant Inspector was appointed who did a certain amount of work. I understand that again this year there is but one Inspector, the Assistant Inspector having been appointed Chief Inspector, and there being now no Assistant Inspector.

**MR. MATTHEWS:** No.

\***SIR W. C. PLOWDEN:** Well, all I can say is that I don't think the work of inspection can be satisfactorily performed with the present staff. What is the state of things? First we find that the buildings licensed for the purpose of these experiments number 54 in England and Scotland, and that they are situated in 30 different localities. Ten of the buildings are in London, and the rest are in the provinces; distributed all over the country, at places such as Liverpool, Manchester, Oxford, Cambridge, Bristol, Nottingham, Plymouth, Aldershot, Netley, and elsewhere. In the first year's operation of the Act the number of experiments in regard to which application was made was very limited. I have here a Return which shows that in 1878 (the first year) the number of experiments was 481. The latest return shows no fewer than 1,417 experiments. And there is another curious feature in connection with these experiments, which are conducted under five different classes of certificates. One of these classes enables experimenters to do without anaesthetics. In 1878 the number of experiments without anaesthetics was only 87 out of 481, or about 18 per cent. But then the experiments without anaesthetics are really the most important, and I think that the Inspectors should look particularly after them. The number of such experiments has largely increased during the last few years, and in the last year for which we have a Report no fewer than 644 out of 1,417 experiments were made without anaesthetics; that is to say, that 55 out of every 100 experiments were conducted with anaesthetics, and 45 without. Now I say that it is impossible to exercise a proper inspection of these experiments with the staff which we have at present, and that fact is borne out by the last Report of the Inspector. There are 13 localities which have not been examined at all, and virtually the Inspector only

had an opportunity of looking at one-sixth per cent. of the experiments without anæsthetics. The Act provides that the Home Secretary, with the sanction of the Treasury, can appoint any number of Inspectors he chooses. I hope the Home Secretary will look seriously into this question, and see whether the inspection has been satisfactory. If it has not satisfied him I hope he will get Parliament's assent to the proposal we make that the number of Inspectors shall be increased. I think it would be of very great advantage if he would allow the various societies and individuals who take an interest in the matter the power of examining these Reports. It would be of great service to those who think the inspection is not of a sufficiently careful character.

(11.32.) CAPTAIN VERNEY: I move the reduction of the salary of the Home Secretary by £100 in order to get an answer with reference to that greedy, grasping lawyer Mr. Bullock, who is trying to squeeze all he can get out of the Buckingham Town Council.

THE CHAIRMAN: It is quite unnecessary to move that reduction in order to get an answer.

(11.33.) MR. MATTHEWS: The town of Buckingham appointed a Recorder at a salary fixed by itself of £50 a year. The Recorder holds his office as a freehold, and although the Court of Quarter Sessions is done away with, neither the Queen nor anyone else can deprive the Coroner of his freehold office without loss. The Town Council now grudges the £50, and wishes to reduce it. My duty, under the Local Government Act, is to protect existing privileges. I suggested to the Town Council that if they could arrange with the Recorder to accept something short of the salary paid to him before his retirement I would sanction the agreement. The Town Council, as I understand, have failed to come to any agreement with the Recorder. I propose to see the Recorder on the subject. My difficulty is to see how I am to protect the existing interests of the Recorder by anything except the payment of his full salary, which the Town Council grudge him, although it is by their act he has ceased to render them the

*Sir W. C. Plowden*

services for which the salary was promised him. The only difficulty is the reluctance of the Town Council of Buckingham to pay the money they are bound to pay for life to the person who was Recorder. Besides this great question of Imperial importance respecting the Recorder of Buckingham, there is the question raised by the hon. Gentleman who spoke last. It seems to me that one of the most unsatisfactory symptoms of the present day is the craving for incessant inspection in every function of life. It is quite unnecessary that the Inspectors should be present at all the experiments, and it is impossible that they should be. The hon. Gentleman has called attention to the great increase in the number of experiments performed without anæsthetics. That arises from the great increase in the number of experiments in regard to inoculation in cases of diseases like pleuro-pneumonia and anthrax. A vast number of experiments have been conducted of late years, and they are necessarily conducted without anæsthetics. That is the whole reason for the increase. I require of all experimenters in matters of vivisection, except those who hold certificate C, that they should furnish me at the close of the year, or from time to time, with records of their experiments. If I thought there was any general feeling on the subject I should have no objection to making these Reports public. As far as I am able to observe, the late Inspector did, and the present Inspector, Dr. Moore, does, his duty admirably. I have appointed an Assistant Inspector.

(11.37.) SIR W. PLOWDEN: Even now I do not understand the position of the right hon. Gentleman. Can those interested in the matter see the Reports that come to the Home Office?

[Mr. MATTHEWS's reply did not reach the Reporters' Gallery.]

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE (Bradford Central): I merely wish to say I hope it will not be thought we accept the idea that the Recorder of Buckingham is entitled, after six years' service, to a pension for life equal to the amount of his original salary.

\*(12.38.) THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. H. SMITH, Strand, Westminster): I hope I may appeal to the Committee to come now to a deci-

sion on the Vote. We have discussed it for six hours.

\*CAPTAIN VERNEY: On a point of order, Mr. Courtney, I moved the reduction of the Vote because I am determined to have this matter settled. I will take a Division if necessary. The Home Secretary says he has no power to deal with the question. Here are his own words:—

"The Law Officers are of opinion that the Secretary of State has power to advise Her Majesty to insert in the order of revocation a provision that the borough shall continue to pay the Recorder such salary as the Secretary of State shall consider to be proper."

Yet he now shelters himself by saying that he cannot interfere with it because it is a freehold. That is a contemptible subterfuge, because, according to his own words, his officers advised him he had power. It is quite true that the pension of the former Recorder of Buckingham is a small matter as compared with Imperial interests. I shall certainly insist that the question of the small borough of Buckingham—[*Cries of "Divide, divide!"*] Hon. Gentlemen say "Divide, divide!" If they will not hear me, I will not press my point. They seem to be anxious for a Division.

Question put, and negatived.

Original Question again proposed.

(11.41.) MR. LABOUCHERE: A short time ago a letter appeared in the *Times* newspaper from Le Caron, in which Le Caron stated, in confirmation of certain things he had said before the Special Commission in regard to an interview he had had with the Member for Cork, that a Report had been made by a detective to the Home Office respecting that interview, and that he had himself seen this Report. There are three questions I wish to ask. In the first place, is it true that at that time the detectives who were about these buildings for the protection of Members sent Reports to the Home Office with respect to interviews that Members had with persons who called upon them here, and stating the time occupied by the interview? In the second place, is it true that Le Caron did see these Reports at the Home Office? It certainly seems to me an astonishing thing that this man, who was in no way in the service of the Government, should have had the

right, assuming the Reports were made, to go to the Home Office and read them. I do not suppose hon. Members would be allowed to do so. The third question is; supposing it was the fact that at that time these Reports were made to the Home Office, are we to understand that they are being made now?

\*(11.43.) MR. MATTHEWS: Since I have been at the Home Office I have never had any Report on anything that passed in the Lobby as to Members of this House. What took place in the time of my predecessor the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Derby I will not undertake to answer for; and perhaps the hon. Gentleman will address his questions to him. I am not aware of any Report furnished during my time.

MR. LABOUCHERE: This statement of Le Caron, I think, was during the tenure of office of the right hon. Gentleman.

\*MR. MATTHEWS: No.

MR. LABOUCHERE: Then I beg the right hon. Gentleman's pardon.

Question put, and agreed to.

## 2. Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £27,663, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1891, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Department of Her Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies, including certain Expenses connected with Emigration."

(11.44.) MR. BAUMANN: I wish to make some criticisms on the recent Convention with the Transvaal which has been concluded by Lord Knutsford with respect to the settlement of Swaziland. ["Oh!"] I am sorry the subject is wearisome to hon. Members on my left, but if we approach the subject at some disadvantage it is entirely the fault of the Colonial Office. There is no Department so copiously and regularly supplied with information as the Colonial Office, and no Department supplies so little information to the House of Commons. Ever since the beginning of the Session I have been endeavouring to get some Papers with regard to Swaziland. I am always told that negotiations are proceeding, and that Papers cannot be produced. But now, when negotiations are concluded and the Convention settled, we have no Papers, nor have we Sir Francis de Winton's

Report. That Report was in the hands of the Government at the end of January in the present year, yet it has been studiously withheld from the House of Commons. If Lord Knutsford has erred in this matter it is certainly not from want of deliberation, because in May, 1889, President Krüger telegraphed to him asking him to make some settlement with regard to Swaziland, and after 15 months the Secretary of State has taken to make up his mind he produces a compromise which is intended to please all parties, but which, I am afraid, will share the fate of most compromises and will please none. Lord Knutsford sent out Sir Francis de Winton to Swaziland on a special Mission to inquire into the best way of settling the government of that country. Sir Francis de Winton is a man of the greatest experience of native questions and of the government of natives. He came back to this country and presented a Report to the Colonial Office, in which he advised unequivocally that the Transvaal should be allowed to annex Swaziland, and in which he condemned without reserve any proposal to form a joint Government or a joint protectorate over Swaziland. Will anybody impugn the patriotism of Sir Francis de Winton, or will anybody deny his competence to form a judgment upon this question? But Lord Knutsford has thought right to absolutely set aside the Report of the man he sent out, and that very policy which Sir Francis de Winton condemned as unworkable has been adopted by the Secretary of State. There are five possible policies with regard to Swaziland; we might have annexation by England, annexation by the Transvaal, an English protectorate, a Dutch protectorate, or a joint protectorate by England and the Transvaal. But the Secretary of State has devised a scheme which is neither of these five, and which, for my own part, I confess I am at a loss to understand, and which I hope the Under Secretary for the Colonies will explain to-night. Lord Knutsford calls it a Joint Government; the Under Secretary calls it a Joint Administration. But he admits that it has no jurisdiction under the Foreign Jurisdiction Act, and, therefore, it is no Government; and yet it is planted down in the kingdom of an independent Swazi Sovereign. This Government consists of

*Mr. Baumann*

three elements—the Imperial, the Colonial, and the Boer; there is a Court of Justice from which there is no appeal, and we have not been told whether the Judge will be an Englishman or a Dutchman, or in fact whether there will be one, two, or three Judges. I will ask what would happen in a dispute between a white man and a black, or where an injury was done by a black man to a white. Supposing a black man killed a white man, who would try the black man? The Under Secretary says the new Court of Justice has no jurisdiction over the Swazis, but has only jurisdiction, or power of administration, over the white men. Therefore, I hope the Under Secretary will explain, in the case I have supposed, before what tribunal the black man would be brought, and what jurisdiction he would be subject to. Then I want to know also whether this triple Government is to suppress the customs of barbarism which we know go on in Swaziland? I would ask also whether it is not a farce to talk about the independence of Swaziland when we have set up this triple control? Does anyone suppose that this compromise can last? The result will be the usual interval of friction, chaos, and ill-will, and then the annexation of Swaziland by the Transvaal, not on our terms, but on theirs. I do not think that Lord Knutsford believes in his own policy, but regards it as a temporary expedient and a stop-gap, brought about by the ignorant clamour of a very small section in this country, which persists in treating the Boers as enemies, and mainly mindful of the beating the Boers gave us at Majuba Hill is jealous of Dutch supremacy, and opposed to the Boers getting anything at all in Africa. I confess I cannot understand this jealousy of Dutch aggrandisement in this country. Why, the Transvaal is mainly British, and in course of time it will become a British State. When President Krüger was over here the other day, and was asked who would be the next President of the Transvaal, he said he believed it would be Mr. Robinson, but that certainly it would be an Englishman. Therefore, what is the meaning of this jealousy of a State which must become British as much as the Cape Colony? We have given the Transvaal a seaport by the Convention which we have just made,

though this section object to the Transvaal having a seaport. As a matter of fact, the acquisition of a seaport necessitates naval protection, and means a return to the British flag. It is absurd to talk about putting down the Dutch. We have to live with the Dutch in South Africa. The Dutch are masters of the Cape Government, and if we wish the development of South Africa to be steady and peaceful we must work with them and be friends with them. The real question of danger in South Africa is not between Englishmen and Dutchmen, but between white men and black men, and it is against that common enemy—"Oh!"—well, if we have an invasion of the black tribes from the interior of Africa the blacks will then be our enemies—it is against that common enemy that we have to provide. If the English and Dutch are set by the ears by the counsels of timidity and ignorance it is impossible to say how long the federation of the different States in South Africa will be postponed. The only thing that can be said for the compromise which Lord Knutsford has adopted is that it is a temporary one and intended as a preparation for some final and statesmanlike settlement of Swaziland by the only means which I believe possible, namely, the annexation of that country by one or other of the real governing Powers in South Africa.

\*(11.59.) THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Baron H. de Worms, Liverpool, East Toxteth): I agree with the hon. Member for Peckham that a great deal of interest attaches to this question. The hon. Member began by finding fault with the Colonial Office, because he said though we receive a great deal of information we never part with any. I do not think that was deserved. Whenever information can be given Papers of general interest are always presented by the Colonial Office, just as they are by other Offices. He complains that no Papers are presented bearing on our negotiations with the Transvaal. I should have thought the hon. Gentleman would know it was absolutely impossible in view of the fact that the Convention was only agreed to quite recently.

MR. BAUMANN: I complained that since the negotiations no Papers had been produced.

\*BARON H. DE WORMS: The negotiations were concluded about ten days ago, and the heads of the Agreement have been communicated to the House. The hon. Member for Peckham complains of the Report of Sir Francis de Winton, with regard to previous negotiations, not being laid before the House. It was equally impossible to present that Report. It was not adopted by Her Majesty's Government, and it would have been impossible and improper to have presented what could only have been a garbled account before a definite conclusion was arrived at. The hon. Gentleman, although he has not seen the Report, appears to have been partially and imperfectly informed as to what was in it. He says the only thing recommended by Sir Francis de Winton was that England should agree to the annexation of Swaziland by the Transvaal.

MR. BAUMANN: I did not say the only thing.

\*BARON H. DE WORMS: The main thing.

MR. BAUMANN: That was the recommendation mentioned by Lord Knutsford in another place.

\*BARON H. DE WORMS: Probably the hon. Gentleman did not know there was more than one recommendation by Sir Francis de Winton. Sir Francis de Winton pointed out that there were three courses open to Her Majesty's Government. The first was to hand over the government of Swaziland to the Transvaal; the second was for Great Britain to assume the government; and the third was to establish a Joint Government. Certainly Sir Francis de Winton favoured the first course, but, at all events, in his Report he presented three alternatives to Her Majesty's Government. To decide whether Her Majesty's Government has acted wisely in the matter, it is necessary to remember the circumstances which have led to the Convention. In 1886 Mr. Theophilus Shepstone was appointed adviser to the King of Swaziland, and in July, 1887, a representative white Committee was formed for the government of the white settlers. That Committee was an absolute failure owing to their inexperience in administration and to the fact that they nearly all had private interests of their own, and it was dissolved in 1889. During that time

the King of Swaziland had bartered away many of his rights and concessions in so reckless a manner that he had given away all his property, territory, and rights, and the concessions were often in conflict with others, and as this was a very dangerous state of affairs, the Transvaal Government suggested in March, 1889, that they should be allowed to annex Swaziland as the only solution of the difficulty. That was not the solution which recommended itself to Her Majesty's Government, and it must be borne in mind that before we could allow the annexation by the Boers, or before we could annex it ourselves, we should have had to abrogate the Treaty of London of 1884, for by the 12th Article of that Treaty it was expressly laid down that the independence of the Swazis within the boundary line indicated in the 1st Article was fully recognised. In March, 1889, the views of the Swazi people on the question were not known, so a Joint Committee of Inquiry was appointed, Sir F. De Winton representing Great Britain. In June, 1889, Her Majesty's Government heard that disturbances were likely to occur in Swaziland, and that the South African Republic intended to send an officer there. Her Majesty's Government at once telegraphed that they could not allow independent action, and sent an English officer, Colonel Martin, to act in conjunction with the Transvaal officer. Since that time negotiations had been in progress, but Her Majesty's Government were not inclined to accept Sir F. De Winton's suggestion that the Transvaal should be allowed to annex Swaziland and govern the white population, although they recognised the great ability and judgment which Sir F. De Winton brought to the matter. I believe that

Telegraphic Summary which I gave to the House a few days since; but in view of the general condemnation which the hon. Member has passed upon the Convention, I must recall one or two of its more important articles. In the first place, the independence of the Swasia, as recognised by the Convention of 1884, is re-affirmed and secured, and the control and management of the Swazi Government of all affairs in which natives are concerned remain unaffected. All cases, criminal or civil, between white settlers will be decided by a Court of Justice administering Roman-Dutch Law, which will also have the power of inquiring into the validity of disputed concessions. The South African Republic will enter into the existing Customs' Union Convention with the Cape, the Orange Free State, and Bechuana-land; and, failing their doing so within six months, the arrangement with regard to the port at Kosi Bay and the railway thereto will lapse, although the Joint Government of Swasiland will continue for three years certain, and will not be terminated after the expiration of the three years unless six months' previous notice be given by either Party. Perhaps the most important condition is one by which the South African Republic undertakes not to interfere with the territory to the north or north-west of the Republic, and to support by its influence the establishment of order and government by the British South African Company within the jurisdiction and under the powers granted to that company by their charter. The hon. Member for Peckham seems to have overlooked the bearing of this clause, or he would scarcely have criticised the Convention as he did. The question of the boundaries towards the north has never been settled to the satisfaction of the Transvaal Government, who have always held the opinion that they had rights in that direction, although they were limited to the east and west by Article II. of the Treaty of London, 1884; so much so, that they sent a representative, Mr. Grobler, into Khama's country, as may be remembered, some time since, the expedition ending in the death of that gentleman. The final settlement of this vexed boundary question is, therefore, of paramount importance, especially in

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view of the fact that the Portuguese difficulty is in process of amicable settlement, and the arrangements with Germany are already completed: I trust that after the explanations of the Treaty which I have given to the hon. Gentleman, he will modify his views as to the action of the Government thereon.

(12.19.) MR. BRADLAUGH: When I placed upon the Paper, early this Session, a notice of Motion for the reduction of the Vote for the Secretary of State's salary, I intimated to the Under Secretary that I intended to raise upon that Motion the whole question of our policy in relation to the Zulus. It would be absurd to attempt to do that at this period of the Session, in the present state of the House, and at this time of the night; but it is quite impossible that the matter can be passed without notice. In the few words I am about to say I shall speak with the concurrence of the hon. Member for Preston, who has put down a similar Motion, but who is prevented by illness from being present. There are now several of the Zulu Chiefs in custody at St. Helena under circumstances which I cannot help thinking are a disgrace to the English Government. I do not propose to go into even so much of the history as will enable the Committee to understand the case; but it is necessary to say that, in consequence of the Government permitting the Chief Usibepu to make raids upon those for whom I speak, to steal their property, and carry off their women, a state of affairs has been created in Zululand of which different views may be entertained. Because of this there were acts of violence and murder committed, which provoked retaliation. Several of the Zulus were arrested; some of them surrendered upon inducements being held out to them by those in whom they placed confidence, and in the belief that they would get a fair trial. A Special Commission was appointed to try them, and the constitution of that Commission was remarkable. There was upon it one Judge, against whom I have nothing to say. He seemed a gentleman of legal ability, and in the Judgments he gave he seemed to endeavour to express notions of English law. But he had associated with him two gentlemen who were curiously enough called Resident Magis-

trates. Several persons were tried on charges of treason and murder. Some were tried without defence, and none had the opportunity of having their defence properly put before the Court, which would have been afforded to persons placed in peril of their lives in this country. I would point out that at the trials the two Resident Magistrates on questions of evidence over-ruled the Judge. The result was, that speeches made in the absence of the prisoner were allowed to be given in evidence against them. In permitting such evidence to be given the two Magistrates either acted in entire ignorance of the law or in defiance of it. If there had been any means of examining the proceedings of the Commission before any tribunal which would have dealt with it as our English Judges would do, it would have ruled, as Mr. Justice Wragg ruled, against the Resident Magistrates, and the trial would have been absolutely quashed. Alleging as I do that the Chief Usibepu appears from the Blue Books to have been guilty of murder, and that he has never been brought to trial, I would appeal to the Under Secretary for the Colonies to say that this Chief will not be allowed to make further raids amongst these unfortunate people, and to provoke more bloodshed until the House has an opportunity of coming to a decision upon the whole subject. I also ask that no more native indunas from Natal may be sent amongst the Zulus. Unfortunately, some of these native indunas hold the doctrine which was expressed in a phrase I heard with great regret from the hon. Member opposite, namely, that the blacks are our enemies, and they seem to consider that any methods may be used against those unfortunate men whose country we are gradually absorbing. I suppose appeals on the ground of humanity are not likely to be much listened to. Unfortunately, that is a kind of thing that we are—I was going to say—very hypocritical about in our speeches and actions; but I think I have a right to appeal to the Government that until the decision of Parliament is taken on the whole case, they should not allow anything to be done to make the state of things worse than it is at the present time. The story told in the notes of the trial shocks anyone who is used to any notion of justice. These unfortunate



men, ignorant of our law and our language, had no defence possible to them except that which the charity of a lady, the daughter of Bishop Colenso, afforded them. That lady deserves honour, whether she was right or wrong, for her devotion to these unfortunate men, when in peril of their lives, when every technicality of the law was used against them, and when their witnesses were flogged and frightened so that they should be unable to give evidence. I see some Members shake their heads at that, but at the earliest moment I will fully substantiate from the Blue Books the statement I am making. I do not pretend that I am not presenting the view I have arrived at in consequence of the examination I have made, and it is quite possible that my presentment is not an impartial one. It is impossible to go into the case fully at the fag end of a Session, but I give notice that an early opportunity will be taken next Session to put the whole case before the House. I trust that in the meantime the Government will not allow anything to be done to make the state of things more deplorable than it is now.

\*(12.22.) SIR R. FOWLER (London): I wish to thank the hon. Member for Northampton for the statement he has made, and I would appeal to the Government to give facilities for bringing the matter forward early next Session. There may be points on which I do not commit myself to the views of the hon. Member; but the matter is most important, and worthy of more discussion than we can give to it now. With regard to Swaziland, although the conclusions arrived at may not entirely meet the views of myself and some other hon. Members, I think the Government deserve the thanks of the country and the House for what they have succeeded in doing, notwithstanding the difficulties that undoubtedly surround the question.

(12.25.) DR. CLARK (Caithness): The only point I wish to bring forward relates to Dinizulu, the late King of the Zulus and the son of Cetawayo. After the troubles were over he was living in the Transvaal, and he was induced to go to Natal and surrender himself. My hon. Friend says that Usibepu has committed murder. He has killed his thousands or his tens of thousands

*Mr. Bradlaugh*

but they do not look on that as murder when it is done in fair fight. Usibepu has been used for the purpose of doing a great deal of damage to his country. He has caused many of his countrymen to die in civil war and by famine; but he is a brave man, and he has not committed murder. As to the trial to which my hon. Friend has referred, the prisoners, instead of being tried before white men in Natal, under British law, were hustled illegally across the frontier and tried by a Special Commission. If the Government really wish to settle any of the South African questions fairly and in a manner to please both sections, they should have Usibepu tried as the other Chiefs have been, and then grant a pardon to the whole of them, place them on the land with Magistrates amongst them to control the people, and annex Zululand to Natal. Usibepu was sent there with the object of coercing the Zulus, who were supposed to be getting too powerful. It was known when he was sent there that there would just as certainly be war as night would follow day. There was war; and the result is, that you have handed over to the Boers a country that the Boers had no right to. I trust the Government will consider these poor creatures, and will send them back to their people, take over the whole of Zululand, and govern it according to white law. Now a word on Swaziland. I congratulate the Government on having stopped the dog-in-the-manger policy which has hitherto prevailed. Swaziland has been handed over to anarchy during the last three years, and the Swazi people have been debauched and degraded in a fashion which even their worst enemies would not have desired. There are two things in the Convention with the Transvaal that are grossly unfair. The first is that, as usual, the natives have been sacrificed in order to please the Boers. Umandine has made concessions of the whole of his land, and I ask, where are the 50,000 Swazi people to live? You cannot in justice recognise all these concessions. I was staying with Umandine at the time he made many of these concessions. First, to Mr. Forbes he conceded the whole of the mineral rights, and that gentleman started a company to work his concession. This was followed up by various other concessions,

and I do not hesitate to say that in nine cases out of 10 the concessions were obtained by fraud. I trust that upon this question the statement made by Lord Knutsford will be modified by the Under Secretary for the Colonies, and that we shall be told that sufficient land will be left for the Swazi people. In the next place, the South African Republic is to join the Cape Customs Union within six months. This clause will compel the Transvaal to enter into the Union; but Natal is not in the Union, and the consequence will be that the Natal trade with the Transvaal will be cut off and lost. I do not represent the one party or the other, but I do not see why, in this South African Question, the Imperial Government should take sides. The competition has been going on for some time, Natal going in for a low tariff of 6 per cent., and the Cape for a high tariff of 15 per cent. The Transvaal should be left the chance of joining Natal, and to compel that country to join the Cape will be to inflict great injury upon Natal, and Natal trade, in the development of which the Natal people have expended large capital on the harbour of Durban and £4,500,000 in railways, will be practically ruined. The course taken by the Government can be only a temporary solution, which cannot last long. I do not think the settlement is one which so poor a country can long bear. This little country cannot pay for the joint administration. Both Umbandine and his people have been debauched. In the Convention of Pretoria, when we took possession of the Transvaal in 1877, Swaziland was held to be a portion of the Transvaal; but at the retrocession of the Transvaal in 1881, it was considered advisable, and the idea was an admirable one, that the Swazis should have a chance of developing their own civilisation under British protection. But in a short time King Umbandine began giving away his land, and making all sorts of concessions to adventurers. Rum and gin, and even a white woman imported for the purpose, broke down the virtues of Umbandine, and he and his people became debauched below their former level. I regret the experiment has failed, and I think the wiser course would be to let the country fall back into the position of part of the Transvaal. I do not think the convention will do

any good, or that any good will result from the concessions obtained in these circumstances, and which you are going to recognise. The Transvaal Government have agreed to this convention under a threat. There are no dangers to be apprehended from the blacks. The settlement can only be a temporary one, preceding a union of all the States in South Africa.

(12.45.) Mr. LABOUCHERE: Last year I asked several questions as to whether we were going to grant charters in regard to Matabeleland and Makolololand. It will be in the recollection of the House that Lobengula granted some sort of concession to Mr. Rhodes. Later, it appeared that Lobengula himself did not understand that he was making concessions of these vast territories in Matabeleland, and in Makolololand it is very doubtful if Lobengula had the authority to make the concessions. We hoped that a charter would not be given; but just before the House broke up, the Under Secretary for the Colonies told the hon. Member for Kirkcaldy that the granting a charter in regard to these concessions was contemplated. The charter was given under the usual practice, and, after a notice in the *Gazette* which nobody sees, these charters are granted as in this case, Mr. Rhodes having associated his name with the Duke of Fife and the Duke of Abercorn, who have nothing to do with South Africa; but I presume Mr. Rhodes thought his application to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council would have a better chance if supported by the names of prominent Conservative or Unionist gentlemen. Well, the charter was given, and the particulars are to be found in one of the Blue Books. So far as I understand, it is based on the concessions made by Lobengula, and it is assumed that these concessions became the property of the Chartered Company. Now, the Committee knew perfectly well that there has been an extraordinary amount of financing in South Africa, and that millions have been lost there upon bogus mines and bogus companies, and, therefore, it was desirable that the Government should well consider before granting a charter whether it was wise to give control of a country larger than France to a financial company, and having in mind the fact that for the

Government to connect itself in any sort of way which a company gives that company a *status* it otherwise would not have, and which that company might exercise unfairly, and against the interests of the British public. Since the granting of the charter an expedition has been organised to proceed into Lobengula's country, and Sir Frederick Carrington, an *employé* of the British Government, and head of the Bechuanaland Police Force, has used his position for the purpose of obtaining recruits for this expedition. The expedition proceeded, after the usual flourish about spreading the blessings of Christianity and civilisation, upon what is really a search for alluvial gold, which, no doubt, is to be converted into property for the company, and through the company for the British public. As a matter of fact, the charter is based upon the concessions made by Lobengula. Last year a company called the Central Search Company came into existence, with a capital of £120,000, to which £100,000 was added in December, 1889, and, as I am informed, the assets of this company consist of half of the concessions granted by Lobengula, and which it was understood were the basis of the Chartered Company. On July 23rd, 1890, a few weeks ago, this company went into liquidation with the object of bringing its existence to a close, and selling itself, as it did sell itself, to another company, calling itself the Concessions Company. I hold in my hand a document which shows that the consideration for the transfer is to be £4,000,000. That is to say, that the assets of the company last year, half the concessions from Lobengula, and the subscribed capital—nothing having been done meanwhile—are disposed of for £4,000,000. This fact shows the kind of financing that is going on in South Africa, and the fault lies largely with Her Majesty's Government for having converted by their *imprimatur* the vague and flimsy concessions of Lobengula into a sort of chartered concession. It is a noteworthy fact that Mr. Rhodes, the Prime Minister of Cape Colony, is also a *concessionnaire* and the Managing Director of this huge Chartered Company, exercising sway over a territory larger than France and under the immediate protection of the British Government. I hope that

*Mr. Labouchere*

the Colonial Government will thoroughly investigate the matter. I am opposed to the whole system of Chartered Companies, holding that in regard to these large territories the Government should have the courage of their opinions, and if they think there should be annexation, assume direct control. But I do not enter into that question now; I simply call the attention of the Colonial Office to this very remarkable financing which has taken place, and to the fact that Mr. Rhodes is Managing Director of the Concessions Company. Whatever happens, I trust the Government will keep free from the financing operations which have characterised these proceedings.

\*(12.57.) Mr. WEBB (Waterford, W.): Before the discussion closes, I should like to say a few words on the question so well raised by my hon. Friend, who has sketched the main features, not going into those details of which he is master. What I wish to urge is that the native Zulus, whose independence is to be destroyed, should receive fair play. They number about 140,000, and I think that out of the somewhat complicated situation, and looking at the facts broadly and upon the authority of Miss Colenso, who has taken so great an interest in these people, they have been treated with gross injustice by the Home Government. It appears to me that in this matter of Zululand the old story is repeated of giving over a country to officials to do whatever they like with it. We have sufficient instances of this in the past. We know what harm has been done and how the claims of the natives have been ignored. The people of Zululand stand somewhat in the same position as those of Madagascar. They are likely to live on and have a history, and that history will have a reflex effect on this country in the future. Therefore, it is infinitely the more necessary that we should consider their claims and do justice to them now. In some of our recent transactions with reference to the Zulus, I think we might have acted differently. From an answer to a question put by me in this House, it appears that during a period of great famine in that country, the only relief sent to them consisted of 23 tons partly seed and partly food. Surely that was a very small quantity to divide amongst so many starving

thousands, but will it be believed that a great deal of the seed sent was kiln-dried, and therefore of no value for seed purposes? There is another matter which I think demands attention at the hands of the Government, and that is the prison accommodation at Etshoe. That accommodation is wretched and miserable. The cells are small, and, being inadequate in number, are crowded, and the whole place is a disgrace to the Government. Then I venture to urge that any further interference by Natal Chiefs in the affairs of the country ought not to be allowed. We are told in the papers this morning that those Chiefs who have been deported to St. Helena are happy and contented and well looked after. They may be well looked after, but I do not think it is possible they can be happy and contented when they have been taken away from their own country. Under all the circumstances of the case, I earnestly entreat the Government to give their attention to the position of affairs in Zululand.

(1.5.) MR. CONYBEARE: One of my hon. Friends has made a very spirited attack on the subject of Chartered Companies; and if a case could possibly be made out against those companies, I do not think there is any man more capable of advocating it than the hon. and senior Member for Northampton. But I confess I do not think, in this particular instance, he has a strong case. I have not heard much in what he said with reference to the Chartered Companies which would lead me to suppose that their influence has been or will be an injurious one as affecting the future prosperity of South Africa. It may be perfectly true that some of the persons who have promoted financial movements in connection with Matabeleland have endeavoured to take in the British Representative, but still, on the whole, I think that the action of these companies is calculated to advance the prosperity of South Africa. On what ground, I ask, can the Royal Niger Company or the British East Africa Company be attacked, and yet it seems to me there is not very much difference between a Chartered Company and an ordinary company established by a party of private individuals as adventurers under the sanction of the legislation of

this country. There is no doubt that the fact of a company being a Royal Charter Company makes it in the eyes of many persons of greater importance and influence, and gives it an appearance of greater stability. But assuming that the officers are determined to administer the affairs of the company honestly and in a fair and honourable spirit, I do not see why exception should be taken to it on the ground that it has the title of a Royal Charter Company. Of course, we all feel confident that the Government will not lend themselves to any shady financial transactions such as those which have been exposed by my hon. Friend. I should like to know what is the alternative to having these companies when you are opening up new districts. The information which my hon. Friend has given to the Committee is not exaggerated. What has happened in connection with Swaziland has happened also in connection with Lobengula and Matabeleland. It is, in fact, the common history of every Native Chief. European adventurers come into this country; they stimulate the greed and avarice of the principal Chief with presents and arms and other articles likely to tempt the barbarian fancy. They ply him not only with rum and gin, but also with champagne, and I believe that one Chief was really killed through drinking too much champagne. The consequence of the system was that, so far as Swaziland was concerned, until Mr. Shepstone became financial adviser to the King, nothing but disorder prevailed. Now, the history of Swaziland is likely to be repeated in connection with Matabeleland and Mashonaland. What I wish to put to hon. Members is whether, on the whole, a most beneficial influence is not likely to be exerted by a powerful Corporation such as the British Chartered Company in the direction of maintaining order and preventing the King of the country from being ruthlessly pillaged by unprincipled adventurers coming and practically robbing him of the sovereignty of his country by getting all manner of absurd concessions. I wish to know whether the influence of such a Corporation is not likely to be more beneficial and more conducive to the prosperity of South Africa in the future than if you refuse to grant such authority and powers to

such a company, and allow the unfortunate Native Chiefs to be robbed and plundered by reckless adventurers who undoubtedly swarm round them. That is the defence I am disposed to make in reply to the criticisms put forward against Corporations like the British Chartered Company. With respect to the policy which ought to be adopted by Ministers in respect of Zululand and Swaziland, I have to say but one word. I hope the Government have learned wisdom from the sad experience of the past. I trust they will turn over a new leaf, and no longer follow the criminal policy of their predecessors, amongst whom I am sorry and ashamed to acknowledge have been the chiefs of the party to which I have the honour to belong. I hope the Government will give up the idea of further persecuting and wronging the Zulu race, and that they will treat them with justice and generosity, because we know that the Zulus are the finest race in South Africa, although we, by our policy in the past, have done our best to absolutely break them up. Nobody who has studied the history of Dinizulu and his companions can have any doubt that they have been most unfairly treated. It is admitted in the Despatches of our own officials that any acts of which they were guilty were provoked by our own policy, and to try these unfortunate Chiefs by the same standard as you would try an Englishman for an ordinary crime in this country, is about as great an absurdity and injustice as one could possibly conceive. But Dinizulu and his companions have been relegated to St. Helena on the plea that they were guilty of high treason against the Government of this country. I do not suppose they had the slightest idea what high treason meant, and we know that they have protested most strongly, and there is plenty of evidence to show that, so far from wishing to take up arms against the authority of Great Britain, they are most anxious to take up the reverse attitude. I hope my hon. Friends will use their influence with the Government to induce them to set Dinizulu and his companions at liberty and to send them back to their own country. The Government policy has been in the past to foment civil war between the chiefs. That was the policy

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that Sir Garnet Wolseley inaugurated, and that has been the policy which the Government have since pursued; for, did they not send Zibepu into the country with full licence to plunder the territory of Dinizulu? I do ask the Government to reverse their policy if they wish for the prosperity and contentment of Zululand, and the best thing they could possibly do would be to grant a free pardon to Dinizulu and his associates and send them back to Zululand, which should be taken under our direct protection and administration. I understand that the Government in their new Convention with the Transvaal Government propose to reserve a sufficient amount of territory for the Swazis to live upon; but I should like to point out that this race is an increasing race, and that what land might possibly be sufficient for them at the present time, would be totally inadequate 10 or 15 years hence, and, therefore, you must be careful as to the amount of land you reserve.

MR. LAFONE (Southwark, Bermondsey): I beg to move that the Question be now put. The hon. Member has been repeating himself over and over again.

THE CHAIRMAN: I do not propose to put that Motion, because there are other Members desirous of speaking on this Vote, but I must impress on the hon. Member for Camborne that he has repeated observations which have been made by other Members in a much more forcible manner.

MR. CONYBEARE: By way of personal explanation, Sir, I should like to say that, having listened carefully to speeches on this subject by hon. Members for an hour and a half, I am not aware that I have been, in any way, unduly repeating what they said in my presence. I do not propose, however, after your intimation, to trespass further on the attention of the Committee, but I insist on my right as a Member of this House to speak when I think desirable and to put forward the views which I hold it my duty to enunciate on these questions. We have now reached the hour of half-past 1. Hon. Members opposite have shown by their clamour that they wish to get through their business and retire to their beds, and, therefore, to meet their convenience

I beg to move that you do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again.

THE CHAIRMAN: Order, order! I refuse to put that Motion. The Minister has not yet replied.

(1.28.) MR. SYDNEY GEDGE (Stockport): My name is down to propose a reduction of the salary of the right hon. Gentleman, in connection with a matter of grave importance, which I had intended to bring before the House, but as we have arrived at the fag end of the Session, and I am now addressing but a wearied remnant of the House, I think, perhaps, it would not be wise to enter on the matter. Still, if hon. Members standing behind the Speaker's Chair will persist in interrupting me when I am simply explaining my reasons for not commencing this fresh subject, I shall feel it my duty to enter upon it. I do hope, however, that early next Session I shall have an opportunity of bringing it on.

\*(1.30.) BARON H. DE WORMS: I shall endeavour to answer the questions that have been put to me in the course of the discussion upon this Vote as briefly as possible. If, however, I am brief in what I have to say it must not be understood that I therefore assent in any particular to the views expressed by the hon. Member for Northampton as to the policy adopted with regard to Dinizulu and the other Zulu Chiefs, nor in the attack he made on the loyal Chief Usibepu. The hon. Member, with his usual courtesy, informed me that he did not intend, at this late period of the Session, to review in detail the circumstances connected with the trial and the imprisonment of Dinizulu and some of his followers, nor to investigate the action of Usibepu, which in his opinion was the main cause of Dinizulu's rebellious acts. The hon. Member has adhered to his promise and not gone into details, but he has distinctly endeavoured to throw the responsibility for the acts of the rebel Zulu Chiefs upon Usibepu, whom he accuses of murder, at the same time charging the Government with illegality with respect to the arrest, trial, and subsequent punishment of Dinizulu and those who supported him. I am content, at this late hour, not to weary the Committee by investigating minutely, as will be my duty if the question be fully discussed next Session, all

the allegations he has made against the Colonial Office; but it must be clearly understood that I absolutely deny the accuracy of the statements, either as to the innocence of Dinizulu and his followers, the guilt of Usibepu, or the illegality of the constitution of the tribunal before which Dinizulu and his Chiefs were tried and sentenced. With regard to the question put to me by the hon. Member for Northampton as to the repatriation of Usibepu, I can only say that the Government will consider most carefully the statements which have been made this evening with the resolve to prevent injustice and to secure peace and order in Zululand. The statement of the hon. Member that the condition of Zululand is at present most unsatisfactory is in no way supported by facts; the country is now perfectly tranquil and the people contended, as the statistics which I will give to the Committee clearly prove. The revenue for the half-year 1890 was £34,225; the balance on the 1st of January was £8,175, making a total of £42,400. The expenditure for the half-year was £13,691, leaving a credit balance of £28,709. The half-year has thus been one of great prosperity. The Hut Tax has been paid in all parts cheerfully and satisfactorily and in coin. This is significant, as it is the first occasion on which no cattle have been tendered in lieu of cash. The tax has exceeded the estimate of £25,000, having realised £27,141. There has been no crime of a serious nature in any of the districts. The colony is out of debt. The hon. Member for Caithness has said in regard to the concessions given in Swasiland that there was no land left for the natives. The fact is, that the bulk of the concessions consists of mining areas, and where in those areas gold has not been found, the land has not been left unproductive, but has been re-occupied by the natives. The hon. Gentleman has asked me what is the position of Natal in regard to Customs Duties; I may tell him that goods passing from Natal will, unless that colony joins the Union, have to pay Union Tariff Duties on entering the South African Republic if the latter itself enters the Union. Natal goods have now to pay such duties on coming into the existing Union area. With regard to the charter granted to the East Africa Company, those to whom the con-

cession was originally made formed a company, and no appointment in connection with that company was made by the Government. The Government, in view of the fact that this company was regarded as a very important one, which was doing a great deal to open up South Africa, Her Majesty's Government conceived that it was much better to grant a Royal Charter than allow a Limited Liability Company to undertake on their own account very serious responsibilities. The Government have nothing whatever to do either with the price or value of the company's shares, nor is there any clause in the charter they have granted enabling the Government to examine the accounts of the company. The only condition imposed in regard to the accounts is that they shall be audited by independent parties, the Government reserving to themselves the right of revoking the charter in the event of good reason being shown for the adoption of such a course. This is exactly the position of the Government with regard to the South African Company, consequently they are unable to accept any responsibility as to the price of shares or the payments made in connection with the concessions. I have, I think, now answered all the questions put to me.

(136.) MR. MAC NEILL (Donegal, S.): I have to ask the indulgence of the Committee for risking, at this late hour, to call attention to certain matters of considerable importance which I desire to bring before the Committee in reference to one of our Crown Colonies. I have, since February last, given specific notice as to the nature of the charges I am about to make, and the right hon. Gentleman knows that they are charges of a very grave nature; but, inasmuch as I have been in the House since 3 o'clock yesterday afternoon, and as I have to be here again at 12 o'clock to-day, I would suggest that my right hon. Friend would consent to a Motion to report Progress, so that I may have a fuller opportunity of bringing forward the charges I have to make against the Colonial Office. [*Cries of "Go on!"*] I do not think I should be asked, at 20 minutes to 2 o'clock, to go into these matters. [An hon. MEMBER: Next Session.] No, I cannot consent to postpone the matter until next Session. I have been trying to

*Baron H. de Worms*

bring it forward again and again, and have frequently asked the First Lord of the Treasury to give me a day. I have been waiting in London, at great personal inconvenience, in order to call attention to the gross injustice done to some 15,000 people who have long been suffering under an awful sense of injury and wrong. I hope, under the circumstances, I may be permitted to move that you, Sir, report Progress, and ask leave to sit again.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Mr. Mac Neill.*)

\*(138.) BARON H. DE WORMS: I would appeal to the hon. Gentleman not to persist in moving to report Progress. I assure him that if he will make his statement now my answer will be extremely brief, and will dispose of every point he wishes to raise. As the charges are of a very serious nature, it would, perhaps, be more convenient that he should make his statement at once, or give it me in writing, on the pledge I now make that the Government will make the fullest possible inquiry into the whole matter.

MR. MAC NEILL: I cannot accede to the last proposal, because I have already informed the Colonial Office over and over again of the nature of these charges. They are such that they ought to be brought forward and dealt with publicly, and I think it will be seen that if such things can occur in a Crown Colony, the sooner Crown Colonies are abolished the better.

MR. J. O'CONNOR (Tipperary, S.): On the Motion to report Progress I must enter my protest against the manner in which these important Votes have been kept back to the far end of a long Session. There is much to be said on topics like these which cannot be said at this late hour. The fact is that the Government are not anxious to listen to what we have to say. For my part I am quite willing to stay here and listen to what my hon. Friend has to state, and, therefore, I hope he will not press his Motion for Progress.

MR. PRITCHARD MORGAN: I desire to say that I have a very important subject to bring under the attention of the Committee, and I would respectfully submit that, after being here from 3



o'clock yesterday afternoon, and having to attend here again at 12 this morning, we have had a sufficiently long sitting, and it is time we were allowed to go home and obtain some rest. I hope the Motion for Progress will be agreed to.

\***BARON H. DE WORMS**: I would suggest that the hon. Gentleman opposite should take the discussion he desires upon the Report.

\***MR. M'LAREN**: Would it not be possible to postpone this Vote to go on with the Orders?

**MR. SEXTON**: I fully sympathise with the position in which my hon. Friend (Mr. Mac Neill) is placed. I am aware that he has mentioned this subject several times and that he is anxious to make a very important statement upon it, but, considering the present state of affairs, I should advise him, on condition that the House will afford him an attentive hearing, and that the Colonial Under Secretary will give him a categorical reply to the charges he has to make, not to proceed further with the Motion for Progress.

**MR. MAC NEILL**: I am willing to accept my hon. Friend's suggestion, and, by leave of the Committee, will withdraw my Motion.

Motion, by leave, withdrawn.

Original Question again proposed.

(145.) **MR. MAC NEILL**: I hope the Committee will bear with me while I endeavour, as briefly as possible, to bring before it the important matters which, I think, urgently demand its attention. I am actuated by no political motive, in fact, I do not know nor do I care what are the politics of those whose wrongs I am about to bring forward. I am sure, however, from the documents furnished to me that they are labouring under an awful sense of injustice. The Crown Colony, to which I have referred, is composed of the Falkland Islands. They are about 300 miles from the coast of Chili, and for many years past have had no political importance. We all know that there are two classes of colonies; those which have a responsible Government, and those which have not. Those which have responsible Governments are generally composed of European inhabitants, or, at any rate, of a large percentage of whites, while in the colonies which have no responsible Government, and are

termed Crown Colonies, there is usually a vast native population and very few Europeans. In the case of the Falkland Islands there is only a small population, numbering some 1,800 inhabitants. These people are in reality of the same flesh and blood as ourselves, and yet we treat them with all the rigour and tyranny of irresponsible despotism. I have to bring against the Governor of these islands charges of gross speculation and also of forgery. He is a Mr. Ker, a gentleman of 71 years of age, who has been (and it is a most unusual thing in a Crown Colony) Governor of these islands for 11 years. Usually the Governor retains his post for not more than six years, but Mr. Ker has been retained because the colony is far away, and there is no one to denounce him unless it be an hon. Member who has to perform that task at two o'clock in the morning. Again, Colonial Governors are not retained beyond the age of 65. Mr. Ker was, however, re-appointed after reaching that age. And he is kept there simply to degrade and corrupt the people, probably because he knows some dark secret of administration which renders it useful for the Government to retain him at a salary of £1,200 a year. But Mr. Ker is not only Governor of the colony, but is actually Commander-in-Chief of the Forces there, and is also Chief Justice. Under him is Mr. Packington Dukes, who is the executive agent, and occupies the position of Police Magistrate and Postmaster. Mr. Ker, who has the lives of the 800 of our fellow subjects at his disposal, has never practised at the Bar, and neither he nor his assistant has had any legal experience. Well, how do these persons exercise the powers they possess? About 15 months ago, I put to the Colonial Under Secretary the following question:—

"Whether frequent complaints have been received at the Colonial Office from inhabitants of the Falkland Islands with reference to certain specific grievances under which they labour; whether the Governor of these islands is also the Chief Justice, and is without any legal qualifications, and is often the prosecutor as well as the Judge of accused persons; whether the Colonial Secretary also holds the office of Police Magistrate, and is without any legal qualifications, and except in cases in which the persons brought before him are charged with drunkenness, consults with the Governor as to his decisions; whether the offices of Coroner and Postmaster are also held by the Colonial Secretary; whether all petitions presented to the Secretary of State for the Colonies by ag-

grieved persons must be sent to the Governor 15 days before the departure of the mail for England; and whether, in view of the fact that grave discontent prevails among the colonists, who are entirely unrepresented on the Executive or Legislative Council, the Secretary of State will take any, and if so, what, steps to investigate their grievances through some independent authority, and to consider their claims for some form of Representative Government?"

That question was put on the 14th May, 1889. I will not read the answer of the right hon. Gentleman, but I may say it was practically an admission of what I had stated. Two months after that, I asked the following question:—

"Whether Mr. James Smith, of Stanley, Falkland Islands, who forwarded to the Secretary of State for the Colonies two Memorials, dated respectively the 1st May and 7th May, 1889, making grave and specific charges against Mr. Ker, the Governor of those Islands, has had opportunity of seeing the explanation forwarded by Mr. Ker to the Colonial Office in reference to those charges; has the Secretary of State for the Colonies been satisfied with an *ex parte* statement of the Governor in answer to charges which Mr. Smith has expressed himself ready and willing to prove, and for which, on behalf of the colonists, he demands a searching public investigation; and will the Secretary of State for the Colonies have any objection to lay upon the Table of the House Mr. Smith's Memorials and the answer of the Governor thereto, which have been forwarded to the Colonial Office?"

The charge here made is that the Governor had improperly appropriated £300, which was obtained from the Government for the improvement of the Government House. The answer which was given to that question I will not read to the House, but, as in the other case, it was practically an admission of what I had brought forward. The Governor came over here last August, and had an interview with the Colonial Authorities. Lord Knutsford must have been well aware of what the charges were against the Governor, because he had had the Memorial which had been sent by Mr. Smith, of Stanley. Nevertheless the Governor was sent back to this Colony in order to receive the £1,200 a year from the people whom he had been robbing and plundering, and among whom he had been prostituting justice. That gentleman is Public Prosecutor as well as Chief Justice, because, if he is not, nobody else is. An infamous attempt was made by him within six months to deprive the colonists of the only jury they have—the Coroner's Jury. He actually passed an ordinance abolishing

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trial by jury. It was so infamous that, on my suggestion, Lord Knutsford on the advice undoubtedly of the right hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary vetoed the ordinance. Mr. Cobb, the head of the colonists in the Falkland Islands, and an unofficial man of the Executive Council, sent a Memorial to the Government asking for the removal of this man for having violated Executive regulations. On the 25th of July, Mr. James Smith sent to the Colonial Secretary a letter containing specific charges against the Governor. He states that when £300 was granted for the extension of Government House, about £1,250 was expended on it, for the extra £950 was represented as having been expended on public works and buildings. Mr. Smith practically asks Mr. Brookes to lay these charges against the Governor before the Governor. The Governor does not dare to answer them, or to prosecute this man. It is a gross libel, but the worst of the libel is that it is true. On the 25th of December, Mr. Smith wrote a letter to myself, and in that letter he accuses the Governor of having raised £300 by the fraudulent sale of the frontages of buildings in Stanley. The right hon. Gentleman has said that as Mr. James Smith did not demand an inquiry, he would not give one. Mr. Smith in his letter to me says that if he can do so, he demands an inquiry, and the first witness he would call would be Mr. Brookes, whilst he should also call every Government official. The man who makes these charges is at large. Either the Governor is everything he ought not to be, or Mr. Smith is everything he ought not to be. Here is a letter I have received from Mr. Smith, in which he shows the awful amount of speculation which is going on amongst Government officials. He says every letter that was registered before a certain date had 4d. paid on it, instead of the 2d. that ought to have been paid, and Smith alleges that the extra 2d. went into the pockets of the officials, or into those of the Governor. Here there comes a faint and feeble rejoinder from Mr. Brookes, who says the statements Mr. Smith makes concerning the Colonial Secretary "would appear to render you liable to proceedings, either by indictment or action at law for defamatory libel." Mr. Smith answers this letter at once. He says his statements would certainly

render him liable, but that the truth stood on as good authority as it did when reported to his Excellency by the Colonial Chaplain. This refers to a statement that Brookes and the Governor between them had opened his letters. There is another letter. I do not choose to publish the name of the writer, but he is a member both of the executive and legislative body of the colony. He brings six charges. The chief charge is one of embezzling £900, that sum having been obtained for works and buildings, but never having been so spent, and the accounts having been falsified to conceal the fraud. According to Mr. Smith, there cannot be the slightest doubt as to the truth of these charges, and if an inquiry is granted, I think there will not be the slightest difficulty in proving them. I say that either these things are true, in which case Governor Ker and Mr. Brookes, instead of being in Government House, ought to be in the dock; or they are false, in which case Mr. Smith ought to be in the dock. I must say it seems strange that, while these charges are hanging over him, the Government should have sent Mr. Ker out again. I have shown, I think, that in these islands there exists a serious state of things, which ought not to be allowed to continue, and I have shown that the principal victims of this maladministration are our own kith and kin, many of them our own flesh and blood. This is a self-supporting colony, and I think the least we can do for it is to give it an efficient Government. Such charges as I have made ought not to be made without proof, and should be disproved if possible. I ask, therefore, that an Independent Commission should go out to the colony, and I am sure the right hon. Gentleman will reply with his usual courtesy to those who have asked me to bring this matter before the House.

\*(2.15.) BARON H. DE WORMS: I have informed the hon. Member before, that the Secretary of State has inquired into the allegation made by Mr. Smith against the Governor, and the information which was placed before him, and upon which he acted, was to the effect that no charge of embezzlement had been made out against the Governor. Mr. Smith made a charge, amongst others, of falsification of an account, but the Governor conclusively answered it, and Mr. Smith is

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regarded as untrustworthy. The Falkland Islands accounts have been audited by the Comptroller and Auditor General at Somerset House, who could not fail to detect any irregularity. The charge is a very serious one to be made against one who is regarded as a most excellent trustworthy public servant, and ought not to be lightly made. If the hon. Gentleman can produce any further evidence beyond that which has been already inquired into, I give him the most positive assurance that the Secretary of State will investigate it to the best of his ability, and if the charge is in any way well founded justice will be done.

(2.18.) MR. PRITCHARD MORGAN: I would ask if the Government are likely at some period of time not far distant to consider the just demands of the people resident in Northern Queensland for separation? This colony is many times larger than England, and the seat of the Government is in the extreme south, so that the people in the northern portion—

(2.18.) THE CHAIRMAN: It is beyond the scope of Committee of Supply to inquire into the domestic politics of a colony which is self-governing. That subject cannot be discussed on the Vote for the Colonial Secretary.

(2.19.) MR. PRITCHARD MORGAN: Perhaps I may be allowed to ask if it is not the fact that the whole of the representatives of the northern portion of the colony have petitioned the Home Government, who have held out to them hopes of having their prayers granted at no distant date? Have not representatives from Northern Queensland waited on Her Majesty's Government for that purpose, and cannot the Government promise that the matter will be considered?

\*(2.19.) BARON H. DE WORMS: A Petition has been received from Queensland, and it is now receiving the most serious consideration of the Secretary of State, and if the hon. Member will call on me at the Colonial Office I shall be happy to show him the Papers.

Question put, and agreed to.

3. £10,707, to complete the sum for the Privy Council.

(2.20.) MR. CONYBEARE: There are some matters connected with the Privy Council that I am desirous of bringing before the attention of hon. Members

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but it would be ridiculous to suppose that any good could be done by going into the details at this hour of the morning. I will not, therefore, attempt to go into them. I will reserve my right to bring on such discussion as I may think necessary, on this or any other Vote, in the November Sitting—if we consider Votes then; if not, until some later period.

Vote agreed to.

4. £108,544, to complete the sum for the Board of Trade.

(2.22.) DR. TANNER: There are several matters connected with the Board of Trade that I have periodically raised, and the principal one is the condition on board the emigrant ships of those poor people who are forced to leave their own country owing to their bad circumstances. I have a complaint to make in regard to the action of the medical officers—not that I think these gentlemen are themselves to blame, for I know they always try to act fairly, squarely, and above board, but because of the pressure put upon them by the Shipping Companies. The President of the Board of Trade is well acquainted with many of the complaints I have felt it my duty to make, and I would ask now, as I have asked on other occasions, that some examination should be made into the way in which these medical gentlemen are forced to waive their duty in connection with these unfortunate passengers. I have pointed out before, time after time, the absence of proper sanitary accommodation on board these passenger ships—which are only fixed up as passenger ships *ad interim*, being used on the return voyage to transport cattle. I have pointed out all these matters in detail, and I would now merely recapitulate a few of the items. By way of preface I would say to the right hon. Baronet the President of the Board of Trade that I have applied to some of my friends in America, and have been assured that if this matter is not dealt with by Her Majesty's Government it certainly will be taken up by the American Government. The emigrants, whether they be English, Irish, or Swedes, suffer equally. At times, under stress of weather, they are penned up like sheep, without sanitary conveniences, and under circumstances so filthy as to be against

*Mr. Conyngham*

common justice and humanity. Is it a proper thing that there should only be one water tap to supply 1,000 people in summer weather? And as to hospital accommodation, I have this year—I was not here last year to make mention of the matter—received repeated assurances that the state of things will be improved, though I must say the right hon. Baronet has treated the matter lightly. Although the Board of Trade requires that the hospital accommodation on these vessels shall be kept intact, in many cases the brass plate has been removed from the door of the hospital which has been used for passenger accommodation to benefit the Steamship Company. It is really impossible to deal with this important subject at this hour, and all I would ask—recognising in the right hon. Baronet a Member of Her Majesty's Government who is capable of dealing with the matter in a fair spirit—is that some inquiry should be made. These ship doctors cannot give any expression of opinion on these matters unless they are supported by Her Majesty's Government, because if they attempted to show what is radically wrong on board these ships, what would be the result? Why, they would lose their posts, which would mean to them the loss of their livelihood. I, therefore, say that some sort of inquiry ought to be instituted into the matter. Common humanity, I think, demands it. I only hope that the humane instincts of the right hon. Gentleman will lead him to try and promote some inquiry which will vindicate the wrongs of these poor emigrants so inhumanly treated in times gone by.

(2.30.) MR. SEXTON: I have already brought to the notice of the right hon. Gentleman the peculiar circumstances under which repeated collisions have recently occurred in Belfast Lough between two passenger steamers trading between Belfast and Bangor. The collisions have been the subject of inquiry in the Police Court, and I believe one of the captains has been fined. The state of the case is such that public opinion in Belfast demands an inquiry by the Board of Trade. I understand notices have been issued by the Local Marine Board with a view to an inquiry, but I am in a position to say that, under the circumstances, such an inquiry would not be regarded with confidence. I, therefore, urge the right

hon. Gentleman to direct an inquiry by the Board of Trade. No harm can result, and I think the right hon. Gentleman will scarcely hesitate to order such an inquiry when I tell him that the feeling in Belfast as to the impartiality of the Board of Trade is such that an inquiry by that authority would be received with public confidence.

\*(2.32.) THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE (Sir M. HICKS BEACH, Bristol, W.): The hon. Member for West Belfast was good enough to communicate with me as to the point he has raised, and I can assure him that if I could order a wreck inquiry, I should be very glad to do so. As a matter of fact, I have not the power. No lives were lost, and the ships were not severely injured, and the Board of Trade only possesses power to institute such an inquiry where there has been loss of life, or where wreck has occurred. The only inquiry I can order by law is an inquiry by the Local Marine Board. I am not quite sure that this is a case for inquiry at all, because one, if not both, of the captains have been convicted, and having been convicted, the Board of Trade would be empowered to cancel their certificates without an inquiry at all. I will, however, look further into the matter. The hon. Member for Mid Cork (Dr. Tanner) brought the point he has raised before the House two years ago, and I then assured him that if he could only bring particular cases of the kind he alludes to before me, I would do my best to have a thorough and searching inquiry. The hon. Member has never given me precise information on the subject. He speaks of cases where there was an insufficient water supply. If the hon. Member will give me particulars relative to particular ships, I will do my best in the interest of the emigrants to stop anything wrong. As it was, after the hon. Member made these charges, I sent down to Liverpool one of the principal officers of the Board of Trade, Mr. Thomas Grey, to inquire into the matter, and he was unable to detect anything of the kind to which the hon. Gentleman alluded.

(2.35.) DR. TANNER: Perhaps the right hon. Gentleman will pardon me. The state of things to which I refer is perfectly well known to the medical profession, and the matter has been ventilated in the medical papers. The doctors

know that if they show up any of these grievances they will be instantly discharged from their positions. A series of letters on the subject, by Dr. Irvine, who is now in America, have appeared in the *Medical Journal*. The right hon. Gentleman asks me to supply him with instances. It must be borne in mind that a medical man signs articles for each voyage, so that if he laid bare the facts, the great probability is that he would not only not be employed by the same firm again, but would not be employed by any other Shipping Company. If the President of the Board of Trade would institute some fair and square inquiry into this matter, and protect men in case they come forward to give evidence, he would confer a great benefit on all the poor people who suffer so much on board these emigrant steamers. I have seen the hospitals altogether devoted to the engineers and stewards, to anything but the purpose for which they were intended. I shall raise this question again and again. [*Cries of "Divide!"*] I am only speaking in the cause of general humanity, which I believe ere long will be taken up by the people across the Atlantic. I pity the right hon. Gentleman, because it is not the cause of humanity or the benefit of the poor that he is looking to in this matter, but simply the cause of the rich shipowners.

(2.40.) MR. COX (Clare, E.): I desire from practical experience to endorse almost every word my hon. Friend has said. I have seen emigrants on their way to Australia, and I would ask the right hon. Gentleman to institute an independent inquiry; to send some Commissioner out in these emigrant ships without letting the shipowners know anything about it, and to report to him as to the conditions under which emigrants are obliged to travel to Australia and other places.

Vote agreed to.

5. £7, to complete the sum for the Bankruptcy Department of the Board of Trade.

6. Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £35,342, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1891, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Board of Agriculture, and

to defray the repayable expenses to be incurred in matters of Inclosure and Land Improvement."

(240.) DR. TANNER: I beg to direct the attention of the Committee to the fact that my hon. Friend the Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) stated that when this Vote was reached—[Mr. T. M. HEALY: Why is he not here?—why is he not here at 20 minutes to 3 o'clock in the morning? He said he had distinct charges to make against this Board, and the way in which the money is spent. It is not too much to ask that this Vote should be postponed, in order that it may meet with the discussion which I am perfectly sure the President of the Board of Agriculture desires. My hon. Friend (Mr. T. M. Healy) may oppose me in this matter, but, in common fairness, I think there should be a postponement of this Vote. This is the first time that this Board has applied for a Vote. ["No!"] Certainly it is, and I move that we now report Progress.

Motion made, and Question, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again,"—(*Dr. Tanner*,)—put, and negatived.

Original Question put, and agreed to.

(244.) MR. JESSE COLLINGS (Birmingham, Bordesley): I beg to move that you now report Progress. The next Vote, which is for the Charity Commissioners, is one which will take some time to discuss, and, therefore, ought to be taken at a reasonable hour.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Mr. Jesse Collings*.)

MR. JACKSON: Perhaps the Committee will consent to the postponement of the Vote for the Charity Commissioners, and give us the two following Votes.

Motion, by leave, withdrawn.

7. £26,496, to complete the sum for Civil Service Commission.

(247.) MR. CONYBEARE: On a point of order, did we not understand that this Vote was to be postponed, and that only non-contentious Votes were to be taken?

THE CHAIRMAN: Order, order!

(248.) MR. KELLY (Camberwell, N.): I wish to call attention to the Civil Service Commission, and I deeply regret that I should have to do it at this hour, but I have for a long time promised a considerable body of men that, as far as I could, I would bring their case before the House. If the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury will undertake that the case of the Civil Service Writers will be considered, or if he will grant a Committee of Inquiry into their case, I will say nothing further. If he is unable to do either of these things I am afraid I must go into the case at some length. There is considerable confusion in the minds of the public as to who the Civil Service Writers are. A short time ago the Chancellor of the Exchequer was speaking about those whose incomes were between £300 or £400 a year, and he included "writers" among them. In all the papers on the following morning, with the exception of the *Times*, it was stated that the right hon. Gentleman included not "writers" but "copyists." Writers and copyists are by no means the same class of men. There are at present close on a thousand writers. The weekly income is, I believe, something like 32s. or 35s. a week. At present they are without any possible chance, practically, of getting beyond the miserable stipend of 10d. an hour. They were created by an Order in Council in June, 1870, avowedly for employment in temporary and fluctuating work. A Committee of this House, called the Otway Committee, was appointed in consequence of the repeated complaints of the Civil Service Writers that they were doing the work of clerks on the establishment, while their pay was so small. Previous to 1873 the pay was better, and there were clerks in the Admiralty who got 9s. 6d. a day, and clerks in the War Office who got 8s. 6d. The Otway Committee reported that there were good grounds for the complaints made. In consequence of the Report of that Committee we had what is known as the Playfair Commission. A considerable number of writers were then promoted to the establishment, and some were induced to accept employment under different conditions. [Repeated cries of "Divide!"] I may tell hon. Gentleman that their interruptions will only prolong the discussion

indefinitely. If they take no interest in the condition of the poorest of our public servants they must not expect that I shall be deterred from stating their case to the House. The Otway Committee reported in favour of a progressive rate of pay. Their recommendation was not accepted by the Government. The Playfair Commission recommended the discontinuance of the writer system altogether, and the giving of the writers a fixed position in the Public Service. That is one of the demands the writers have made. The Commission made a further recommendation, that the number of clerks in the higher divisions should be increased. That recommendation has not been adopted. So far as I am aware 15 writers received promotion under the Minute of 1886, but nothing else has been done for them; the remainder are simply paid 10d. an hour, without any assurance of a permanent position in the Service. After eight and a half years' service payment will rise to 11d. an hour, and for the Statistical Department the payment will be at the rate of a shilling. In a paragraph of their Report the Ridley Commission say that the writers do not complain of any actual grievance. But they looked upon the Minute of 1886 as an assurance of promotion to which they certainly have a strong moral claim.

(The hon. Member's further remarks were inaudible from persistent interruptions.)

(3.15.) MR. A. O'CONNOR (Donegal, E.): The writers are to be commiserated upon the circumstances under which their case has been brought forward. It is perfectly obvious that whatever the merits of their case may be, it is hopeless to attempt to get the House of Commons seriously to entertain it at this moment, but anyone who examines the case will, I am sure, appreciate the chivalrous effort the hon. Member has made. I, who have examined it, can bear testimony to the fact that the case of these men is hard, and ought to be considered. I appeal to the Secretary to the Treasury to tell the House that the last word has not been said, and that something will be done between this and next Session. It is useless to attempt to go into the matter now, but I hope that we may have an assurance that the

position of these men, in which they suffer under a system not far removed from sweating, will receive consideration.

(3.18.) THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON, Leeds, N.): The Committee will excuse me, under the circumstances, if I do not answer at any length. I cannot admit that any injustice has been done to the writers. I desire to speak with every recognition of their services, and I am not going to say a word against them. I may be allowed to point out that the hon. Member for Camberwell appeared to me to have answered his own case when he cited the result of the inquiry by the Playfair Commission, and the paragraph in the Report of the Ridley Commission, in which the Commissioners say they do not find any grievance for which they can recommend a remedy.

MR. KELLY: I quoted the exact words, "any grievance which it is the duty of the State to remedy."

MR. JACKSON: I apprehend if the Ridley Commission had thought there was a grievance they would have pointed it out. But I am not going to be led into saying a single word against the writers. If the hon. Member knows the whole facts of the case he has not stated them. He led the Committee to suppose that these men get 10d. an hour and no more.

MR. KELLY: I expressly said that in the Statistical Department they received a shilling.

MR. JACKSON: Would the Committee understand from the statement of the hon. Member that some of these men receive £150 a year?

MR. KELLY: Yes, by overtime, and working 16 hours a day.

MR. JACKSON: The hon. Member led the Committee to believe that the average pay was 35s. a week. Well, I will not pursue the controversy. I merely point out that the Treasury have endeavoured to give most careful consideration to the question, and it was on my instruction that the bonus has been given to these men, which, during the last three years, has amounted to £30,000. If I can do anything to improve their position without interfering with the rules and regulations of the Service I shall be very glad to do so. Of course, as trustees of the taxpayers' money we have a duty imposed upon us, but I have no desire to give



more or less for the labour we employ than the fair market value. The hon. Member has referred to the long hours of work, and that is an inconvenience that attaches to the occupation of many of us in the Public Service. But there is a system under which the faster workers earn their income more promptly, and in proportion to speed of work are the hours they work. In considering improvements in their position it must be borne in mind that these men were admitted to their position without the examination to which men entering the Civil Service are subjected, and it is undesirable to lower the standard of qualification by admitting writers without examination to the permanent Civil Service.

Vote agreed to.

8. £37,612, to complete the sum for the Exchequer and Audit Department.

Resolutions to be reported to-morrow.

Committee to sit again to-morrow.

#### SUPPLY—REPORT.

Resolutions [11th August] (see pages 526 to 606) reported and agreed to.

#### MOTION.

##### RAILWAYS (IRELAND) BILL.

On the Motion of Mr. Arthur Balfour, Bill to provide further facilities for the construction of certain railways in Ireland, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Arthur Balfour and Mr. Attorney General for Ireland.

Bill presented, and read first time. (Bill 417.)

#### ORDERS OF THE DAY.

##### PHARMACY ACT (IRELAND) (1875) AMENDMENT BILL.—(No. 412.)

Lords Amendments considered.

(3.38.) MR. SEXTON (Belfast, W.): I feel constrained to move that the Lords Amendments to this Bill be agreed with, although they alter the measure in a manner which is not at all satisfactory to us. The three thousand chemists and druggists in Ireland are by it rendered liable to unnecessary prosecutions and penalties, but, as other provisions of the Bill are much required, we are forced to submit to the pressure put on us. There is, however, one small Amendment which I think must be made in Clause 3. This provides for

*Mr. Jackson*

an examination in reading, writing, the English language, and elementary arithmetic. Now, I do not think the words "English language" are required, and I shall move to omit them.

MR. JACKSON: Perhaps it would be better to put the Bill down for this day (Wednesday).

MR. SEXTON: There is no necessity for it. I have spoken to the Attorney General for Ireland, and he has agreed to the omission of these words. I see the Solicitor General for England is in his place; perhaps he can assure the right hon. Gentleman that no harm will be done by the omission of the words.

SIR E. CLARKE: Looking at the Bill for the first time I must say there seems to be no objection to the omission of the words.

Amendment proposed, in Clause 8, to omit the words "the English language," agreed to.

Other Amendments agreed to.

##### SETTLED LAND BILL [LORDS.]

(No. 406.)

Read a second time, and committed for to-morrow.

##### LICENSING (IRELAND) BILL.—(No. 415.)

Order for Second Reading read.

MR. J. R. KELLY: I object.

MR. T. M. HEALY: As the Government and the hon. Member for South Tyrone do not object, I hope the hon. and learned Member will, after the excellent reception we have given him this evening, withdraw his objection.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL: The hon. and learned Member for North Longford persists in referring to me in connection with this Bill. I have, not, so far opened my mouth in regard to it. It pretends to be a Bill to prevent the issue of new licences, but I say it is a fraudulent Bill from that standpoint.

MR. T. M. HEALY: I am sorry I have not the support of the United Kingdom Alliance on the subject.

Second Reading deferred till to-morrow.

It being after one of the clock, Mr. Speaker adjourned the House without Question put.

House adjourned at a quarter before Four o'clock in the morning.

## HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Wednesday, 13th August, 1890.

## QUESTIONS.

## SITTINGS OF THE HOUSE.

SIR G. CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.): I wish to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether, considering the strain upon the officers of the House, he will consider whether it is not desirable that, for the remainder of the Session, the House should meet at 12 o'clock, so as to obviate the necessity for its sitting till 3 or 4 o'clock in the morning, as in the last two sittings?

\*THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. H. SMITH, Strand, Westminster): I fear that the strain both on Members and upon the Officers of the House would prove much greater if they were brought down to the House at 12 o'clock, and perhaps still had to sit to late hours.

SIR G. CAMPBELL: I meant that the House, if it met at 12, should rise earlier, so that the strain should not be so great.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.): May I ask whether the right hon. Gentleman will not consider it desirable to bring some pressure to bear on his own supporters, who occupied a large portion of the time at the last sitting?

\*MR. W. H. SMITH: I am aware that Members on the Ministerial side of the House occupied a considerable amount of the time at the last sitting, and I greatly regret it. The hon. Member, however, is aware of the licence to which Members on his own side of the House feel themselves entitled in discussing questions which they deem of great importance, and Members opposite will, therefore, no doubt, have some compassion for others.

MR. T. M. HEALY: What I was referring to was the time occupied by Members opposite about 3 o'clock in the morning.

METROPOLIS MANAGEMENT AMENDMENT ACT (1862) AMENDMENT BILL.—(No. 367.)

Lords Amendments considered, and agreed to.

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MARRIAGES IN BRITISH EMBASSIES, &c. BILL.—(No. 359.)

Lords Amendments considered; several agreed to; one disagreed to; and a Consequential Amendment made to the Bill.

Committee appointed, "to draw up Reasons to be assigned to the Lords for disagreeing to one of the Amendments;" —To withdraw immediately.

Ordered, That Three be the quorum.

ELECTIONS (SCOTLAND) (CORRUPT AND ILLEGAL PRACTICES) BILL. (No. 243.)

Lords Amendments considered, and agreed to.

MARRIAGES IN BRITISH EMBASSIES, &c. BILL.—(No. 359.)

Reason for disagreeing to one of the Amendments made by the Lords to which this House hath disagreed, reported, and agreed to.

To be communicated to the Lords.

ALLOTMENTS ACT (1887) AMENDMENT BILL.—(No. 318.)

Lords Amendments to be considered to-morrow, and to be printed. [Bill 418.]

METROPOLIS MANAGEMENT AND BUILDING ACTS AMENDMENT BILL.

<sup>now</sup> METROPOLIS MANAGEMENT ACTS AMENDMENT BILL.—(No. 356.)

Lords Amendments to be considered to-morrow, and to be printed. [Bill 419.]

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

SUPPLY—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

CLASS II.

1. £28,083, to complete the sum for the Charity Commission.

(12.35.) MR. J. COLLINGS (Birmingham, Bordesley): I had intended to bring forward the policy adopted by the Charity Commissioners, but at a moment when everybody wants to get away from London, I shall briefly confine myself to one point, and it is with

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great reluctance that I do that. I only do so in the fulfilment of a pledge to persons who are greatly interested in a scheme of the Charity Commissioners which is now hanging over their heads, and which they desire to see delayed or got rid of altogether. I allude to the ancient borough of Sutton Coldfield, which is now a very poor agricultural parish, with 8,000 or 9,000 inhabitants, and which possesses large charitable endowments. The bequest dates from the time of Henry VIII., and the words run "for the exoneration of the poor, and for other secular and pious uses." Whatever construction may be put upon these words, it cannot be doubted that the endowment was intended for the benefit of the poor, and under an order of the Court of Chancery in 1825, the purposes to which the fund should be devoted were set forth, including medical assistance, loans of clothing, assistance to poor women in confinement, loans of blankets, and also free education. This free education was provided for the poor of the parish up to 10 years ago, and as it was of a character acknowledged by all, including the Educational Department, to be of an effective character, it gained the highest amount of Government grant. With regard to the general administration of the fund, there is no allegation that anything wrong had been done. About 10 years ago, the Commissioners cast their eyes on this endowment, or they had their attention called to it. In pursuance of their policy of encouraging higher schools, which influenced them even more strongly at that time than now, they brought in a scheme to divert part of the fund to the support of an ancient grammar school which had existed for some hundreds of years at Sutton Coldfield. The scheme being sanctioned, the benefit which this charity conferred upon the poor of Sutton Coldfield was curtailed to the extent of £15,000, and from that time free education ceased and fees were charged. Indeed, so far as it affected the grammar school, it worked badly for the education of the poor, seeing that the fees were largely increased from the sum of 10s. a quarter; and when the Corporation had the right to pay £60, and send 10 or 20 scholars, fees were charged. Of course, there were a certain number of scholarships founded,

*Mr. J. Collings*

but these did not affect the poorer classes. It might be supposed that this spoliation of the poor of Sutton Coldfield had come to an end. But that is not so. There is now another scheme hanging over them, and with reference to that scheme I wish to be assured that there is no further danger of the spoliation of the money of the poorer classes. The scheme to which I refer is universally opposed in the parish. Under that scheme it is proposed to take from the Endowment Fund a further income of £350 a year, and a further capital of £5,000, being equal to an entire capital sum of £17,000, which, in addition to the £15,000 taken away ten years ago, will amount to £32,000 taken from the Endowment Fund in order to create high schools for boys and girls mainly of the better classes. I am in favour of high schools of all kinds, but I object to their being created in that particular way. I am aware that the system is in accordance with the traditional policy of the Charity Commissioners, and that hundreds of localities have suffered by it. I think it is time that that policy should be put an end to. All classes in the parish have taken up the cause of the poor, both Conservatives and Liberals, and, with the exception of the few persons who constitute the old Board, not a single communication has been received in favour of the scheme. There is a solicitor there who has given his services for the protection of the poorer classes, and there is a very prominent Conservative member of the new Corporation who has devoted his time, his money, and his attention to the Commissioners' scheme. Two or three years ago the Corporation was changed into a Municipal Corporation under the Corporations Act, and the elections turned on this scheme, but there was not a candidate who was in favour of it who got returned to the Council. I suppose we shall be told that there are scholarships and exhibitions, and that they are for the benefit of the poor. I do not agree with that, and I hope the House will not agree with it. The House will remember that if any gentleman founds a scholarship, he provides the money for it, but in this case the money is taken away from the less fortunate classes, and therefore it is a mistake to say that you give them

scholarships. What is actually done is this—you take the money first, and then you create the scholarships out of the money you have taken. That is not at all just, and the poorer classes do not benefit by these scholarships. Why, I would ask, in an elementary school, should we take away the privileges of 95 pupils in order that we may give them to the remaining five, so that they may take advantage of higher education? I maintain that these scholarships are not in any way compensation for the benefits that have been taken away. It has been said that giving such things as free education, medical relief, &c., to the poor has a demoralising effect. It is somewhat curious how it is always in the case of the poor that the demoralisation comes in. It may be said that you do not offer other people medical relief, but you do offer them free education, and in the form in which it is accepted it is as much in the nature of doles as anything else. I want the people of Sutton Coldfield to be assured that the scheme now hanging over them will be withdrawn. A few years hence it might have had a chance of being passed by this House, but I do not think in the present condition of things it has any chance whatever. I have studied the question of this policy from the first moment that I entered the House, knowing as I did many cases where the poor have suffered. I shall continue to raise it until the policy is altered. I achieved no success, I am bound to say, with the late Government. On a previous occasion when I brought that matter forward my right hon. Friend the Member for Sheffield (Mr. Mundella) accused me of wasting the time of the House, and in private he added, "You are an old Tory for going into these matters." Well, if "old Toryism" means the preserving of the rights and privileges of the poor, then I glory in the name, and I will tell the right hon. Member for Sheffield that his policy was a wrong one. I have some reason to believe that some attempt will be made to make out that this endowment does not belong to the poor. The evidence of Mr. Richmond before the Committee was no doubt very ingenious, and it was given with the object of showing that this endowment was not the property of the poor. Mr. Richmond is,

I believe, a very able man, but he was only carrying out what had been the traditions of his office—traditions which I hope this House will let the Charity Commissioners know are not in accordance with modern requirements, as far as the poorer classes are concerned. If Acts of Parliament in connection with these endowments are to be strained at all, they should be strained in favour of the poorer classes, but instead of that I am afraid there is a disposition—I am, in fact, sure there is—to divert these endowments to other purposes, purposes for which they were never intended. In conclusion, I wish to say that I have confined my remarks to one point instead of going into a great number of points as I had originally intended, and I hope, before the Debate on the Vote is closed, that the House will receive an assurance from the proper quarter that this second scheme to which I have referred will no longer be allowed to hang over the poor of Sutton Coldfield.

(12.55.) **SIR WALTER FOSTER** (Derby, Ilkeston): I wish to express my approval of the observations made by the hon. Member for the Bordesley Division (Mr. Collings) in reference to this endowment, and I hope the Charity Commissioners will be induced to give heed to the representations of my hon. Friend. I am afraid that of late years there has been at work an academic influence in the direction of taking the charities intended for the poorer classes of the community and using them for the development of higher education, though I am willing to admit that of late years that tendency has been lessened a good deal by what has taken place both inside and outside the House. I think there is great danger of producing a considerable amount of angry feeling in the rural districts if the rights of the poor are not more tenderly dealt with by the Charity Commissioners than they have been hitherto; and I, therefore, have much pleasure in re-inforcing the appeal which has been made by the hon. Member for the Bordesley Division to the hon. Member for Penrith (Mr. J. W. Lowther), to check the tendency of the Charity Commissioners in the direction of taking away money from the poorer classes and devoting it to the education of the higher classes. The poorer classes

feel that they are not adequately represented on the bodies charged with the administration of these charities. This feeling strongly prevails in rural districts, and it is injurious not only to the Charity Commissioners themselves but to that loyal contentment which every public office should encourage. I trust, too, that the Charity Commissioners will take care that no charities are lost to the people. There are, for instance, many rent-charges which are uncollected, and therefore lost. It is the duty of the Commissioners to protect the property of the poor, and steps ought to be taken to see that rent-charges are recovered. I hope that in all cases brought under their notice the Charity Commissioners will exercise care in the operation of the Allotments Act. I am glad to say there has been a great improvement in this respect in the last two years. The Charity Commissioners have shown a desire to get the poor lands for the benefit of the poor, and I hope the generosity shown during the last two years will be still further extended. With reference to the general administration of the Department, I congratulate the hon. Member for Penrith on having to defend a Department which has been doing exceedingly good work during the last few years.

(1.2.) **MR. COBB** (Warwick, S.E., Rugby): I have only a few questions to put to the hon. Member for Penrith. I am glad to see that in the case of several schemes in which I am personally interested the Commissioners have provided that certain Trustees shall be elected by vestries. I wish to know whether the Commissioners are going in future schemes to extend the policy of providing that the Trustees shall be elected by the vestries? I suggest it would be desirable generally to provide a larger number of elective Trustees than at present. In one case which I have in mind there are 12 Trustees, and only three have been chosen by the vestry. Again, there are many cases in which charities have failed to return accounts regularly to the Commissioners, and I should like to know whether the hon. Member can see his way to obtain more regular returns than are now obtained.

(1.5.) **MR. J. W. LOWTHER** (Cumberland, Penrith): I think that the hon. Member for the Bordesley Division will

*Sir Walter Foster*

hardly expect me to go into all the details of the Sutton Coldfield case. The hon. Member himself did not elaborate the case at any great length; he has done that on former occasions. He, of course, remembered perfectly that he brought the matter before the Endowed Schools Acts Committee, which sat for two years upstairs. He gave evidence on four or five occasions with regard to the Endowed Schools Act, and on several occasions with regard to the Sutton Coldfield scheme. **MR. RICHMOND**, the Charity Commissioner in charge of the case, was heard on the other side, and the Committee, a very strong Committee, who considered the matter very carefully, reported that in regard to the large endowment given by Henry VIII. to the borough of Sutton Coldfield, it was shown that the original gift contemplated the benefit of all classes of the inhabitants, the hon. Member contends that it was only for the poor, but the Committee found it contemplated the benefit of all classes, and reported that while the scheme of the Charity Commissioners proposes to devote a limited share to the endowment and promotion of higher education, it appropriates the larger part for the support of elementary schools and otherwise for the express benefit of the poor. I do not wish to go behind that, because it is the deliberate finding of the Committee, who considered the matter very carefully. The exact state of the scheme at present is that it rests with the Education Department, and it is not in the power of the Charity Commissioners either to withdraw it, or to press it on. The hon. Member is aware that schemes are submitted to the Education Department, and that it rests with that Department either to approve or reject them or to send them back to the Charity Commissioners for alteration. I am perfectly certain that everything which has fallen from the hon. Member for the Bordesley Division will be carefully considered by the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council [**SIR W. HART DYKE**: Hear, hear!] before he either approves or rejects the scheme which is now under consideration. I have no doubt the right hon. Gentleman is constantly receiving recommendations from those interested in the scheme, and therefore

the hon. Member may rest assured that his objections will be fully considered before the scheme becomes law. With regard to the remarks made by the hon. Member for Ilkeston (Sir W. Foster) and the hon. Member for the Rugby Division (Mr. Cobb), the Charity Commissioners have given a considerable proportion to the representative element in the appointment of Governors, and that policy is being continued and extended. In the case of very small charities it was very difficult to arrange for the election of Trustees *ad hoc*; it is an expensive thing besides, and accordingly, in those cases, the Commissioners take representative bodies, such as Local Boards, Vestries, or School Boards, and give them power to nominate Trustees on the Boards of Governors. In regard to the recovery of rent-charges, the Commissioners have certified to the Attorney General several cases in which they think there is sufficient evidence to enable him to recover. The point to be considered in each case, however, is whether the game is worth the candle. With regard to the accounts of charities, the hon. Member for Rugby is aware that the duty of returning the accounts rests with the Trustees of charities. The number of returns vary from time to time, but I think they are gradually increasing. It is the practice of the Commissioners to call for accounts as they may be wanted, to enable them to consider the circumstances of any particular charity, but there is no doubt that the action of County Councils will waken up Trustees of charities, and such pressure will be brought to bear upon them that they will be more regular in future in sending in their accounts to the office.

(1.14.) CAPTAIN VERNEY (Bucks, N.): I should like the hon. Gentleman (Mr. J. W. Lowther) to tell the Committee whether he considers that in his Department there is a sufficient staff to perform the duties imposed upon them. It is my belief they have nothing approaching the staff that is necessary, and if that is so, the hon. Gentleman ought not to be afraid to tell the Committee so. In the first instance, the Charity Commissioners were appointed to protect the small charities for the benefit of the poor. From time to time we bring before the House cases of charities misapplied and misappropriated, but it is not our duty

to do this: it is the duty of the Charity Commissioners to find out these cases of misappropriation. Take the case of a charity at Edmonton. Two or three years ago it was discovered that some of the money was going to the payment of a curate and organist, and even the washing of surplices. It was the duty of the Charity Commissioners to have found that out. I could give a number of such instances, and I should like the hon. Gentleman to tell us if it is true that the Commissioners have not got a staff large enough to enable them to perform all the duties for which they were primarily appointed. In the matter of accounts, too, I know of charities in my own county the accounts of which have not been sent in for years. It is the duty of the Commissioners, if not to audit the accounts, at least to insist upon them being sent in.

\*(1.20.) MR. CAVENDISH, BENTINOK (Whitehaven): Allow me to mention a matter which has been brought under my notice by a clergyman in the City of London, the Rev. Canon MacColl, of St. George's, Botolph Lane. He informs me that property which is applicable to the repair of that church has been appropriated by the Charity Commissioners, and that that being so there are no funds whatever that can be spent in maintaining the fabric. I should like to know from the hon. Member for Penrith if there is any rule which guides the Charity Commissioners in cases where funds applicable to the repair of churches have been appropriated.

MR. COBB: Can the hon. Member give us any idea of the proportion of cases in which accounts of charities have not been sent in?

\*(1.22.) MR. J. W. LOWTHER: I am afraid I cannot offhand answer the question of the hon. Member for Rugby. We do not know exactly how many charities there are. The number of charities is added to day by day, and as fast as we discover charities we add them to our books. We can tell how many accounts are sent in every year, and we state the number in our Report. I think there is some misconception as to the exact state of the law with regard to accounts. The Act of Parliament says that the Trustees of charities shall send in their accounts

to the Charity Commissioners every year. The Act does not say that we must require them every year, but that if we want them we are entitled to get them. If the duties suggested by the hon. and gallant Member for North Bucks (Captain Verney) fall on the Commissioners, we would require a very large staff of clerks and inspectors. At present there is no staff to carry out the suggestions of the hon. and gallant Member. If my right hon. Friend (Mr. Cavendish Bentinck) will look at the 7th Schedule of the scheme now laid on the Table of the House, dealing with the City Parochial Charities, he will find that the money appropriated for the annual maintenance, cleaning, and repair of the fabric, St. George's, Botolph Lane, is £41 a year, and the sum proposed to be allotted to the parish under the Scheme is £117 a year.

THE VICE PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL (Sir W. HART DYKE, Kent, Dartford): I promise the hon. Member for the Bordesley Division that I will look into the Sutton Coldfield Scheme.

Vote agreed to.

2. £5,087, to complete the sum for the Friendly Societies Registry.

\*(1.25.) MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton): If this Vote had been reached at anything like a reasonable period of the Session, it would have been my duty to have occupied the attention of the Committee for a very considerable time. Of course, that is now out of the question. Under the circumstances, I will confine myself to so much of the matter affecting the Chief Registrar of Friendly Societies as comes within Section 30 of the Friendly Societies Act, 1875. These include 3,000,000 of members, of whom half are adults. I regret that as the Committee sat for two years no kind of legislative action was taken either to amend the law or to inquire into some of the matters we found ourselves unable to examine into. I do trust that the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who I have reason to believe takes exceedingly great interest in this matter, will not allow the vacation again to pass without determining upon some action when next Session commences. As a Departmental Committee has been sitting and examining into the office of the Registrar of Friendly Societies, I also have to express my

*Mr. J. W. Lowther*

regret that no communication has been made by the Government which might have rendered it unnecessary for me to make some of the comments I feel it my duty to make. As to the Registrar of Friendly Societies, I quite agree that in past times he has done much service to the Friendly Societies. I do not want in any way to detract from the great services he certainly rendered in old times, but I am afraid that since 1875, from what I believe to be a mistaken view of the sections of the Act, he has made some of its provisions utterly useless to the people whom Parliament intended to benefit; and in consequence of the line he has thought it his duty to pursue, large frauds have been perpetrated which might have been stopped at a very early period. Section 10, Sub-section 5 of the Act, gives the Central Office power to collect and circulate, either generally or in any particular district, such information respecting life statistics and the bearings thereof on the business of Friendly Societies, and other information extracted from or founded on the balance sheets and returns useful to members of Friendly Societies as the Chief Registrar shall from time to time think fit. I submit that if it came to the knowledge of the Chief Registrar that a society was utterly insolvent and that its conductors were carrying it on fraudulently, it was his duty to circulate among the members and amongst the persons living in the district, by advertisement or otherwise, such information as should prevent members going on blindly paying. In 1888, in answer to a question put by myself, the Registrar told me he thought the construction of the Act was doubtful. In answer to Question 934 the Chief Registrar admitted that in 1875 there was a society which showed in its accounts a deficiency of £55,520. This was brought to the knowledge of the Registrar, and yet he did not communicate with any of the members of the society in any fashion, and the society went on for another eight years collecting the money of the poorest of the people, until in the end these people lost all their contributions. It was a very grave case, indeed, and investigation showed that, besides fraud upon the contributors, there had been absolute theft of securi-



tica. The facts were submitted to Mr. Mead, an eminent counsel, who advised a prosecution, and although the initiative rested with the Registrar, nothing was done. The people were defrauded, the scoundrels who defrauded them escaped, and all through the mistaken view of this gentleman, who did nothing to give effect to the intention of the Legislature. I am bound to say I cannot see the use of a Chief Registrar, who sits in his office merely to receive his salary, and to ignore reports brought before him of serious frauds. If it were earlier in the Session I should feel it to be my duty to take a vote in the Committee on the subject. It was the duty of the Chief Registrar to consult the Treasury; they did not know, but he was constituted to receive information. I cannot help saying it is a disgrace to our administration that there should be an official entrusted with the duty of communicating his knowledge to these poor ignorant people, but who does not fulfil that duty because the gravity of it does not come home to him. This case, there is every reason to suppose, does not stand alone, but looking at the fact that we are at the close of the Session, and that the House is literally empty, I now content myself with asking for an assurance from the Government that the Registrar shall not be allowed to neglect his duties for 12 months longer. If that assurance is not given I shall feel it my duty to call the attention of the House to the matter in a most serious manner. I appeal to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who, I know, takes an interest in matters affecting the promotion of habits of thrift among the people, to consider the advisability of providing a statutory inquiry in order that we may know how matters stand with other societies. I do not make the suggestion that many of them are fraudulent, but I do say that there is a class of these collecting societies whose procedure lends itself to fraud more than others—societies not conducted for the benefit of the members, but for the benefit of the few who make large incomes, often most unfairly. I know the difficulty when I ask the Government to introduce legislation, but remember this is a matter directly and indirectly affecting the interests of 14,000,000 of weekly payments

averaging 1½ made by the poorest classes among our people.

(1.36.) A LORD OF THE TREASURY (Sir HERBERT MAXWELL, Wigton): I am glad the hon. Member began his speech with an acknowledgment of the services performed by that public servant against whom the latter part of his speech was directed. No one who knows the history of the Registry of Friendly Societies, of its origin, and the many ambiguities which had to be interpreted before the Act of 1875 could be administered, but must endorse what was said by the hon. Member for Northampton in the earlier part of his speech. The hon. Member went on to express his regret that there has been no legislative result to the Report of the Committee of last year. But the Committee did not report until the end of a very late Session. That Report has been carefully considered, and a Bill has been drafted involving more difficulties in the framing than was perhaps present to the minds of Members of the Select Committee when they made their recommendations. Owing to the pressure of business that Bill never left the limbo of good intentions. But it is not lost sight of, and I trust another Session will not pass without legislative action being taken. The hon. Member has referred to the fact of the Report of the Departmental Committee not having been presented to the House, but it was never intended that it should be presented. The object of that Committee was to enable the Department to carry out such of the recommendations of the Select Committee as referred to the internal re-organisation of the Registry of Friendly Societies. Action has been taken on that portion of the recommendations. Considerable reforms have taken place within the Department. It is now organised in three branches, one under the immediate attention of the Assistant Registrar, another under the Actuary, and the third under the Chief Clerk. These changes involved various alterations, including structural additions to the building, with which I need not trouble the Committee now. I can assure the hon. Member that, although the Report of the Departmental Committee is confidential in character, it has been the means of carrying out some of the suggestions of

the Select Committee. The latter part of the hon. Member's speech included an attack upon Mr. Ludlow, and the hon. Member intended it as a very formidable indictment. But it resolves itself into this, that the interpretation put by the Registrar on a Sub-section of a Section of the Act of 1875 (an important Sub-section, I admit), differs from the interpretation put upon it by the hon. Member, and by a majority of the Members of the Select Committee. I agree that in my view, which is not worth much, for I am not a lawyer, the expressions in the Sub-section would bear, and seem to imply, the construction put upon the Sub-section by the hon. Member for Northampton. But that is not the view taken by every one. I have consulted Legal Authorities, and they are of opinion that the view of the Chief Registrar is perfectly consistent with the terms of statute. I admit that there exists in the public mind an impression that the Registry of Friendly Societies exists for the purpose of performing more paternal functions than has hitherto been the case, but I ask the Committee to remember this, that there is danger in assuming too much in a Department of this kind. If you teach the public to rely solely on warnings issued from time to time from the office of the Chief Registrar you teach them a dangerous lesson indeed. The vast amount of returns that have to be collected and gone over annually involves considerable delay before any warning can be issued, and during that delay are not members of Friendly Societies to be taught to think and act for themselves? Every Friendly Society has self-government more or less efficient.

\*MR. BRADLAUGH: If the hon. Gentleman will permit me, I think the Committee were aware that the element of self-government does not exist in collecting societies, or there are such huge difficulties in the way of it being exercised that practically it is non-existent.

\*SIR H. MAXWELL: Yes; but the Chief Registrar encourages members of Societies to improve their supervision. I admit at once the very serious nature of the case the hon. Member has cited. But 10 years ago the majority of the Friendly Societies in the country might have been returned as in an insolvent condition,

*Sir Herbert Maxwell*

but owing partly to the conduct of the Chief Registrar, and partly to the action of the Societies themselves, this financial condition has been greatly improved. The Chief Registrar, in consequence of the re-organisation of his office, is now better able than in the past to afford assistance to the members of these Societies, and he is certainly not a man to neglect to perform his duty.

\*(1.43.) MR. BRADLAUGH: I quite feel the difficulty of the Government. But let me say at once the interpretation of the words of the Act (which permit the Chief Registrar, if they do no more, to circulate information from time to time) the interpretation which prevented the Chief Registrar from circulating the information led to the people continuing for eight years to subscribe to a society which showed a deficiency of £55,000. Although I quite agree that it is far better for the members of a society to be taught to be self-reliant, here is the difficulty that an Act of Parliament passed in 1875 has done exactly the opposite, and has taught the people to rely on information to be communicated to them, and there is nothing here that restricts the Chief Registrar except the approval of the Treasury. I regret very much that a question affecting the interests of many millions of poor arouses so little interest in the Committee that only a few Members think fit to be present. I ask the First Lord of the Treasury to consider during the Recess whether it may not be possible to issue a small Statutory Commission—a Royal Commission is of no use—next year to inquire into the circumstances of several Societies into whose affairs the Committee that was appointed did not think itself entitled to inquire, but in connection with which there were grave allegations of fraud.

\*(1.45.) THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (MR. W. H. SMITH, Strand, Westminster): I will take care that this is very carefully considered.

Vote agreed to.

3. £109,747, to complete the sum for the Local Government Board.

4. £10,507, to complete the sum for the Lunacy Commission, England.

5. £25,000, to complete the sum for the Mercantile Marine Fund (Grant in Aid).

6. Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding \$45,711, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1891, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Mint, including the Expenses of Coinage."

(1.47.) Mr. MONTAGU (Tower Hamlets, Whitechapel): I do not like to pass from this Vote without taking the opportunity of making an appeal to the Government in favour of the adoption of a system of decimal coinage. I want an undertaking from the Government that a Select Committee or Royal Commission shall be appointed next Session to inquire whether the time has not at last arrived for establishing a decimal system of money, weights, and measures. I have spoken to the Chancellor of the Exchequer privately upon the subject, but the right hon. Gentleman did not see his way to grant this reasonable request; and I now wish to ask the right hon. Gentleman whether, since the interview, he has consulted his colleagues as to whether he can grant a Royal Commission to inquire into the subject?

THE CHAIRMAN: I must remind the hon. Member that I told him a year ago that the policy of decimal coinage is regulated by Statute.

\*Mr. MONTAGU: I desire to point out that I have spoken of decimal coinage upon this Vote: I only ask the Government to issue certain coins from the Mint to complete the decimal system initiated by the florin, and I think, with all due submission, as I seldom trouble the House or the Committee, that I am in order in discussing the question; and if I am allowed to do so, I shall deal with the question very briefly.

THE CHAIRMAN indicated his assent.

\*Mr. MONTAGU: I wish, in the first place, to remind the Committee that all foreign countries and several of our colonies have adopted this system of decimal coinage, and in no case has any one of these countries retraced its steps or regretted its change, while this country remains high and dry attached to the old system. I wish to ask why we should continue to enforce upon children in Board schools a complex arithmetical system which can be rendered

unnecessary by the introduction of a decimal system? When we waited upon the Chancellor of the Exchequer to press upon the right hon. Gentleman the advisability of adopting this system, or of giving it a trial, his answer was, he wanted a "popular cry." Well, there is a popular cry, and universal wherever the subject of decimal coinage is discussed. In fact, there is practical unanimity upon the subject. We have recently re-established a Decimal Association, and meetings have been held in England and Scotland with great success, there being no opposition to the system. On April the 9th, I would remind the Committee, the National Union of Teachers' Conference discussed the question, and they passed the following resolution:—

"Mr. Wright moved that the time had arrived when the interests of commerce and education demanded that a decimal system of money weights and measures should be introduced into this country. Mr. Wild seconded, and the matter was carried *unanimously*."

I scarcely know what the right hon. Gentleman calls a popular cry. The system has been adopted in Europe, Asia, Africa, and America, because it was found that the decimal system was an improvement, and in Ceylon, where the "public cry" was against the proposal, the system of decimal coinage was introduced notwithstanding, and after a little experience it was found to be a satisfactory change. Will the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer please say what kind of a "cry" he wants? Does not the right hon. Gentleman's own conscience cry out and tell him that it is a grievous wrong to inflict this complex system of calculation upon young minds when it could be so easily changed and so adequately remedied? I would remind the Committee that the Chambers of Commerce were to be found in favour of the change; that School Boards will, I think, approve of the proposal, and I believe that the majority of Members in this House would vote in favour of its adoption. I would ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer to make an experiment and issue tenths and twentieths of a florin, and I believe the result would be found to be satisfactory, and the bankers, with other associations, would voluntarily adopt the decimal system. At all events, I believe a case has been made out

of an inquiry into the matter; and considering that compulsory education has advanced to such a degree, and the duty we owe to the working classes, I think that the matter deserves the serious attention of the Government. I would also wish to ask if the Chancellor of the Exchequer has inquired from Foreign Mints as to the greater durability of their gold coin? Our experiments were made some six or seven years ago, but the test applied was not a good one, as the friction applied in revolving boxes has not the same effect as regular circulation. It is necessary for us to have as durable a metal as any other country in the world. The experiments prove that Germany, France, and the United States have a far more durable coinage than ours. I have had a letter from a former Treasurer of State in the United States, in which he said upon this subject—

"If you will take, say, 20,000 pieces, selected by years, you will, in my opinion, find that the English silver loses very much more through abrasion than the American silver coin, or, in fact, than any other silver coin 900 fine. Silver coin 900 fine seems to be of the exact fineness best adapted for their use as coin, and I think the French and German experiences will bear me out in this assertion. Your silver is too fine and too soft. It makes a more beautiful piece, but it certainly does not wear as well as the coin 900 fine. I believe you can prove this statement fully by an examination of 20,000, because I found in the course of my experiments that the 20,000 pieces furnished with greater exactness the same average as a larger number."

The Report of the French Mint last year upon this subject was far more reliable, as the experiments were conducted on a rectangular table making nine oscillations in a minute, the table being covered with sheet brass, zinc, sheet iron, marble, sprinkled with sand, and powdered pumice stone, &c. Some interesting and important facts relating to the wear of gold coin were ascertained by these experiments. One result was that they did not establish the fact that the half sovereign is, as the noble Lord the Member for Paddington called it, a costly and extravagant coin. The latter criticism was founded on the insufficient ground that working men were more easily tempted to change a half sovereign in a public house, as if they could not change it with equal ease at the baker's, the butcher's, or the grocer's. Yet another ground of objection is the cost-

*Mr. Montagu*

liness of the coin; and if that could be disproved, then I think that the whole substantial objection falls to the ground. I notice from the Report of the Mint that no half sovereigns have been coined for several years. I ask the Government not to run short of this very useful coin. I should also like to say a word or two about the silver coins. The Chancellor of the Exchequer told us that last year we made £700,000 or £800,000 by coining silver. He has been very lucky in obtaining a very large quantity of silver below the present market prices. I think he has now an abundant and even an excessive supply. I do not think, however, we ought to make a profit on our gold and silver coinage. The coins should be honest coins, and should only bear the exact cost of the mintage. I believe that in November next the Chancellor of the Exchequer contemplates renewing a considerable portion of the gold coinage, and I think this will afford us an excellent opportunity of considering the advisability of adopting decimal coinage, and also of seeing whether our coins cannot be made more durable. From the Report of the French Mint this year I gather that the cost of rehabilitating the French gold in circulation is estimated at from 1,300,000 frs. to 1,400,000 frs. per milliard, or from £52,000 to £56,000 per £40,000,000. That is about 1½ per mille, whereas the cost of restoring our gold circulation to a good condition is estimated at over 1 per cent., or about eight times the proportionate cost of restoring to a good condition the French gold circulation. This means a difference of over £500,000, and that outlay would not occur but for the faulty type and composition of our coins. I am afraid that our coins are badly made, and that the milled edges cause greater friction than is desirable. I have made these remarks in no hostile spirit. I trust the Government will grant an inquiry into this matter, and that it does not intend to perpetuate a system which entails the waste of hundreds of thousands of pounds.

\*(2.4.) THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON, Leeds, N.): I am sorry my right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer is detained elsewhere by pressing business, for I am sure he would have been glad

to listen to the hon. Member's interesting speech—a speech in the course of which he has touched upon several questions which it will not be necessary for me to reply to in detail. Of course, I will convey what he has said to the right hon. Gentleman. I am not sure that the French estimates of which the hon. Member has spoken, as to the cost of renewing their gold coin, may not prove to be inaccurate. The hon. Member spoke about foreign coin being more durable than ours. I know that this question has been constantly before the Mint Authorities; I have had myself several conversations with them upon the subject. They have been making experiments, and they have come to the conclusion that our coin is as durable as the coin of foreign countries. I think we should be guided by those who are competent to make these tests. The hon. Gentleman has spoken of the supply of silver. Well, there was a large circulation of silver last year, and this year, too, a considerable amount has been circulated; while that is the case, of course the Mint must meet the demand so far as they can. In reference to the decimal coinage, I do not think I should be justified in entering upon the subject, and I hope the hon. Member will be satisfied with having drawn attention to the matter, and rest assured that the Chancellor of the Exchequer will be informed of his remarks.

(2.7.) **SIR G. CAMPBELL** (Kirkcaldy, &c.): In regard to the remarks of the hon. Member for the Tower Hamlets upon decimal coinage, if it had not been for the action of the invincible Chinaman in taking the existing multiple we should not have had all this trouble. But while I do not wish to deal with that portion of the subject, I desire to call the attention of the House to the practice of putting the English emblem of St. George and the Dragon upon sovereigns. In regard to this matter, I have already called attention to it; but the Chancellor of the Exchequer will give me no satisfaction at all. This emblem does not represent an English tradition; it is not a Scotch tradition; nor is it an Irish tradition. At all events, whatever may be the tradition, the coins are common to the three countries, and should not bear such a device. As long as the memory of man goes back, there has

been no such emblem upon gold coins; at any rate not for the last 50 years, nor, I believe, for the last 150 years. In the days of George III. there was something like it, but not exactly the same. I hold it to be fictitious, unnecessary, and uncalled for. I also want to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer what he is going to put upon the half sovereign. I understand that the half sovereign is not now being coined, so we have no opportunity of seeing what it is going to be like. I notice that the Secretary to the Treasury shakes his head, but I assure the Committee that the stoppage of the half sovereign would be a great grievance to Scotland; I very much prefer that coin; indeed, Scotchmen do like half sovereigns very much. I wish to know from the First Lord of the Treasury if the Government are going to put this insulting emblem of St. George and the Dragon upon the half sovereign as well as upon the sovereign? I beg to move the reduction of the Vote by £100.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That £45,611 be granted for the said Service."—(*Sir George Campbell.*)

\*(2.11.) **MR. W. H. SMITH**: The hon. Gentleman has got his remedy. It is a very serious indictment which he has brought against the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Let him exhibit the articles of impeachment against my right hon. Friend in order that Parliament may fully consider the serious gravity of the charge which the hon. Member has made.

**SIR G. CAMPBELL**: I will not press the matter about the sovereign if I can get an answer about the half sovereign.

\*(2.12.) **MR. W. H. SMITH**: The hon. Gentleman has been informed that the coinage of half sovereigns will be continued. I cannot tell him whether St. George and the Dragon is to be put on the gold coins.

**SIR G. CAMPBELL**: I hope my suggestion will be favourably considered by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Why not put the value on the coin, instead of this insulting emblem?

**SIR W. LAWSON** (Cumberland, Cockermouth): May I suggest as a compromise that, instead of St. George and the Dragon, we should put on "Sir George and the Dragon."

\*(2.13.) **SIR R. FOWLER** (London): I give the hon. Member for Whitechapel notice that if he raises the question of decimal coinage next year I shall vote against him.

**SIR G. CAMPBELL**: As the question of what shall appear on the half sovereign is not finally decided, I beg leave to withdraw my Motion for a reduction.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Original Question put, and agreed to.

7. £9,231, to complete the sum for the National Debt Office.

8. £6,494, to complete the sum for the Public Works Loan Commission.

9. £14,636, to complete the sum for the Record Office.

(2.15.) **MR. LABOUCHERE** (Northampton): I just want to call attention to one or two points. First, as to the historical records. We are told that the first volume is now out of print. Surely it is absurd, seeing that these works have cost so much money, that one should be now unable to buy the complete set of eight volumes. I hope this matter will be looked into. Another point to which I wish to call attention is that of the Venetian archives, which have been prepared under the editorship of the late Mr. Rawdon Brown. I understand that it has been arranged that another Mr. Brown shall continue this work at Venice. But I believe that Mr. Rawdon Brown has handed over a large number of transcripts, and that many of the archives are in the hands of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Whitehaven. I think that there should be some understanding with Mr. Brown that a list should be furnished to him of the copies which are in this country, so that he may not waste time in sending over duplicates.

(2.17.) **MR. CAVENDISH BENTINCK** (Whitehaven): I know nothing about the appointment of any new editor at Venice to carry out the work of my lamented friend Mr. Rawdon Brown. I have only heard the report with regard to the question of transcripts. Mr. Rawdon Brown during the many years that he held the office of editor of the Venetian archives received annually a sum of money for purchasing transcripts for the Record

Office. A very large number of these have not yet been calendared, and still remain in the hands of the authorities. But besides those documents which have been paid for out of public money, Mr. Brown, who has made me his literary executor, left me a large number of transcripts which do not belong to the State. The volume of which I have been requested by the Master of the Rolls to take charge brings the archives down to the year 1580, and the next volume will go down, perhaps, 20 years later. I really do not know what policy the Master of the Rolls and his assistants have determined to carry out with regard to future volumes of the work, but I would suggest that there is no necessity whatever for going to any large expenditure in employing an editor in Venice to make abstracts of those transcripts which are now in England. I shall be glad, on conditions, to hand over the transcripts which belong to me personally to the Record Office, and all that it will be necessary to do at Venice will be to see that the transcribers have made no omission. I may point out what I consider to be a great disadvantage in this particular work, namely, that the abstracts are far too voluminous, and I will suggest that a new system may be adopted by which they may be shortened. The transcripts will appear in the original language, and at a much less cost the abstracts might briefly point out to any inquirer where the particular information can be obtained. If that system is adopted the public will be able to obtain much more accurate information in the original language than under the present system.

(2.22.) **MR. HOWELL** (Bethnal Green, N.E.): I hope that Members of Parliament will not be deprived of the opportunity of having copies of the records which they require in the ordinary way.

(2.23.) **MR. JACKSON**: My attention has not been called to that point, but I will make inquiries. With reference to the question of the hon. Member for Northampton, I will make inquiries at the Record Office as to the volumes of the historical manuscripts. As to the transcripts, I understand that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Whitehaven is quite willing to facilitate the future work, and that, I

think, answers the question of the hon. Member.

Vote agreed to.

10. £34,118, to complete the sum for the Registrar General's Office, England.

11. £355,182, to complete the sum for Stationery and Printing.

12. £17,875, to complete the sum for the Woods, Forests, and Land Revenues, &c. Office.

\*(227.) **SIR G. CAMPBELL**: I have to protest against the action of Mr. Culley, the Commissioner of this office, with regard to the way in which he has made away with the rights of the Crown in Scotland in respect to salmon fishing, to the detriment of the public and the advantage of landed proprietors. I think that an exhaustive inquiry should always be made in connection with these matters. The Commission did not go North to inquire into cases affecting fisheries on the North-East Coast.

**SIR HERBERT MAXWELL**: Yes; evidence was taken.

\***SIR G. CAMPBELL**: Well, no evidence was taken on the spot. Formerly, if a man fishing off the coast happened to catch a salmon, he esteemed it a good piece of luck; but now all sorts of claims are made upon him. I do not think the answers given by Mr. Culley to the Commission on the points on which I had made complaints against him were at all satisfactory; indeed, they seemed to imply that he would do the same thing again. Mr. Culley has endeavoured to justify his action, and there is every reason to suppose that if he had the chance he would repeat it. This is what I complain of. I say that the Crown rights and the foreshores should not be made away with without consulting the interests of the local and general public, and I say that those rights and the way in which they are to be administered was not sufficiently considered by the Commission. Again, the Committee of this House undoubtedly made an excellent Report as to the management of farms and so forth; but the main question is, as to whether the rights of the Crown should be administered as public rights in the interests of the community or whether they should be

administered as if they were the interests of private property. The question of foreshore is a very important one. Up to the time the Commissioners had control of the Scotch foreshores, namely, 1886, I find that they made away wholesale with the public rights in the interests of the landlords. But within the last few years the rights have been conferred on the Board of Trade. Mr. Culley is, I believe, still impenitent, and I trust that means will be taken to prevent these rights being made away with in the future. I shall now content myself with the protest I have made.

\*(233.) **MR. PRITCHARD MORGAN** (Merthyr Tydvil): I desire to call attention to the gold mining industry in Wales, with which I am particularly connected. It is within the knowledge of the House that for two or three years endeavours have been made to promote what promised to be an exceedingly important mining industry, the facts regarding which I will endeavour briefly to put before the Committee. It was not until a large sum of money had been expended in this industry that the Commissioners of Woods and Forests took any action in the matter. It was then that they made a claim which has since been established in the Court of Chancery, whose decision was in favour of the rights of the Crown to a percentage of the products of the mines which are being worked on the freehold lands of Her Majesty's subjects. Those lands have been so held for generations, and no claim to enter upon or work them has been made by the Crown, and were it not that this claim on the part of the Crown is one which absolutely stifles the industry, I should not trouble the Committee. It is well known that the precious metals are difficult to obtain; indeed, were this not so, they would no longer be precious. As it is, £1 out of every £5 which is expended in working the mines is lost; but of late years the advance of science has enabled a class of low grade ores to be worked at a profit, provided miners are not hampered by unjust claims. Take the case of the Australian Colonies, where gold is produced in large quantities. We find there that the Governments of the respective colonies foster and encourage the gold mining industry in every way, the great wealth



of these colonies being almost solely dependent on their mineral productions. In Victoria, where gold is obtained in large quantities, an attempt was made some years ago on the part of the Government to impose a royalty of 1s. 6d. per oz. The effect of that claim was to shut up one-half of the mines, and serious disturbances were occasioned as between the Authorities and the mining community, which resulted, I am sorry to say, in the loss of a great number of lives. The consequence was that the tax imposed by the Crown was abandoned. We now find that the colony of New South Wales regularly subscribes £20,000 per annum to assist prospectors in the discovery of the precious metals, and when they are found the prospectors are allowed to dig for them to their own profit, but, of course, at their own expense, no royalty whatever being charged. In Victoria £80,000 a year is allowed for prospecting purposes in exactly the same way. In none of the colonies is there any claim for royalty, because it is felt that any such claim would stifle the industry. If we were to take any business carried on in the United Kingdom, the result of any claim for a portion of the product would be to shut up one-half of those industries. What has been the result of the claim of 3½ per cent. insisted on by the Crown on the products of the Welsh mines? Why, that whereas five or six years ago 600 men were employed in this industry now not a single man is so employed. The Crown right was exercised as far back as the time of Elizabeth with similar results, and, indeed, the industry has always been stopped whenever the royalty has been insisted upon. Never has that industry had the same chance of success as it has now. Large sums have been expended on the erection of machinery and the purchase of plant, and we say that any charge made by the Government should be made on the profits and not on the products of the mines. I have endeavoured to induce the Commissioners of Woods and Forests to make this change, but they refuse. If you take £100 as a basis you will find it will employ 100 men for a week, at the end of which £103 worth of gold is produced, leaving a profit of 3 per cent. on the weekly turnover, but if 3½ per cent. is taken by the Government

*Mr. Pritchard Morgan*

the product is necessarily obtained at a loss, without reckoning the capital employed in plant and machinery. It is sufficient to have to pay heavy rents to the landlords, and even then we are heavily handicapped as compared with other industries. The Government know that I take great interest in this matter, and have been compelled to go into the Court of Chancery to obtain a decision on this subject. I appeal to the Government to consider this matter in the interest of the country generally, remembering that the establishment of the gold mining industry would give employment and fair wages to a considerable number of working men. In the colony of Queensland alone we have the means of producing £1,500,000 per annum from the Crown lands, and though the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General may think that we ought not to take a lesson from those young countries, I contend that our gold-producing colonies afford an example we should follow if we are desirous of developing the industry of gold mining in this country. In New South Wales we have the same state of things in regard to silver. There is a mine there which has paid £1,250,000 dividend on the silver obtained. In this country we find that for many years no less than £50,000 or £60,000 has been obtained on the silver produced, but no claim whatever has been made by the Commissioners of Woods and Forests to royalty upon that production. Silver, however, is as much a royalty-bearing mineral as gold, and I cannot understand the reason why it should escape when royalty is charged on the other metal. The Government need not be afraid that we shall make enormous profits out of the concessions we ask for. For many years we have not made 2½ per cent. on our outlay, and therefore the industry is not one that ought to be specially taxed. I would ask the Committee to bear in mind that some of us have embarked every shilling we have in the world in developing the gold-mining industry in Wales, and all we now ask is that the Government should consider this matter in a fair and liberal spirit, and abandon the royalty charged on products and transfer it to profits. I do not wish to dictate what proportion of profits they should take, but I do ask

them to make the change I have suggested. Under the circumstances that would be a graceful act on the part of the Government, and would be taken as an acknowledgment of their desire to assist in developing an industry that would give the means of employment to a considerable number of people.

(2.46.) THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir R. WEBSTER, Isle of Wight): I think it will be well if I rise at once to say what I have to state in answer to the hon. Member for Merthyr. The question he has raised is one of great importance, namely, as to whether it is possible to alter the basis on which royalties are charged on the products of the gold-mining industry. There is a good deal of misunderstanding on the question of royalties upon gold and silver. It is sometimes assumed that those royalties belong to Her Majesty in her own right; but that is not the case. The right has long been surrendered, and it is now a taxpayers' question, and not one as to the prerogative rights of the Queen herself. No doubt if some satisfactory basis could be arrived at for collecting the royalty on profits, that might be a solution of the question, but that involves other very large questions. For instance, it involves the necessity of a somewhat careful inquiry into the way in which the undertakings are carried on, and a kind of criticism and examination of the accounts of the promoters of these industries. That, of course, the promoters would be very unwilling to submit to. Consequently the question is by no means an easy and a simple one. It is only during the last few days that the hon. Member has communicated with me on the subject. I cannot give a pledge at the present time, but I understand that the hon. Member is willing to prepare a Memorandum stating his views upon this subject; and I can assure the hon. Member that any such Memorandum shall be most carefully considered by the Woods and Forests Department and also by myself. It is impossible, however, for the Government to go further at the present time. Their experience is that the system is not open to the objections to which the hon. Member has called attention. It may be owing to the peculiarities of the undertaking in which the hon. Member

is engaged that the result to him and to those associated with him has been unfortunate; but it seems to me that any such change as is suggested could only be brought about after an examination of all the circumstances, and after a conclusion has been arrived at that the taxpayers would not sustain any loss.

\*(2.54.) MR. PRITCHARD MORGAN: I thank the hon. and learned Gentleman for what he has just stated; but I would remind him that whereas only £17 2s. 11d. was taken as royalty from this industry during 22 years prior to my taking it up, it has since paid something like £2,000—a circumstance which in itself is deserving of careful consideration. There are 26,000 acres of Crown lands surrounding my works, and if I am successful I shall add immensely to the value of that property, so that the Crown will derive enormous benefit from the development of this industry. I have not given the hon. and learned Gentleman the Memorandum to which he has referred. If the hon. and learned Gentleman will grant me an interview I will lay before him all the facts of the case; and I think there need be no difficulty whatever in shifting the royalty from products to profits. At present royalties, in the shape of Income Tax, are charged on the profits of every industry in the country, and it is hardly likely that anyone would waste the profits to which he is entitled simply for the purpose of robbing the Government of their proportion.

(2.57.) MR. LLOYD-GEORGE (Carnarvon, &c.): I wish to put a question in reference to the Gwylwyn Sett Quarry at Pistyll, in Carnarvonshire, as to which I have asked several questions already, and with regard to which I have placed on the Paper a notice of my intention to call attention to the way in which it is administered. If the Secretary to the Treasury can now make some statement on the subject, which will be of a satisfactory nature, I shall rest satisfied with having now mentioned the subject. I should like to know what is the present state of the negotiations with reference to that quarry?

MR. JACKSON: The hon. Member was good enough to give me notice that he would ask this question, and I have made inquiry on the subject at the Office

of the Commissioners of Woods and Forests. I am informed that the negotiations have not yet been brought to an end, and therefore it is not possible for me to give him a complete answer on the present occasion. I understand that the object of the hon. Member is to secure, if possible, that that quarry shall not be let to somebody who will not work it, and I regard that as a perfectly reasonable object. The usual course is to insert a clause in the lease insisting that the quarry shall be worked. I understand that if the present negotiations are successful the quarry will be worked. I am obliged to the hon. Member for the information he has afforded me by letter.

(3.0.) MR. J. O'CONNOR (Tipperary, S.): The fact that I have been down in the district alluded to by the hon. Member for Merthyr (Mr. Pritchard Morgan) must be my excuse for saying to the Attorney General that I do not think his reply has been altogether satisfactory. I am not surprised that the hon. and learned Gentlemen should look at the matter from a different point of view from that of the hon. Member himself, but I cannot see how, if the hon. Member's proposal were adopted, the taxpayer would be involved in any speculation or any wastefulness. Nor can I see how there would be any greater difficulty in collecting a tax on produce in respect of mines than there is in collecting a tax on spirits or beer.

SIR R. WEBSTER: That tax is not on profits.

MR. J. O'CONNOR: Well, it is practically on profits. It appears that a tax on the product is a tax on labour. That has been proved to be practically the case, because since a tax on the product has been insisted on by the Crown the labour has ceased. It is undoubtedly a fact that this money has been invested, and the money remains sunk in the property. I am sure there is a desire in the minds of Members of this House that some way should be found out of the present difficulty. I have no doubt that if the Attorney General, acting on behalf of the taxpayer and the public, would meet the hon. Member, they would find a way out of it.

Vote agreed to.

Mr. Jackson

13. £33,540, to complete the sum for the Works and Public Buildings Office.

(3.4.) SIR G. CAMPBELL: The Office of Works have succeeded in forming the outside of Westminster Hall into the semblance of a church sunk in a hole. The other day a reply was given which attributed the defects in the building not to the present Board of Works, but to a Board of Works of the time of William Rufus.

THE CHAIRMAN: Any examination of the buildings undertaken or constructed by this Office must be confined to the Vote in Class I. This is a question of the personnel and organisation of the Office.

SIR G. CAMPBELL: My desire is to move a reduction of the salary of the First Commissioner on account of his not sufficiently looking after the work, and allowing bad work to be done. The outside of Westminster Hall is of the nature of a kind of confused backgammon board, with good stones and bad stones alternating.

THE CHAIRMAN: The order must be preserved. This question can only be raised on Class I.

Vote agreed to.

14. £20,000, to complete the sum for Secret Service.

(3.7.) MR. LABOUCHERE: This Vote is an instance of the great objection, there is to taking Votes at the end of the Session, when it is impossible to discuss them. A considerable number of Members on this side of the House are opposed to any money being employed in this manner, but it is farcical to attempt to discuss the Estimates properly at this period of the Session. This is the only reason why I shall not go into the matter and ask the Committee to divide. But I think I ought to enter a protest, and to say that a considerable number of Members on this side of the House decidedly object to the Vote. The right hon. Gentleman will remember that in the case of Mr. Anderson it came out that he was an *employé* in one of the public Departments, that his salary was voted by the House, and that year after year a considerable sum out of the Secret Service money was given to him to augment his annual income. I thought there had been a full under-

standing that whenever anyone whose salary was on the Estimates received anything in excess of that salary it should be stated in a foot-note. I may, therefore, legitimately ask whether there are any other gentlemen whose salaries are on the Estimates at present, and who receive a permanent increase of their incomes out of the Secret Service Fund?

MR. JACKSON: I can give the hon. Member an assurance that, as far as I know and believe, there is absolutely nothing of the kind.

Vote agreed to.

15. £124, Supplementary, for the Charitable Donations and Bequests Office, Ireland.

### CLASS III.

16. £47,500, to complete the sum for Law Charges.

(3.10.) SIR G. CAMPBELL: I beg to move to reduce the Vote by £500, the salary of the Public Prosecutor. What I have to say is in regard to the non-intervention of the Public Prosecutor in the matter of the great public frauds and scandals which are taking place every day in connection with the promotion of bogus companies and matters of that kind. It is a very pressing matter. You cannot take up a newspaper without seeing numerous trials and other reports in which these proceedings are dealt with. Only the other day I saw an account of a company having been got up with a capital of something like £290,000, £190,000 of which was spent in promotion money. The grossest frauds have been perpetrated, and I cannot see why, in cases of this kind, the Public Prosecutor should not intervene, as he would do in other countries. I do not refer to this matter in order to bring a charge against the Public Prosecutor himself. He is an acquaintance of mine, and has always treated me very civilly. I am glad the Attorney General is here, because the rules bearing upon the Public Prosecutor were prepared by the right hon. and learned Gentleman, and what I have to complain of is these rules. No doubt the Public Prosecutor is a very useful institution. No doubt his action is beneficial in regard to thieves and wife murderers, and so on, but useful as he may be his action is not so essential

in such matters as it is in regard to the subject with which I am dealing, because it is obvious that the police can deal with cases of that sort without the advice of the heads of a Parliamentary Department. You do not provide prosecutions for the frauds to which I have alluded, although I think the law is strong enough to touch those frauds, but it is a question of initiating a prosecution. That which is everybody's business is nobody's business. You do not find members of the public very ready to throw good money after bad, and, therefore, I say that it is in cases of this nature, when the public have been defrauded by the promoters of bogus companies, that you want the action of the Public Prosecutor. By the existing system you establish a Public Prosecutor, who is told that he is not to prosecute when there is reasonable probability that private persons will undertake the work. You say he is only to act in cases where private persons fail to prosecute. When one looks at the proceedings in Courts of Justice, it is palpable that there are numerous cases in which private prosecutions fail, because it strikes most people as a monstrous folly to throw thousands of good pounds after hundreds of bad. Even when in cases of this kind private individuals do prosecute, in 99 cases out of 100 you do not find the fraudulent promoters of companies brought to justice. There may be some objection to introducing a personal matter, but there is a particular matter in which I have had some personal experience, and I would refer to it as an illustration of my case. It touches somewhat on the privileges of this House. In the case to which I refer, a compulsory winding-up order has already been obtained against a company, and, therefore, the case is not *sub judice*. I am one of those cautious people who never in my life, until the other day, took a share in any one of these companies. But at the beginning of last year I fell into a trap, in common with a large number of other Members in this House, and of Members in the other House of Parliament, and in company, I may say, with a great many respectable people. This was one of the newest form of companies purporting to act on co-operative lines. The old Co-operative Associations having proved successful, a form of fraud has been

adopted on the lines of Co-operative Associations. People get up bogus companies under the name of Co-operative Societies. Well, at the beginning of last year we did not know what we do now, and hon. Members were pestered—as we all are from day to day—by a circular issued on behalf of persons who wanted to sell coals. As the world cannot get on without coals, and as every householder has, to some extent, to deal in them, I thought it would not be a bad thing to be relieved of all difficulty in the matter of my coal supply. A Coal Consumers' Supply Association's Circular was sent to me, and, as I say, I, in common with a large number of other people, fell into the trap. I paid £54 into the company, and I may here remark that I have no interest in this matter, because my £54 is gone. I took the shares, because I saw that the concern was to be administered on co-operative principles, and because I saw that the Council of Administration numbered many Members of this House, many Members of the other House, and a number of retired Indian civil servants. I thought it would be a good thing, and I did not for a moment dream that it would not be otherwise than honestly managed. [*Cries of "Divide!"*] After I had paid my money, I found every one of these gentlemen repudiated the use of his name, saying that he had given no authority for it to be used. I maintain that it was almost a breach of privilege of the House to use the name of Members of the House in this fraudulent way. [*Cries of "Divide!"*] We formed an association of shareholders, and applied to the Court. The Court decided in our favour, and I hold, therefore, that the case ought to be looked upon as a criminal matter, and the Public Prosecutor ought to take up the subject and inquire into it. As a matter of fact, I went to the Public Prosecutor, who received me very kindly, but told me nothing could be done. He said that we must prove our case first and prosecute afterwards. We did our best to prove our case. We went into Court, and Mr. Justice Kay decided in our favour. He decided that our names ought to be removed from the list of shareholders, because we had been misled by the fraudulent use of those names. We tried to bring these men to justice. We spent £2,000 or

*Sir G. Campbell*

£3,000, and obtained an order for the compulsory winding up of the company. It is now being wound up—[*Cries of "Divide!"*—but I do not see that the Public Prosecutor is taking action in order to bring these men to justice. It seems that the promoters of the company are claiming a right to appeal, as the case has been decided in favour of the shareholders. That appeal has not yet come on, and Heaven only knows when it will. [*Cries of "Question!"* and "*Divide!"*] It is not likely that the shareholders will bring a criminal prosecution against these promoters, as they will not care to throw good money after bad. My point is that, in a case of this kind, the Public Prosecutor ought to move in the matter. [*Cries of "Divide!"*]

(3.22.) MR. H. H. FOWLER (Wolverhampton, E.): I should be sorry to see public money expended in protecting Members of this House from unfortunate investments, and I must say I think the present Secretary to the Treasury is too strong a guardian of the public purse to allow the public to spend those thousands which private shareholders will not spend. I must accentuate the protest made a short time ago by the hon. Gentleman the Member for Northampton. This is a Vote on which I should have liked to raise a discussion on a question of public policy as to the position of the Law Officers of the Crown, and the desirability, or otherwise, of their devoting their full time to the Public Service. I should like to raise this question of public policy, but it would be a waste of the time of the House and an abuse of the Forms of the House to go into such a question at the present period of the Session, and looking at the present attenuated state of the House. When next Session comes, however, we must claim, and I hope we shall succeed in obtaining, an early consideration of some of these important Estimates. This question may then be properly raised. At present I pass this Vote, as I shall pass them all, *sub silentio*. I rose for the purpose of reserving the point I had in my mind to a more proper occasion.

(3.24.) SIR R. WEBSTER: In my opinion it would be the worst possible step in connection with the office of Public Prosecutor if it were to be thought that it was the duty of this official to



undertake the vindication of the rights of private individuals in civil matters, and the grievances of the many individuals who feel as sore as the hon. Gentleman opposite does at the loss of his £54. The rules sanctioned by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Edinburgh (Mr. Childers) and Lord Herschell, and drafted by myself, have now been in force four years, and, I think, have been found to work admirably. If you wish to make the Public Prosecutor take up such matters in order to redress civil wrongs which assume the aspect of criminal fraud, you would have to add four or five times the present amount in this Vote. The time of the Public Prosecutor would be taken up almost wholly with these cases, and you would require a staff two or three times as large as the existing staff. Speaking from my own experience, I must say that I shall be bound to resist as strongly as I can any attempt to put the burden of applying remedies which ought to be undertaken by the people aggrieved on the shoulders of the public. If I may say so, without intending to refer to anybody in this House who may have been entrapped by fraudulent companies, anyone who has been fool enough to invest his money in bogus companies should vindicate his own rights, and not expect it to be done at the expense of the public. With regard to the point which the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Wolverhampton opposite desires to raise, no one can feel more strongly than I do the importance of it. There have, however, been two Debates upon it in this Session and last. Still, I thoroughly understand that the right hon. Gentleman wishes to reserve his position and not to commit himself by allowing the Vote to pass unchallenged.

(3.29.) **SIR G. CAMPBELL:** The two gentlemen who have spoken are two lawyers saturated with English law, and it would require a surgical operation to get into their heads the notion that the Criminal Law ought not to be put in force by private individuals, but ought to be put in force by the Public Prosecutor. I do not suggest that the Public Prosecutor ought to operate so as to uphold civil rights; but I maintain that in such a case as that I have mentioned, we ought to have the same remedy against persons who make us the victims of their fraudulent

transactions as we should have against anyone who picked our pocket. No doubt, if cases of this kind were dealt with by the Public Prosecutor, we should require a more extensive Department, but that, I maintain, we ought to have. [*Cries of "Divide!"*]

Vote agreed to.

17. £43,133, to complete the sum for Miscellaneous Legal Expenses.

18. £263,900, to complete the sum for the Supreme Court of Judicature and Land Registry.

19. £396,886, to complete the sum for County Courts.

20. £12,594, to complete the sum for Police Courts, London and Sheerness.

(3.30.) **MR. LABOUCHERE:** I have frequently divided the House on the subject of this Vote, because I consider that the country outside London is being robbed by it. I will not discuss the matter now, because such a discussion as is now possible would not be consistent with the dignity of the House.

Vote agreed to.

21. £456,701, to complete the sum for Prisons, England and the Colonies.

(3.31.) **MR. J. O'CONNOR:** I am sorry I cannot enter into the spirit of the arrangement which has been referred to from the Front Opposition Bench, but I cannot allow the Vote to pass *sub silentio*. In bringing under the notice of the Committee the treatment of certain prisoners in Chatham Prison, I shall be obliged to call attention to a Report issued by the Visitors to the prison last year. I wish to dissociate the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary from many of the animadversions I shall have to make on the treatment of the prisoners except in one respect. The charge I have to make is that the prisoners whose case I intend to bring under the notice of the Committee have been treated with special severity. The truth of the statements made during the past few years concerning the treatment of these prisoners was denied by the Home Secretary, but they were so persisted in that the right hon. Gentleman gave instructions for a Special Committee of Visitors to investigate them and make a Report to him. That Report states that no special feeling

existed in the minds of the officials with regard to these men, but the Report is founded only on the evidence of the accused parties. No account is taken of the statements of the prisoners themselves; but if their statements are only to be set aside as worthless, why were they asked to make statements at all? That there was special feeling on the part of the officials of the prison towards the prisoners I will show from the statements of some of the prisoners themselves. There is, first, the statement made by Henry H. Wilson. He complains that the line of treatment to which he and others have been subjected has been decidedly harsh and unjust; that it differs from that to which the ordinary class of prisoners have been subjected, and that the difference is due to the political nature of the offence. He says—

“The bitter hatred of the average Chatham officer to the Irish Fenian makes itself felt in a thousand ways.”

And he complains of the fostering of this spirit of hatred by the authorities. In Millbank Prison he says he never experienced a single annoyance, being treated like an ordinary prisoner. Another prisoner, Egan, says—

“The officers employed another prisoner to give me a piece of newspaper so as to get me punishment.”

He says—

“Prisoner afterwards told me he was put on me by an officer.”

Daly, another prisoner, says in his evidence that one of the officers said to him—

“The great trouble with you fellows is that some of the officers here cannot get out of their heads the crime you are charged with.”

These statements show that these men were specially selected by the warders for petty persecution because of the crime they were charged with and because of the sentences they received. When sent to Chatham Prison, the prisoners were determined to behave themselves properly. I believe they were a class of men who would feel it to be to their interest to conform to the rules of the prison, and endeavour to get their sentences mitigated if possible. One of them—a man named James M'Grath—was studying Spanish in prison with the view of getting

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employment on his release as a sailor on the Spanish main. He expressed a wish to be supplied with an epitome of navigation in the Spanish language similar to Norie's *Epitome of Navigation*. He wished to improve his mind in order to take up an important position on his release. It is also found in the body of the evidence that Daly asked for Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, and we also find that Dr. Gallagher asked for a Latin grammar, and, when that was denied him, for a French grammar and dictionary. I direct attention to these facts to show that the men of whom I am speaking were of such a turn of mind that they were not necessarily disposed to wilfully break the rules of the prison, that they were men who had hopes for the future, and that, having hopes of liberation, they were likely to conduct themselves in such a manner as would commend them to the authorities. My statement from this Report is corroborated by the statement made to me by Daly two years ago, when I advised him during a visit I paid him to be amenable to the Prison Rules, to be respectful to the officers, and to conform to the discipline, as it would be undoubtedly the best for his peace of mind and happiness, if happiness I can call it, to adopt such a course of conduct. He informed me that he came to the prison fully determined to make the best of his unfortunate position, but that he was driven from that decision by the persecution of the officers. I have said there was a conspiracy to cause these prisoners to break the rules. On page 84 of the appendix, paragraph 11, Egan says that the officers employed another prisoner to give him a piece of newspaper so as to get him punished, and on page 183, paragraph 59, Daly says a prisoner put a small bit of newspaper in his hand, and it was cut so neat and square that it could hardly have been cut by a prisoner. He had only a glimpse at it; but he noticed that the type was nonpareil, and that it contained the names of Sir Henry James and of Parnell and Davitt. He destroyed it immediately after it was given to him, as it was suggested it was a trap. On the following Tuesday, the 25th of February, the same prisoner put another piece of newspaper in his hand, saying, “Be very careful of it, and



give it me back after dinner." At page 181, paragraph 27, Daly says his mind was filled with the horrible thought that some of the officers were trying to cause him to break the peace, and that he would be flogged.

"O, God! the thought was more than I could endure. I said to myself a hundred thousand times during the long, weary nights at this time, death at your hands is better than life and being flogged."

On page 186 Wilson says that from time to time they were brought up on false charges and punished. One instance he gave was that on one occasion a man named Saunders was sweeping down the steps in the passage leading to the Roman Catholic Chapel. Wilson and others were at the head of the steps, and an officer who was at the bottom of the steps picked up out of the dust what Wilson afterwards learned was a piece of newspaper. Ten minutes afterwards Wilson was searched, put under report, and the next day brought before the Governor and charged with having the newspaper in his possession. "The Governor" was indignant, says Wilson, "when I declared the thing a pure fabrication." The Governor replied that it was suspicious, and upon mere suspicion ordered Wilson to solitary confinement on bread and water for 23 days. Wilson afterwards complained to the Director, who simply said, "Don't do it again." Under all the circumstances, I cannot help thinking there was, on the part of some persons in the prison, a conspiracy to drive these men from an attitude of conformity to prison discipline. The charges that I have to make against the prison officials are, perhaps, not very grave. The unfortunate prisoners themselves do not say they are. Wilson said to the Visiting Justices—

"In drawing your attention to my treatment, I may remark that what may be considered a small or trivial matter at first sight becomes, when repeated and continued for a year, a very serious matter for one placed in my present position."

That is what the prisoners have to complain of—that they are being subjected in a thousand little ways to a system of petty persecution and annoyance that is driving them from the attitude of being well-conducted prisoners into careless, and, if you like, incorrigible ones. The officers are accused of driving Daly into what the Visitors have declared

to be an assumption of illness, and of drawing Gallagher into a shamming of madness. I am not surprised they have assumed these things, and it is a deplorable state of things that in a prison, where men should be treated, at all events, with some humanity, these prisoners have been subjected to such petty annoyance, that one man is accused of pretending to be insane and another pretending physical infirmity. The shamming of illness is likely to bring on illness, and the shamming of madness invariably brings on madness, a fact which Dr. Gallagher must himself know. Let me again turn to the statements of the prisoners—

"Some time about the month of November 84 A. W. Durgan came to my cell between 6 & 7 a.m., and said 'you're making a lot of noise with that tin ware of yours.' I said I was not making any more than I could help in cleaning it. He said if he heard me making any more noise he'd put me on report. He put me on report next day & said he heard me telegraphing to the man in the next cell.

This was absolutely untrue. I got two days bread & water. On the 2nd January 86 Warder Bass came to my cell before prayers in the morning, looked in through the trap and said, 'you look rather excited' he then charged me with telegraphing. I answered and said, 'I have not been telegraphing,' he said 'Your a bloody stinking bare-faced liar,' he put me on report, I got two days bread & water.

About this time I complained to the two officers in charge, of not being allowed either salt or a spoon to season or eat the gruel I got, and said it was unchristian like, whereupon one of the officers Parker No. 2 said, 'do you call yourself a Christian?' I did not answer the question. He then said, 'I'll eat my bloody head sooner than admit you to be a Christian.' Some time in January 85 (I think) A. W. Benny came to my cell to tell me to stop humming. I told him I would do so, that I did not think he could have heard me, I then closed my door, he open'd it again and said 'What did you mean by shutting the door, did you mean an indignity to me.' I assured him nothing could be further from my mind & that I was very sorry he should think so. He then said, 'if he thought I did he'd put me on report.' He then went away, and after an hour or more he came back and had me put on report, I asked him what for, he said, 'little said is soon mended.' He charged me next day with insolently banging the door in his face and singing in my cell. 2 days bread and water."

Daly explains that what he was humming was the air of a hymn he had heard in the chapel, and he was humming low so that he thought nobody could hear him outside the cell. He was humming to himself, he says, for his own recreation.

"In March 85 the officer one day gave me needle & thread to stitch a lot of buttons on my clothes, which caused me to be one oz. short in the quantity of oakum I picked that day, for which I got 2 days bread & water without any bed and very strang this was a day or two after my complaining to the Doctor about not getting exercise. Doctor gave me one lb. to pick.

"All through this time & for years after, but about this time especially our lives were made very miserable indeed, through the conduct of the officers on night duty, who seemed to amuse themselves more than anything else, night after night, month after month, banging the trap doors of the cells which made a horrible noise at night, so much so that it was utterly impossible to get sleep, only when quite exhausted, and then it was broken every hour."

And now I turn to Egan's statements, and I will show that these men have the same complaint to make, although they could not have been acting in concert. I turn to paragraph 8, on page 184, where Egan speaks of the language used by the officers. I cannot quote the language, decency will not allow me, and I will not offend the ears of the Committee with it. This language was used every day by the warders, remonstrances only brought about Reports, and Reports brought punishment. For declining to work in order to see the doctor they were reported and punished; for refusing to take medicines when ordered they were reported and punished. With regard to the bad language, Egan says we have been poor, but we were never used to such language as this. I turn to his evidence. He complains to the visitor of the language of a warder named Parker, and the visitor asks—

2103. "You complain of his language specially?—I complain of his language specially; at one time I told the Governor about it, and he said, 'Why do you not put it on your slate?' I said, 'Unfortunately my slate has been taken from me for a cause which I do not know.' He said, 'Well, I will allow you a slate for a time,' but I said, 'I am perfectly well aware that it would be useless for me to make a complaint; therefore I decline the slate.'"

Now I turn to Question 2076, in which he refers to the annoyance to which he was persistently subjected of slamming of the trapdoors during the night.

"You say it was done, you think, for their amusement?—Yes, because I spoke to Mr. Ruffell about it; I spoke to the officer on duty, and he said, 'I cannot have it altered.' Then I spoke to Mr. Ruffell, and from speaking to Mr. Ruffell, that night the officer did it worse, came at night to my cell door, slammed down the trap and banged his lantern on it, banged it up again, rushed down stairs, came up again

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to me, banged it down, banged the lantern again, and then slammed the trap up again, rushed down again and let me alone for about half an hour; that is three or four times in the space of three-quarters of an hour. This officer kept that on the whole night every hour continually."

2084. "Do you think they try to wake you by throwing the light in your eyes?—Yes, some of the officers will keep the light upon you for a length of time, right upon your eyes. I do not say that all the officers do that. I have known an officer take a stool and throw it down all the steps, for the purpose of waking us up at night."

2085. "For the purpose?—Yes, taking up a stool or something of the kind and throwing it downstairs."

2086. "You may have heard it fall downstairs, but what reason have you to suppose it was thrown down?—I do not know what object they would have for taking anything of that sort upstairs. You would be astonished if you knew what little tricks they get up to for the purpose of annoying."

These are some of the petty persecutions to which I have referred, and go to justify the statement of the prisoners. Now, the rules were not read to these men when they arrived at Chatham Prison. I know the Governor says they could have had them read if they had asked for them, but the men knew nothing of the rules, and so for a very long time they lost their exercise and were compelled to walk in the yard. This is Egan's evidence on the point—

2062. "Then as regards your exercise, you say you did not have an hour's exercise, and you say 'I was kept at ramming and lowering the yard by beating it with what is called a ram until the flesh was torn from my hands. I wish particularly to be questioned on this matter and give further information.' Every morning the rams which are wooden affairs that you pound the ground with were put out ready for Daly and myself to take out, and there were five yards, and we had to keep beating those yards in this way (*indicating by gesture*); it is not an ordinary ramming. I was shown how to do it, that is to beat it with all my might as hard as I could. My hands were strange to the work. First they became a mass of blisters; the next morning I was taken out again, and, of course, the blisters broke by the ramming; the next morning out again in the same way; the blisters were partly healed up in the night, and during the day they would come on again and break again until, on one occasion, Daly showed the officer the state of his hands. They did not actually know how my hands were at the time till I showed the officer, and he was quite astonished."

That was the effect of ramming. He complains that he was not made acquainted with the rules, and did not know to what he was entitled. Well,

these are some of the means employed at Chatham Prison to improve prisoners morally and physically, and I think it would require an army of chaplains to counteract the effect of the language and conduct of the warders. In paragraph 59 of their Report the Visitors say—

"Great complaints are made by the prisoners as to the coarse and insulting language used by the officers in their presence, or addressed directly to them. We do not propose to go into this matter at any length, as we find that the officers chiefly complained of have left the prison, and that in all cases in which definite complaints have been made, the officers have been cautioned. From answers given by officers still in the prison to our questions as to the others who have left, we think that the prisoners have had cause to complain in this respect; but we are satisfied that care is taken to prevent the use of bad language, and that, to use the graphic expression of Warder Beel, if the language of the warders 'is not all Parliamentary talk, still it is passable talk;' and, by the admission of the prisoners, matters have now improved in this respect. Speaking generally on this subject, we think that it cannot be expected that the subordinate officers will keep such constant control over their language as to avoid, at all times, the use of expressions calculated to give offence."

Now, it is alleged by the prisoners that the visits of friends on the days allowed were in a manner that appears systematically prevented by the prisoners being put under punishment. Here is Egan's evidence on this point:—

"2212. Then you say, 'When I am entitled to a visit my wife has always to write for order, and sometimes after she receives it and is prepared to visit me, receives a countermand'; that would be only, I suppose, on account of your getting into trouble?—Nothing was more easy than to stop a man's visit by saying he was talking, and then write an account of it to the man's wife."

2213. But do the warders know about your visitors; how could they stop them?—If I were to come here and make a complaint to-day, at dinner-time it would be known all over the prison in the course of half an hour.

2214. Do you suggest that you are falsely punished in order that your visits may be countermanded?—Certainly, I say that.

2215. By which of the officers?—I do not know when those countermands arrived; but if my wife were to give the date of the countermands you would find the punishments were inflicted at the same time."

This is corroborated by the evidence of other prisoners. Now, I put it to the Committee, is it not the very refinement of cruelty to deprive a man who is sentenced to a life-long imprisonment of

the hope of seeing a relative as the many months go round? I may say I have myself on many occasions had the intention of going to see these prisoners, knowing, through various means, that these men were ill-treated, and being anxious to hear their story from themselves. My hon. Friend the Member for West Limerick and I applied to the Governor for orders to visit the prisoners, and invariably we were told they could not see visitors because they were under punishment. On the few occasions when we did visit them it was by the courtesy of the Home Secretary, who gave us special orders. One other instance of petty persecution, and then I pass to other matters. In winter time the prisoners, in taking exercise, are compelled to walk slowly; in the heat of summer weather they are compelled to walk fast. Now, the Report has much to say about penal cells, and the Visitors say the prisoners are better off in these cells. The cells are larger, and they are more secure; but in not a few of the differences of treatment the difference is to the disadvantage of the penal cell prisoners. When in these cells a man is ill he is treated for illness which other men would be sent to the infirmary for. There was a fatal result to this in the case of a man named Deasy, who, being ill, was treated in his cell, and was obliged to get out of his bed, go to the trap-door for his medicine, and totter back again to his bed. So he was treated until at death's door, and then he was removed to the infirmary to die. In these cells there are no stools; the prisoner is compelled to sit on a portion of a cut-down mast, chained to the wall, and so arranged that at the time when the prisoner is entitled to read a book he is unable to see from the light of the gas. It is cruel to deprive an educated man the solace of reading a little, and the rules allow it when work is over, but these rules are mockery and delusion. The penal cell prisoners are compelled to walk from their cells to the bath almost nude, and the warders even used to bring in strangers to see these prisoners take their bath. If a garment had to be mended, this class of prisoners must go without that garment until it is returned from the tailors' shop. They are always obliged to stand at attention, while other

prisoners can sometimes stand at ease. Egan says—

"Major Clayton came and told them on several occasions, 'These men must be always kept with their hands by their sides.'"

I admit that some of the things of which I am complaining have been remedied. But I want to point out that the harm has already been done, and the fact that the Visitors ordered these changes proved that the treatment of these prisoners had been exceptional. The Report states that the treatment complained of was not fostered by the superior officers of the prison. I reply that it was, for Egan in his statement says that on one occasion, when he complained of the conduct of the warder, the Governor told him if he made further complaints he would come to grief. Gallagher, James Donnelly, and John Daly also made assertions to a similar effect. Now I come to the case of Wilson, who says—

"4. I found it almost impossible to see the Doctor when I felt unwell. The officers would not take my name, or rather they used to ignore my request. I complained to the Director about the matter, but that did not mend matters. Some time after seeing the Director, I got an opportunity of speaking to the Medical Officer while inspecting us. He told me he'd attend to the matter. In the course of the day I was brought to the Infirmary and examined—on the way over I was stopped by Mr. Bass the Warder who had then charge of the separate cells. 'What are these lies you have been telling the Doctor?' he asked, I tried to explain but he stopped me with 'Well at all events you'll do three days bread and water for it.'"

Now, here is a man who finds it necessary to make a statement of what?—he finds it necessary to make a statement to the doctor, and he is prevented from seeing the doctor, after which he complains to the doctor that he is hampered by warders, and the warders take umbrage of the statement. They report him to the Governor, and the Governor gives him three days' bread and water, I think, for making this complaint. Well, then, Daly, at page 179, paragraph 7, makes a similar complaint, as follows:—

"An officer Mr. Memory came to my cell with a dose of physic (castoril) and ordered me to take it. I thanked him, told him I was alright didn't want any physic. He said I'd have to take it anyhow, I reminded him that I did not complain to the Doctor, nor did he order me any physic. He then shouted to Warder

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Bass that I wasn't going to have it, Warder Bass shouted back Make him take it you—Whereupon Memory assured me I'd have to take the physic or his cosh, I took the physic, and soon after vomited up again and escaped the purging. The next day I mentioned the matter to the then assistant surgeon who laughed and seemed to think it a good joke. I subsequently brought the matter under the notice of the Director, with the result that the man who did not give me the physic was punished, and the two who did got scot free. The Director said to me then, the less complaints I have to make about the officers, the better for myself."

How is it possible, as Mr. Egan says, at Question 2112, that he could not complain to the Governor but he gave him bread and water? How can Visitors come to the conclusion that these petty persecutions were not fostered by the principal officers of the prison? When they complain, as I have shown—and these things have not been contradicted because they were recorded on the prison books—yet this whitewashing Commission of Visitors finds that the Directors did not foster these petty persecutions. I say that they did, and of this there is ample proof in the Report, if anyone wishes to go through it. Now I come to another and a very serious part of the charge which I make against the officers of the prison. The Report of the Visitors says that—

"The medical treatment of the prisoners has been careful and judicious."

Well, Sir, I need only allude to the death of Deasy, as one instance of the careful and judicious medical treatment in the prison. But I think I will find better proof of the careful and judicious medical treatment in the evidence of John Daly, at page 180, paragraph 13—

"On the morning of Sunday,"

—which, according to William Walker, would be the 14th of September—

"I applied for Medical treatment. I was taken to the infirmary but did not see any of the Doctors. Assistant Warder Durbin who was then Medical Compounder gave me a dose of physic, which done me no good. The diarrhoea was most violent all that night, packed up & went to the infirmary on Monday, diarrhoea still violent, saw Dr. Walker at 11.30 A.M., told him I was sick almost to death. He laughed & said I'd have to go back to my work, yet I was kept in an infirmary cell all that day without receiving any Medicine whatsoever until about 5.45 P.M. one of the Nurses gave me a dose, I was then taken back to my cell. Monday night diarrhoea if possible worse than ever. Tuesday Morning whilst getting off my knees from



prayers My bowels relaxed, and my clothes became a mass of filth, I was taken to the infirmary but the officer in charge (Warder White) would not admit me though he was told the state I was in, until I went to the penal cells and changed my working boots for shoes get my books etc, then and only then was I admitted. The officer then ordered me into a bath to wash myself and the clothes, this bath was composed of cold, absolutely cold water. The infirmary door was open most of the time I was in the bath, I became chilled. The next day, Wednesday, I was pronounced dangerously ill inflammation of the bowels."

Is it to be wondered at? A man suffering for days from diarrhoea — most seriously suffering—so much that he has to be ordered into a bath to wash himself and the clothes he was wearing. He was sent into a cold bath until inflammation of the bowels set in, and this is the treatment that the Visitors declare to be careful and judicious. Now, on page 182, paragraph 7, we come to more of this careful and judicious treatment. I come to this very serious part of the indictment against the prison officials which is known as the belladonna poisoning, and here, I think, we will have considerable evidence as to the careful and judicious treatment of the prisoners. On the 18th of November, Dr. Voisey saw Daly and told him—

"To continue the powder, and I will also put you on Medicine, this was at 12.30 p.m.; at 1 o'clock I got the first dose. The effect of that was to cause my face to flush (I thought) then great thirst, with slight pain in the stomach, I drank a large quantity of water. At or about 5 P.M. Compounder Durbin came, opened the trap-door and said, Daly, have you got enough of the powder; I said yes, thank you, I then said, Mr. Durbin, will you please mention to the Doctor that this medicine has a very strange effect on me; I said it has caused me most violent thirst, it is almost impossible to bear: the answer to this was, 'When you speak to an officer, you should do so in a proper manner.' I said, 'what do you call a proper manner?' He said 'You should say, sir.' He then banged the trap, and went to the two officers who were bathing prisoners, and told them what he said. I had spoken to Mr. Durbin many times and oft always the same, never more or less respectful than on that night. He never before found any fault with my manner of addressing him, his knowledge of drugs ought to have told him there must be something wrong with the medicine, from what I said to him, if he had been ignorant of the fact before, besides the prisoner who gave me the medicine is a Doctor or was. Anyhow for reasons best known to Mr. Durbin himself, he did not convey my message to the Doctor. I took it for granted that notwithstanding his indignation, he would not dare to suppress my message, and therefore notwithstanding all I

suffered that night, I took the third dose next day. The symptoms were as I have already described, burning of the face, thirst, the intensity of which no language can convey, loss of sight (night) stoppage of water, something like electricity shooting through my blood, biting in, punching me now here, now there, with pain in the stomach. The third dose intensified all the symptoms, and left me quite unable to walk. I also lost the use of my speech. I had to be taken by two men upstairs in the Infirmary. While downstairs in the infirmary, Mr. Durbin came (in the absence of the Doctor) and opened my eye, looked into it, said pshaw, and that was the last I saw of Mr. Durbin."

He then states he was placed in the bed, and at paragraph 48—I cannot help quoting a statement of Daly's as to his feelings on this occasion—he says—

"I cannot keep my mind from going back to that terrible night, shot as it were, full of strength and in possession of all my faculty, into the presence, almost, of the great unknown God, looking as it were in to that great long awful uncertain eternity all alone, no kind loving voice to give me hope—, what could compensate a man for that? and yet I think Dr. Walker will say that I did not act like unto one whose conscience had been stained with crime."

Now, I shall have to refer the Committee and the Home Secretary to the evidence of the Medical Inspectors themselves. I refer to page 191 and 193 of the statement of Dr. Walker, one of the prison doctors. Dr. Walker says that Daly's symptoms were as follows:—

"Vertigo, dimness of vision, pupils widely dilated, dryness of the tongue, difficulty in speaking, great thirst, intense itching of the skin, and difficulty in passing water"

—mind, these are the many symptoms that Daly himself described; clearly showing that Daly did not exaggerate his case, as some medical officers sought to make out.

"His symptoms were such as would be produced by an overdose of belladonna, and on making inquiries I found that he had been taking a mixture containing 10 minim doses of tincture of belladonna. As his condition was rather alarming I at once sent for the assistant surgeon to see him, who arrived at the same conclusion as myself, namely, that he was suffering from atropism. We therefore immediately injected morphia subcutaneously, and administered an emetic of sulphate of copper, and sent him to bed. About 10 minutes afterwards, as the emetic had not acted, it was decided to use stomach pump. The tube was only partially introduced, however, as it produced vomiting, and it was therefore withdrawn. The amount vomited was not great, and a second attempt was therefore made to introduce the tube, which instantly produced the desired effect, copious vomiting being set up thereby. I saw

him frequently during the afternoon, and at 8 o'clock in the evening all urgent symptoms had passed off."

Now, that is the statement of George E. Walker, the medical officer, made to the Governor. These symptoms are corroborated by the assistant surgeon, and it is unnecessary for me to read them to the Committee, because they only confirm Dr. Walker's evidence; but I shall have to refer to these doses of belladonna. Now, with regard to the administration of this belladonna, it is a curious thing that Durbin, the compounder of the medicines, was, upon the Report of the two medical officers of the prison, degraded in his position and removed from the prison. That was at a time after the investigation of the circumstances had taken place—after the analysis of the belladonna had been made by competent chemical and special authority in London, and the strange fact is that, after the visitors go down, and make an investigation of the prison, they have before them the same Report on which the doctors acted with regard to Durbin, and what is the result of their deliberation? They ordered Durbin to be reinstated in his former position: they find that Durbin is not to blame, and that the doctors were not wrong. How is that? Somebody must be wrong, and yet they reinstate Durbin, and find that no wrong is done to the doctors in reinstating him. This Commission of Visitors seems to have been specially organised for the purpose of whitewashing everybody down in Chatham Prison who had been in charge of the prisoner. Now, I shall not base my case on whether Durbin was well disposed to the prisoner or not. At all events Daly was poisoned. There can be no doubt about that. Either it was due to neglect, or to deliberate ill-treatment on the part of the compounder. But whether it be one or the other, what I claim is that Daly is entitled to compensation, either for the neglect or for the deliberate ill-treatment of the warders in charge, but to say that this prisoner was medically treated with care and judiciousness, under these circumstances, is something too much to ask us to believe. Now, the Report itself, at paragraph 148, says—

"We have treated this portion of the case very fully on account of its importance, and we find—

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1. That the prescription of belladonna was proper in itself;
2. That the prescription was properly made up;
3. That the effect of the mixture on Daly was caused, not by any error on the part of the compounder, but by the fact that the tincture of belladonna used was considerably above the average strength;
4. That the Prison Authorities are not responsible for this extra strength;
5. That the effect of the medicine on the prisoner was entirely due to misadventure; and
6. That the compounder was not in fault for not reporting to the doctor after his interview with Daly when the second dose was administered, as nothing was then said which made it his duty to do so."

Those are the findings in respect to belladonna of the Visitors, and I will now ask the Home Secretary and the Committee to turn to the evidence of Mr. Risdon Bennett, page 195—

"The result of Dr. Stevenson's analysis to my mind sufficiently explains the symptoms presented by Daly, after taking three doses of the mixture, without assuming that he was the subject of any special idiosyncrasy as to the action of belladonna."

Because, will the Committee believe it?—the Visitors, trying to whitewash the officers, endeavoured to show in their Report that the effect of the belladonna on Daly was due to idiosyncrasy on his part. But the doctor himself says that it was not idiosyncrasy. What was the result of the analysis? The result of the analysis made by Dr. Walker showed that the mixture contained from two and a half to four times the amount of belladonna prescribed by the assistant surgeon, and it proves that Daly's symptoms were due to an over dose of that drug, and not to idiosyncrasy on his part. That is a statement made by Dr. Walker, the medical officer, based on a Report of the chemical analyst. It is corroborated by Dr. Voisey, and it is unnecessary for me to quote for the information of the Committee the highly technical analysis made by Mr. Stephenson. But although that is the analysis, the statement of the two doctors in the prison responsible for Daly's health, and the statement of the special doctor sent by the Home Secretary, all agree that Daly had from two and a half to four times the belladonna he was ordered. This whitewashing Commission, at paragraph 148, say—

"That the prescription of belladonna was proper in itself, and that the prescription was properly made up."

After that, who can attach any importance whatever to the Report of this Commission? Well, Sir, I think that it will be very difficult for the Home Secretary to justify this action of the authorities towards Daly in respect of their method of treatment. I shall leave it to the Committee to judge whether, from the medical point of view, these prisoners have been treated as prisoners ought to be treated—and as the Visitors declared they had been treated—with care, medically and judiciously. My assertion with regard to the prisoners is that Daly has been, beyond dispute, poisoned in the prison, that much suffering was entailed upon him, not only by the overdose of belladonna, but also by the inflammation that was brought on by the administration of the cold bath, and that, on account of the suffering that was inflicted upon him with carelessness and neglect, he is entitled to compensation at the hands of the Government. Before I pass from this ill-treatment, I desire to read in corroboration of the statement a letter of a convict who has served his time in Chatham Prison. I know very well that the Home Secretary will quote very largely from the Report of the Visitors. What I charge is that, these Visitors being the ordinary Visitors of the prison, some of them had already investigated these cases and reported on them.

Mr. MATTHEWS: No.

Mr. J. O'CONNOR: Yes. Mr. Selfe did so.

Mr. MATTHEWS: No; Sir John Lennard.

Mr. J. O'CONNOR: Every one of the prisoners in his evidence alludes to the fact that he had been visited, and therefore we find that these Visitors were asked to sit in judgment on themselves. I know very well that the right hon. Gentleman associated with the ordinary visitors two working men—Mr. Shipton and Mr. Drummond. There is historical evidence of the fact that when men of that class are associated with others of high position, of great learning, they very often lose their interest, very often are overshadowed by the position and by the attainments of those of a different

class with whom they are asked to act. I need not quote the historical evidence to the right hon. Gentleman. But I will ask the attention of the Committee to a letter which I received from a man who has served his time in this prison, and was there at the time of the other prisoners. I will not give the address nor the name of the writer, but I will hand it to the right hon. Gentleman, so that he may judge of its *bona fides*. This letter is addressed to an hon. Member of this House, and the writer says he wishes to speak of the grievances of James Egan, who was discharged from Chatham on the 21st July last—

"Kindly allow me to say a few words respecting the treatment of the Irish dynamite men, for that is how they are known in prison."

The statement of the Visitors is that these prisoners are not known by a special name, and that they are not subjected to special treatment. But here you have the very prisoners aware that they are known by the special name of dynamiters. The writer says—

"I was working in the same party with Egan, Featherstone, and Gallagher. The latter prisoner has been so cruelly treated as to make him unfit to behold. He was in the Infirmary when I left. I believe he is suffering from mental aberration, induced and consequent upon long continued and bitter persecution. . . . I do regard such treatment as tantamount to murder, screened and delicately nurtured by the law. Apropos of complaints, it is my experience that they are not attended to, and a prisoner fares worse after complaining. During my time they sent an Irish prisoner, named O'Donnell, to be punished in the cold cells, and a few weeks after his punishment he died, suffering pulmonary consumption. I saw a prisoner who was nearly poisoned by belladonna. They put it down as an accident, but—"

And here follows a long stroke.

"I have no hesitation in stating that the general treatment of the prisoners in Chatham Prison is an indelible disgrace to the whole prison."

Now, I wish to pass from the subject of ill-treatment to the only other branch of the subject to which I will refer, and that is the manner in which Daly was allowed to be approached in prison by Piggot and other people connected with the *Times* newspaper. I will read only a very small portion of Daly's evidence, in connection with this matter. There is some difference of opinion between Daly and the Visitors, but I think Daly's



explanation of the visits is the correct one. On page 51 of the Report, Daly said he was visited. He said he wished to call attention to the fact that he was being brought in contact with a gentleman from the *Times* newspaper, who had proposed terms which he had rejected. He protested that it was unfair that he should be subjected to such an ordeal. He said that he had been told that any person who gave evidence would receive a certificate of protection. Now, it would be perfect nonsense to say that a certificate of protection was at all necessary. The Visitor said to Daly:—

“The certificate of indemnity would be an indemnity against any proceedings upon matters upon which you gave evidence. Now, in the case of a man sentenced for life that might not mean much, but being sentenced for life does not necessarily mean that you are to spend the whole of your life here.”

Daly answered—

“That is one of the constructions you may put upon it. But place yourself in my position, and then put a construction upon it that would be ‘the natural one.’”

Daly knew very well what it meant, and it was useless for the Visitor to attempt any other construction. The only construction that could be put upon it was that, “if you become an informer, you will get a certificate of protection to save you from the vengeance of the dynamiters and Land Leaguers, and you will be able to walk a free man about the country with a Government certificate of indemnity in your pocket.” That is the construction Daly put upon it, and no reasonable man will say that it is a false or exaggerated construction. This is where I conceive the House has behaved badly, in allowing this poor, persecuted, poisoned prisoner to be tempted by the offer of freedom into, perhaps, committing perjury, if he was capable of doing it. The Home Secretary, who should have stood between this poor prisoner and the temptation dangled before him, allowed him to be visited once, twice, aye, a third time, by persons who had this disgraceful object in view, of tempting the poor man, under these distressful circumstances, to, perhaps, invent stories, and to buy his freedom by giving false evidence before the Commission. But they were dealing with a man. Daly’s answer to his tempter was an answer which, I think, ought to go far to conciliate many of those who sit opposite.

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“If one word of mine in support of what you state would let me march a free man out of that gate, I refuse to speak that one word, and I will remain here till I rot.”

That is the answer of a man, and it ought to go far to attach to him the sympathy of many who had hitherto been his opponents. The Protestant chaplain of the prison states that these prisoners were well-conducted men, and that they were treated to unnecessary violence. It has been said that one feigned madness, and another illness. I believe the men are too intelligent to endanger their health, or to assume madness. I hope I have proved that they have been subjected to this special treatment, because of the political nature of their offence. What crime have they been guilty of? Murder? No, they committed no murder. There were no lives lost in the transactions which took place, and with which they were connected. Have they been tried for robbery, or any other heinous offence? Nothing of the kind. They have been tried and sentenced for a political offence. The very wording of the charge made against them was “treason-felony.” That proves the political nature of the offence. And it is because of that political offence that they have been subjected to this special treatment all along. Now, there is a great doubt as to whether Daly was connected with this dynamite scare. In the inquiry that took place, the Head Constable of Birmingham, who made the arrest, and found the dynamite on the premises of Kelly, Daly, and Egan, declared that the whole thing was a “put-up job” by the Irish police. That idea is deeply rooted in the Irish mind; the Irish people firmly believe that these men are innocent of the charge. You will never eradicate from the Irish mind the belief that John Daly and Egan are entirely innocent. I knew Daly in the past, and he was a man utterly incapable of engaging in the dynamite transactions. Daly was a Fenian, and he remained a Fenian up to the date of his arrest. He was one of those men who believed in redeeming his country by establishing her national independence by force of arms. I believe he was a man whose conscience revolted against a system of warfare which involved in common slaughter innocent people. I do not know the other prisoner at all, but the belief



deeply rooted in the Irish mind is that these men are suffering innocently. I appeal for their discharge on the ground of the special treatment, the indignities, and the careless medical treatment to which they have been subjected. I believe on these grounds I am entitled to demand for them compensation. Had it been an ordinary prisoner who was poisoned by a treble dose of belladonna, I believe that the Home Secretary would have come to his relief long ago, and would have given him freedom. These men have been imprisoned since 1884, and allow me to point out that the causes for which they were imprisoned have passed away. We hear no more of explosions in Glasgow and London, or elsewhere. I am glad that a policy with which I never agreed—and I am sure I speak the mind of nearly the whole Irish nation—has been abandoned as a policy which is futile and wicked. There can be no object except the object of revenge in keeping these men in prison any longer. I would point out that England, and England alone, has been exceptional in the treatment of her prisoners. In France the communists have been liberated, and many of them now fill public places with advantage to their country. In this House we have amongst us an hon. Member who was sentenced to be hanged, drawn, and quartered by Her Majesty's Government. That sentence was commuted to penal servitude for life. He was exiled, but was afterwards allowed to come home. Under the softening influence of native land and family, this gentleman, once sentenced to be hanged, drawn, and quartered, is now to be found sitting on these Benches, aiding Her Majesty's Government to make better laws for the government of the people. I merely make these remarks, in passing, to strengthen my case. But I put my demand more forcibly and more specially upon the injuries which have been inflicted on these men, and also upon the fact that the case is one for the exercise of grace. I trust that, in making this request for justice and mercy, I have, at all events, based my case on evidence which appears conclusive, and that those who wield the power of this realm will not consider that that power will be diminished by the exercise of the attribute of mercy, or endangered by

the release of these men for the remainder of their lives—lives which must be spent in undoing the evils brought on them by the unjust, harsh, and barbarous treatment to which they have been subjected.

\*(5.28.) THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (MR. MATTHEWS, Birmingham, E.): If I follow the hon. Member, who has addressed us with considerable warmth on behalf of these prisoners, with brevity, I trust he will not consider me wanting in respect. Of course, the Government are entitled to see to the safe custody of these men, and that chances of escape shall not be given them. I presume the hon. Member will also concede that these prisoners, like any others convicted of crime, shall be subject to the ordinary penal discipline, while, on the other hand, no exception ought to be made against them. I am sure, from the manly tone of his address, he will admit that these prisoners ought to be subjected to the same rules as other prisoners. But if the prisoners suffered anything like the petty persecutions which he has described, if there be the slightest proof of the allegation that traps were laid for these prisoners in order to induce them to commit actions for which they might afterwards be punished; if it can be proved that false charges were brought against them, for the purpose of depriving them of one of the comforts of prison life—the visits of their friends—if there was any solid foundation for charges of that sort, I believe no punishment would be too severe for the punishment of prison officials guilty of conduct so dastardly and so wicked. I am bound to ask whether the statements made by these prisoners are reliable. Without making any imputation on the veracity of the prisoners, I may say it is not unnatural that a prisoner's mind should get into a morbid condition of doubt and dissatisfaction with all that surrounds him, and that this should lead to exaggerated impressions of what took place. Prisoners in all prisons are apt to make fanciful complaints about the hostility and illwill which they imagine the officials feel towards them. I would appeal to the common sense of the hon. Member whether such complaints as those upon which he has dwelt are likely to be true. Let him remember what is

the organisation of such a prison as Chatham, where there are something like 1,000 prisoners. There is no reason why these particular prisoners should be subject to illwill, ill-treatment and animosity, rather than, perhaps, much worse prisoners in the same prison. *Prima facie*, therefore, it is improbable that in a prison of this sort, subject to strict rules laid down by Parliament, anything like exceptional malevolence could be exhibited to a particular class of prisoners. If the hon. Member looks at the past career of the Governor of the prison, I think he will agree that his experience and his character entitle him to respect. There is also a Roman Catholic chaplain, who seems to be a man of kindly heart, and disposed to sympathise with these men.

MR. J. O'CONNOR: And he has recommended their removal.

\*MR. MATTHEWS: Yes; he has suggested their removal on grounds which I have not now time to discuss. Although it may probably be that some of the subordinate warders may be somewhat harsh; that they may be coarse in their language and harsh in their manner, yet anything like systematic persecution is in the highest degree unlikely, while the warders are under the superintendence of a staff of men of the highest character, and where there are medical men and chaplains whose relations with the prisoners are relations of mutual kindness and friendship. The chief warder is spoken of by one and all the prisoners as a humane and kindly man, who is always ready to interfere on their behalf, and to punish the subordinate warders if they are guilty of any excess of duty. In consequence of the complaints made by hon. Members of the House who saw the prisoners, I directed a special inquiry. The hon. Gentleman has spoken of the Committee who held that inquiry as a "whitewashing Committee," but that observation is entirely unfounded and entirely unfair. The inquiry was conducted by the ordinary Visitors of Chatham Prison. Sir J. Lennard, the Chairman of the Committee, might be considered to be not in sympathy with the prisoners; but anyone who knows him knows him to be a kind-hearted gentleman and a man of perfect

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rigidness of character. Sir J. Lennard has for years been one of the Visitors of the prison. The other two men, Mr. Shipton and Mr. Drummond, whom the hon. Member described as working men, were appointed by my predecessor in office, and they are, I believe, men whose political views are opposed to mine. I have never seen them. They owe me nothing, and I have not the slightest influence over them. They are persons who are absolutely independent. I left those gentlemen perfectly free to conduct the inquiry as they thought fit, and I added to the Committee Mr. Selfe, the County Court Judge of the district, as a man specially skilled in the investigation of truth. To speak of these gentlemen as a "whitewashing Committee," who set about the inquiry with the deliberate purpose of disguising the truth, seems to me to be gravely unjust. There is not the slightest ground for imputing partiality or want of independence to this body of Visitors. The reason why Visitors are appointed is that they may see for themselves at the prison whether things are rightly done or wrongly done. I have listened with the most anxious patience to everything that has fallen from the hon. Member, and I have not heard anything to cause me in the slightest degree to doubt the strict impartiality of the action of these men. The hon. Member will admit that this Report of the Visitors does exculpate the prison officials from anything like wilful maltreatment of prisoners. Nothing can be more distinct than the finding of the Visitors on the various points the hon. Member has gone through; and as the Report is in the hands of hon. Members below the Gangway opposite, I am certain none of them will challenge the description I have given. The hon. Member has alluded to the most unfortunate incident of the overdose of belladonna which was administered to Daly, and has adopted the opinion which Daly put before the Visitors that he was purposely poisoned. I do not think the hon. Member has done justice to the evidence. The whole story is now as clear as the light of noon-day. Daly, after taking three doses of a prescription, which was admitted to be a proper prescription, containing 10 minims only of belladonna, exhibited some of the symptoms of belladonna

poisoning, upon which he was sent to the hospital; and by the application of the stomach pump—the emetic not having acted—he was, in the course of 24 hours, relieved of those symptoms. I instituted an immediate inquiry to ascertain who was at fault, and the first analysis of the mixture showed that it contained more belladonna than had been prescribed. The inference I drew was that that was due to the carelessness of the compounder, but then came the inquiry by the Visitors, who called in Sir Risdon Bennett. The compounder said the error was not his, and it was discovered that the compounder had taken the tincture from the bottle of tincture of belladonna in the prison store. Upon the contents of that bottle being analysed, it was found that the tincture was far beyond the ordinary strength of the British Pharmacopœia, and that consequently, although the compounder had taken only 10 minims, he had compounded an excessive quantity of belladonna. Who is to blame for that?

MR. J. O'CONNOR: Certainly; who is to blame?

\*MR. MATTHEWS: The Visitors found that the tincture of belladonna had been bought by contract from the best wholesale houses, and that consequently the prison officials were not to blame in relying upon it.

MR. J. O'CONNOR: My version of the matter is that it was proved on investigation that evaporation had taken place, and that therefore the belladonna had become from two and a half to four times the ordinary strength. Who was responsible for this mistake if Durbin was not?

\*MR. MATTHEWS: The hon. Member is not accurate; it could not be proved that evaporation had taken place, and the conjecture came from Durbin himself. He said—

“You blame me for putting in too much tincture, but I am not sure that the tincture had not become too strong by evaporation.”

There is no proof that evaporation had taken place, so that the only theory is that it was supplied of too great strength, and that the wholesale house is to blame. At all events, Durbin was acquitted, and all those immediately concerned in making up the prescription for Daly were acquitted from blame, and

yet the hon. Member suggests that something like an attempt to murder Daly by too much belladonna was made. This, I think, appears a very extravagant charge, and I confess that I can understand the temper in which the Visitors have declared it to be utterly unfounded. But I do not want to press this point unduly. I can assure the hon. Member that I shall continue to be as vigilant in the future as I have been in the past to check anything like harshness in the treatment of any prisoner, and I think that the inquiry which I directed into the whole case shows that at least I was actuated by no feeling of hostility to these prisoners. With regard to the statements of Daly referred to in the speech of the hon. Member in connection with the visit of Mr. Soames, Major Clayton, the Deputy Governor, who was present at the interview, denies those statements. I would appeal to the common sense of the hon. Member whether it is conceivable that a man in Mr. Soames's position, with his professional reputation at stake, would in the presence of the Deputy Governor of the prison have made offers which would have laid him open to an indictment if brought home to him. The story in itself is so improbable that one would require very strong evidence before believing it; and when Major Clayton entirely denies all those statements which go to suggest that Mr. Soames offered the slightest improper inducement to Daly to give evidence, or, still more, to give false evidence, I think that the conclusion at which the Visitors arrived—namely, that there was no truth whatever in the story—appears to be the only possible one.

MR. J. O'CONNOR: Did Mr. Soames say that he would use force if necessary?

MR. MATTHEWS: No; Major Clayton, when a part of Daly's statement was read to him, and he was asked whether Mr. Soames said he would be forced to take Daly to London to give evidence, said “nothing occurred whatever of this character.” I do not ask the hon. Member to accept anything but the ordinary canons of evidence, but I think it is one of the ordinary canons of evidence that, when a person who has many reasons for exaggerating a particular question makes a statement which is capable of being contradicted by a



person who is perfectly disinterested, and that disinterested person absolutely denies the statement made by the interested person, and when that statement is in itself of the highest degree of improbability, namely, imputing that a person has made a statement in the presence of a witness which would make him liable to be sent to Chatham himself as a prisoner, we should accept the contradiction given to the statement. I do not propose to follow the hon. Member into the very eloquent and feeling appeal he made for mercy for these prisoners. I do not think this is either the time or the place to discuss that matter. My only object was to answer the hon. Member who seemed to me to do injustice to the prison officials, and, having done that, I will say no more.

(5.55.) Mr. SEXTON (Belfast, W.): What I have to say on this matter can very soon be said. I feel it my duty to declare that the inquiry has not been satisfactory in the constitution of the tribunal, in the mode of its proceeding, or in its results. One unanswerable complaint is that whereas the inquiry was granted on the demand of Irish Members of Parliament, and the prisoners concerned were nearly all Irishmen, nobody connected with Ireland took part in the inquiry. The case would have been very different if there had been on the Commission any one Irishman, but we found no such man, and the fact is one upon which we are entitled to lay stress in reply to such eulogies as we have heard to-day. But I complain not only of the constitution of the inquiry, but also of its proceedings. If the prominent interest had been the elucidation of the truth, the prisoners and the officials, one would think, would have been brought face to face, and opportunity would have been afforded for cross-examination by counsel or otherwise. Nothing of the kind, however, took place here. The prisoners were examined in the absence of the officials, and the officials in the absence of the prisoners, and there was no cross-examination such as is allowed in the ordinary Courts of the country. I submit that any impartial man who goes carefully through the documents will come to the conclusion that these Irish prisoners have not received that equal treatment which is their right. There

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is at least one common ground between the Irish Members and the Home Secretary, and it is that prisoners subjected to like sentences are entitled to like treatment. He has admitted as much himself. I am sensible that the Home Secretary has refrained from any references to the acts charged against these men, and of the acts of which they were convicted, which might tend to obscure the sense of justice in the minds of the House and the country. It will not be denied that these acts were not devoid of a political element. The acts of these prisoners had an element of a political character about them. They did not lead to any loss of life or to any great destruction of property, and the presumption is that they were not intended to lead to loss of life or to a great destruction of property. I speak with the utmost frankness when I say I believe that these acts were intended to produce apprehension, which apprehension might lead to certain political results. The common ground between the Home Secretary and myself is that equal sentences ought to be equally treated. But are these prisoners treated equally with other prisoners? It may be difficult, even impossible, for even the best Administration to clear the minds of minor officials of prejudice in regard to certain prisoners, but I think the present Administration might have done a great deal more than they did in this direction. It is pretty clear that so far as the minor officials are concerned these unfortunate ill-fated men were made the victims of a system of sleepless malice. Do we not find it all through the Report, do we not find it suggested in the contradictions of the officials themselves, do we not find it established in the very recommendations of the Commission? Is it not most clear that these men were made to feel their nationality and the nature of their crime in every detail of their physical existence, and even in every phase of their mental lives? They were meant to feel these things in their clothing, in the manner of taking their bath, in the mode of their exercise, in the labour which left them with lacerated and bleeding hands, in the night time, when even the most infamous prisoner might be left for a certain period of repose. It is also clear that these men were men of edu-

cation, men of some sense of self respect, men not at all of an uncontrollable type, men who had intelligence enough to know from the beginning that their best course was to subordinate themselves to the discipline of the prison, and who were disposed to do so. I think it is abundantly clear that these men were goaded by small and incessant irritations into breaches of discipline in order that they might be cut off from human sympathy. Language of the most obscene and filthy description was habitually used to these prisoners by the minor officials of the prison. No doubt it is difficult to make the conduct of the minor officials all it ought to be, but, on the other hand, the Government might do more than they have done, because I believe of the minor officials in English prisons, just as I believe about the minor officials who baton the people in Irish market places, that they do what they think the Government wish them to do, what they think the Government will regard with favour, or, if not with favour, with some sympathy. I am inclined to think that if the Government had emphatically and in good faith condemned these odious proceedings as they deserve, these unfortunate Irishmen would have been saved from the indignity and torture of having such language continually applied to them. I have said their offences were not quite devoid of a political aspect, and I think that mercy is a plea that may be well considered at any time. Whilst I should not be justified in pressing for a decision at this moment, it must be remembered that the main function of criminal law is deterrent. Considering that these men have been subjected to particularly heavy punishment, because of the feeling of the prison officials, I think the time has come when it would not be amiss if the Home Secretary held out some hope of abbreviation of the term of imprisonment. I believe that to hold out such a hope would not be repugnant to the ends of justice. One man is beyond all help, because he lost his life on account of purely wanton treatment. Daly was subjected to great suffering and danger. It is easy to get rid of the case by pointing to a store bottle, but it is a strange thing that the respectable firm which supplies the

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prison with drugs has not sent them any more store bottles of that kind. There has been no belladonna poisoning amongst the public; no one else in Chatham Prison but Daly was poisoned. I am not satisfied with the theory of the store bottle, and, even if the theory were made good, I maintain that the medical system which allowed the substance in that bottle to be used without examination, is a system which, so far from deserving to be described as careful and judicious, as it was described by the Commission, is the negation of a system, and deserves the severest condemnation. If the Government judged it to be possible to shorten the sentence of some of these prisoners, or to hold out the hope that absolutely good conduct would lead to an abridgment of the term of imprisonment, I am confident it would be helpful to the true interest of society in these countries, which true interest is harmony and good feeling between the different classes and nationalities, subjects of the Queen. I also trust the right hon. Gentleman will, in a manner that will lead to no mistake as to his intention, make it clear that he does not favour, but condemns, especial cruelty or especial coarseness of language, and, in regard to these Irish prisoners, I urge this point because, unfortunately, the right hon. Gentleman did, not long ago, allow various persons to enter prisons and make offers of liberty and fortune to Irish prisoners if only they would give certain evidence. There seemed to be no particular anxiety, either on the part of the Government or their friends, that the evidence should be true. The right hon. Gentleman, who was, so very recently, so lax as to allow these proceedings to take place, is now so stringent that he will not allow communications to take place between these unfortunate prisoners and the Representatives of the people in this House. The knowledge of what the right hon. Gentleman has said with regard to the agent of the *Times*, the knowledge of what he is doing now with regard to the wish of the prisoners to hold consultation with Members of Parliament, naturally suggests to the officials of the prison that he is not really desirous that these Irish prisoners should receive fair treatment. One other suggestion I have to make. Has the right

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hon. Gentleman observed that some of these prisoners, who were in other prisons before they went to Chatham, have not made the same complaint against their former place of confinement that they have made against the management of the prison within the walls of which they are now immured? Does that not suggest that these complaints are not wanton, are not dishonest? The prisoner Wilson contrasted his treatment in the previous prison to his treatment in Chatham. Is there not something like a suspicion of honesty in that distinction? It appears to me that there is some specially cruel system at Chatham, or else that the warders at Chatham as a class are not so well qualified to deal with cases in which natural prejudices are brought into play. Suppose these prisoners' complaints of their treatment are excessive, will not the right hon. Gentleman admit that the fact of these complaints having been made, of this inquiry having been forced upon you by our demands in this House, renders it almost visionary to hope that equal treatment will be given to these men in future? I respectfully press upon the Home Secretary to consider, during the recess, the advisability, in the first place, of shortening the term of imprisonment of these men, and, in the second place, of removing these prisoners from a prison where they cannot receive fair treatment to some prison where they may receive it.

(5.16.) MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.): As one of those who generally sympathise with the Home Secretary, as, for instance, when he was attacked last night, will he allow me to say that the tests he has asked us to apply to this case tell against himself. Take the case of Mr. Soames. The right hon. Gentleman said it was most unlikely that Mr. Soames would threaten that force would be used, because Mr. Soames would have laid himself open to an indictment. Let me apply that test. Mr. Soames says he would have laid himself open to an indictment. So would Shannon. Shannon admitted having administered an oath in prison. Shannon was the solicitor to the *Times* as well as Soames, and he administered to

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Delaney an oath of an illegal character. He was not indicted. He is walking about the streets, and he remains the faithful servant of the *Times*. His brother was promoted in the Registry because of his zeal and diligence. Major Clayton, on page 144, question 553, admits in substance Soames's threat, that if Daly refused to give evidence force would be used. He says that when Daly declined to give evidence Mr. Soames said, "Well, perhaps we shall find some means of making you." Mr. Soames was admitted into the prison for the purpose of bullying and tempting this unfortunate man, placed in the terrible position he was in. I think Major Clayton might have spared us the statement he made, that Daly was very declamatory. Here is an unfortunate convict with no ray of light left in his life, and with no friend to cheer him. He is approached by the agent of the greatest journal in the world—a journal backed up by Her Majesty's Ministers—a journal with untold power, and if not with untold wealth, at least with untold promises at its command. What prospect did Mr. Soames dangle before this prisoner's eyes? He could not punish, because Daly's cup of punishment was already full. He could only tempt. He goes to Daly loaded with bribes. Is the temptation offered to Daly that of appearing for 24 hours in the witness-box before Mr. Justice Hannen, and having a day's excursion to the Probate Court? Will any man under the rank of Home Secretary believe the suggestion? How did Soames wind up? Having exhausted what I suggest was temptation, he used threats. Major Clayton, instead of finding language of some denunciation to condemn the words and conduct of Mr. Soames, makes use of a sneer at the expense of the unhappy convict. He says that Mr. Soames's attitude was uncalled for, but that Daly's attitude was declamatory. This is one of the officials in whom we are asked to repose confidence. A statement of that kind gives us the measure of the man. It is under a man of this kind that this unfortunate convict has to serve his days. Under the Governor, as the Home Secretary admits, there is an army of brutal warders. Of course, we do not expect to have gentlemen for warders.



But out of a brothel no man would soil his lips by using the language which is quoted in the Report as having been used by these warders. To whom does an appeal from these warders lie? To Major Clayton, who thinks it is a matter to be sneered at that Daly had escaped from the wiles and spurned the bribes of the agent of the *Times*. These things being so, our claim is that Major Clayton has written himself down as a man unfitted by his prejudices to remain in charge of these men. The Home Secretary forgets, when he speaks of the impossibility of these things happening in a large prison like Chatham, that these prisoners are not mixed up and down among the other prisoners, but are kept in a separate ward and apart from other prisoners in a sort of "Lock" Hospital. When we come to consider the statement of the poisoning of Daly, remember that the man was not sentenced to be poisoned; but the man was poisoned, not once, but three times. Now, remember there is a belief among convict prisoners that there is a practice among prison doctors of administering drugs in order to reduce prisoners to a state of subjection. It may be totally unfounded, but it is a common tradition. We know that this practice is officially accepted in Russia. Of course, if I were "Stepniak" or the poet "Swinburne," and my remarks directed to the encouragement of assassination, they might be hailed with delight; but, being only an Irish Member pleading for justice to a convict, the case is wholly different. There is a traditional belief among prisoners that refractory prisoners are in English prisons treated as prisoners admittedly are in Russian prisons. We have it in evidence that castor oil was administered to Daly when it was not ordered by the doctor. Of course, it is unpleasant to go into these details; but remember that upon this administering of castor oil follows the overdosing with belladonna. Warders are brutal, says the right hon. Gentleman, and it is perhaps an accompaniment of their employment; but then remember that the compounder of drugs is of the same class as the warders. When we turn to another case, that of Flanagan, is it not palpable from the ravings of this unfortunate man that there is nothing to

justify the imputation of shamming? He is not a member of a Society for promoting Nihilism or recommending the assassination of a friendly Sovereign. This man says, in answer to a question, "I have not the slightest complaint to make." How, then, can you suppose this man is shamming when such an answer would defeat his own object? Observe his replies—

"179. (Mr. Shipton.) I see, you claim to have certain supernatural powers over all the known nations of the earth, including Christians, Turks, Jews, and Gentiles?—I am under the impression that you are aware of my meaning. I trust that you will excuse me, and I will give you a definite answer to that. I have power to show great signs and wonders by shutting the organs of my body, that is quite beyond your comprehension; but I leave it to others to prove that I have power to show great signs and wonders in the earth by shutting the organs of my body.

180. But you claim to have supernatural powers over the known nations of the earth?—No; I say that I believe other people are invested with that power, not myself. I do not claim to have power over the nations of the earth.

181. (Chairman.) You say that this prevents you from giving a full account of yourself?—Yes.

182. Why?—Because I cannot make it publicly known that I have power to show great signs and wonders in the earth by shutting up the organs of my body. I did it last time the dockyard clock was changed, at the hour of 8 o'clock; there were certain changes made in the dockyard clock through it.

183. Have you been in the infirmary at all? Yes, I have been there on two occasions.

184. What were you treated for?—I had an accident in 1885; and in 1886, upon which occasion I had a boil on my arm.

185. (Mr. Shipton.) What was the nature of your first accident?—It was simply through some metal dropping on my legs. I was carrying some metal to the furnace, and some metal dropped on my legs and I got burned slightly.

186. What was the next?—A boil on my right arm.

187. (Chairman.) All you wish, as I understand, to complain of, is that you have not had any visitor, and that you did not get an answer from Mr. Poole; is there anything else?—No; I do not wish to make any complaint of anything else at the present time, except that I wish to be brought into communication. I am perfectly certain, from the changes which have occurred in the dockyard clock, that some events have taken place. Last Wednesday, at the hour of 8 o'clock, during the time the dockyard clock was chiming, certain changes were occurring. That is a point which I could not make public; if I did, the public would laugh and scoff at me.

188. Could you make it known to us?—I could, at the proper time; but I have not the slightest complaint to make to either of you gentlemen."

Now, is it not absurd to suppose such a man is in his right mind? In truth, the man is mad as a March hare, and you persist in believing he is shamming. Why do not his answers supply an answer to that? Would he, if shamming, say he had no complaint to make? By no phantasm of political violence do we suggest that the Home Secretary has any wish or belief that these prisoners should be or are treated harshly. But do we not know that denials of ill-treatment were made in reference to Fenian prisoners years ago, and did we not find, when inquiry was ordered, that O'Donovan Rossa was chained for 40 days and compelled to lap his food like a dog; that he was bound, and, during the hot months of July and August, confined in a dark cell at the mercy of the meanest insect of God's creation? Do you wonder that he should lose his mental balance and indulge in dynamite ravings? Do we not know that Mr. Davitt was yoked to a cart and compelled to drag stones about? We do not doubt, however, that then, as now, the Home Secretary of the time was actuated by the desire simply that the law should be properly administered. This man Daly has been a determined opponent of ours and of our Parliamentary action. I remember in Louth he carried his opposition to a deadly extreme, and flung bombs into the house of a Member of our Party. His view was that we were the enemies of the Irish cause, and that the only way to free Ireland was by the sword. To this man Pigott, Mr. Soames, and Mr. Littlechild were allowed to pay visits, and my application was refused. I do not know that Daly would have consented to see me, for he is a man of determined political views; but, at least, I think that an Irish Member has as good a claim to have his application granted as Mr. Soames. There is another man in Chatham Prison whom every man in Ireland, I may say, believes to be innocent of the crime for which he was convicted. Daly stayed at the house of Egan at Birmingham, and in that house the bombs were discovered. It was strong evidence against Egan, and

*Mr. T. M. Healy*

I cannot blame the English jury that found him guilty. However, Daly has throughout declared that Egan was not in his confidence and had no part in his designs, and in the most solemn manner asseverated this at the trial. That is the view entertained in Ireland now. This is what Daly says:—

"I wished to see Mr. Egan because as a dying man I wished to ask his forgiveness for the great wrong I had done him. I wished to say with my dying breath almost in the presence of the unknown God, and in the presence of witnesses, that during the time I lived in his house at Birmingham he never at any time had my confidence, he had no share in my political sentiments no more than the child unborn."

Now, Daly believes himself dying but this request of his was refused. Really I do not think that the discipline of convict prisons should be carried to the pitch of the abandonment and abnegation of every trace of humanity. I think a little of English generosity might be extended in such circumstances. Imagine the indignation of the sentimental English people, some of whom were ready to rend the Home Secretary because he hanged a scoundrel who murdered his father; imagine the storm that would have been raised had Mrs. Maybrick prayed for the consolation of asking the forgiveness of an accomplice and had been refused! Surely a little common sense, not to say justice, should have allowed my hon. Friend the Member for Wexford the opportunity of talking freely with Egan during his visit. These men have borne their sad and miserable position in gaol with great dignity. Dr. Gallagher, one of the prisoners, is, I am told, being fast tortured to death, and this I have on the authority of a letter written by an English convict. I think we are entitled to some consideration at the hands of the Government. The House knows of the shadow of prejudice resting on the case of these men, and that makes it all the more necessary for some of their countrymen to stand up for them and endeavour to get applied to them the law of England as understood by and practised upon Englishmen. It is our duty to see that these Irishmen, sad and mistaken as has been their career, get the same measure of just treatment as English-

men, Russians, and Chinese have within the walls of English prisons.

\***(7.3.)** **MR. CHANNING** (Northampton, E.): Before the Vote is taken, I wish to ask a question on a subject which is deeply interesting to some of my constituents, namely, with regard to the treatment of prisoners under the Vaccination Acts. I have repeatedly drawn attention to cases of this kind, and not infrequently hard labour has been imposed on prisoners, and that is contrary to the Act. Prisoners under these Acts are subjected to exactly the same indignities as prisoners convicted for more serious offences. I contend that a distinction ought to be drawn between offences of a grossly immoral and heinous character and offences under such Acts as these, where prisoners go to gaol for conscience sake. I have had brought under my notice many cases of cruel hardship suffered by persons on whom it is clear, from their sympathetic speeches of last year, neither the Chief Secretary for Ireland nor the President of the Local Government Board have any desire to inflict unnecessary indignity, or personal suffering or a sense of degradation, and I hope the Home Secretary will be of the same opinion. It is quite sufficient that these people suffer some restraint in their liberty. The Committee which sat last year and was presided over by Lord Aberdare reported more or less in favour of drawing a distinction between prisoners of this kind and those guilty of gross and of horrible offences. I think it is time for the Government to take this question in hand, and I hope they will succeed in solving this problem in the course of next Session. I have, in conclusion, to ask two specific questions, namely, what are the powers of Magistrates at the present time as to ordering prisoners under these Acts to be treated as first-class misdemeanants, and whether the right hon. Gentleman will issue a Circular to the Clerks of the Peace informing them as to such powers, and making it more widely known to the Benches of Magistrates that hard labour cannot be inflicted in these cases?

**(7.10.)** **MR. SEXTON**: It will probably economise time and save the Committee trouble if the right hon. Gentleman will now say what he intends

to do with regard to the representations made to him this afternoon.

\***(7.11.)** **MR. MATTHEWS**: I cannot, of course, pledge myself to take any particular action, but I assure hon. Members opposite that I will apply my mind to the whole of the suggestions made. With reference to the questions just asked by the hon. Member for East Northamptonshire, I can only say that it is quite within the power of Magistrates to direct that a prisoner under the Vaccination Acts shall be treated as a first-class misdemeanant. What is more, it is the Court alone that inflicts the sentence that can so order. I have no power, when a man has been sentenced to simple imprisonment without a stipulation that he shall be treated as a first-class misdemeanant, to transfer him from the ordinary class to the first class. It is equally clear that hard labour cannot be inflicted for offences of this nature, and I believe that fact is thoroughly well known to Magisterial Benches throughout the country. In the one case which the hon. Member brought under my notice of hard labour being imposed, the mistake was purely accidental.

\***MR. CHANNING**: I am well aware that in the case which occurred in my own constituency the mistake was purely accidental, but I am also aware that in other cases elsewhere similar mistakes have been made through the ignorance of the Magistrates as to the law on the subject.

\***MR. MATTHEWS**: Well, so far as I can judge, it was a case of pure inadvertence. The hon. Member has raised one of the most knotty and difficult points in the Criminal Law. It is suggested that although a law is right, and although a penalty is properly imposed, yet, because amiable, good, honest people disagree with the law, a different punishment should be meted to them to that meted out to ordinary offenders. If the law is right and the man who breaks it is rightly visited with a penalty, is it not idle to talk about his high conscientious motives? Ought his high purposes to save him from the ordinary punishment of the law? I confess the hon. Member in advocating that is embarking on a very dangerous path. I have given much consideration to the matter, and

I find myself quite unable to make any logical classification of these offences which the hon. Member desires to see punished with special leniency.

(7.18.) MR. J. O'CONNOR: I had intended to move the Motion which stands in my name on the Paper, but I will forego my right, for I desire to accept the statement of the Home Secretary that the grievances of which the prisoners at Chatham complain will have his prompt and impartial consideration. I shall not, therefore, put the Committee to the trouble of a Division. I hope that as a result of the consideration which the right hon. Gentleman has promised the matter there will be no necessity for us again to trouble the House with the case of these unfortunate men. I think if the right hon. Gentleman will carefully look into the evidence of the Roman Catholic chaplain he will come to the conclusion that some mitigation of the sufferings of these men is most desirable. I might refer him to the case of Wilson, to which attention was drawn the other day by my hon. Friend the Member for Wexford, who declared that intervention in this matter was absolutely necessary as it was a question of life or death. We have reason to believe that the inquiry instituted a short time ago into the case of these convicts has made matters worse for them.

(7.21.) MR. A. O'CONNOR (Donegal, E.): Will the right hon. Gentleman make any statement with regard to the result of the investigation into the case of Egan?

MR. MATTHEWS: One of the Directors of the prison had a special interview with Egan, and inquired of him what he had to complain of. He complained, as a matter of fact, of the language of the warders towards him, and also of the nature of the food, exhibiting a mouldy piece of bread in corroboration of his statement. The Director investigated the matter of the food, and found that, as a rule, the bread distributed was excellent. There was no opportunity of inquiring whether on any particular occasion the bread was faulty.

MR. J. O'CONNOR: The right hon. Gentleman is aware that the complaint

*Mr. Matthews*

as to the language of the warders is an old one.

MR. MATTHEWS: Yes; he constantly complains of bad language being used by the warders.

MR. J. O'CONNOR: And has he not frequently complained of the quality of the bread?

MR. MATTHEWS: I am not aware of that.

Vote agreed to.

22. £132,419, to complete the sum for Reformatory and Industrial Schools Great Britain.

\*(7.24.) MR. CHANNING (Northampton, E.): I wish to ask whether the Government propose to introduce their Reformatory Bill in the early part of next Session?

MR. MATTHEWS: Yes; we hope to lay it before the House early in the Session.

Vote agreed to.

(23.) £22,033, to complete the sum for Broadmoor Criminal Lunatic Asylum.

#### CLASS IV.

(24.) £354,896, to complete the sum for the Science and Art Department.

(25.) £93,145, to complete the sum for the British Museum.

\*(7.26.) SIR G. CAMPBELL: I wish to ask a question with regard to the lighting of the Natural History part of the British Museum at South Kensington. It was proposed to light the rooms by electricity. I understand it has been done on the occasion of some private parties, but that the electric light is not used when the rooms are open to the public. Is it not intended to give the general public the benefit of the light at night in the same way as in the Museum at Bloomsbury?

MR. JACKSON: It was, of course, necessary, before finally lighting the rooms with electricity, to experiment and see if the system would answer.

\*SIR G. CAMPBELL: But there have been repeated private entertainments given there, at which the electric light has been used. I know people who have attended these gatherings, and have assured me that the light has been used.

Mr. JACKSON: Yes; experimentally.

(7.28.) Mr. SEXTON: I wish to know whether the experts of the British Museum are still allowed to employ their leisure time in tracing forged letters?

Mr. JACKSON: I do not know how they employ their spare time.

Vote agreed to.

(26.) £33,594 (including a Supplementary sum of £25,000), to complete the sum for the National Gallery.

\*(7.29.) Mr. CAVENDISH BENTINCK: I feel it my duty to make a few observations on this Vote, and those will be in the form of a protest. I shall not even delay the Committee by giving reasons at length, but I wish to protest against the practice which I am sorry to see is still continued, according to which the Director of the National Gallery goes to Italy and other places and purchases pictures on behalf of the country, at a price a great deal higher than that which would be paid by private individuals. I was informed by a gentleman well skilled in such matters that not very long ago he offered 400 francs for the picture attributed to Ghirlandajo, which had been sold to the National Gallery for £1,000. I wish also to protest against the practice of purchasing pictures under one name and having them placed in the National Gallery under another. About a fortnight ago a picture sold as by Carlo Dolce has since been re-baptised as by Giovanni Bellini. I am told by the Secretary to the Treasury that this change has been made on the sole responsibility of the Director of the National Gallery, but all the experts whom I have consulted disagree with the opinion of the Director. It is not desirable that doubtful pictures should be bought for the National Gallery. It would be better that the money should be saved for the purchase of some well-known work of a great master. But the principal object with which I have risen is to protest against the extravagant sum to be paid to Lord Radnor for three pictures. There are few pictures in the world which would fetch more than £25,000, and to suppose that the Holbein is

worth more than £25,000 is absurd. As for the Velasquez, I do not think there was ever one which would bring more than £4,000 or £5,000, and I am sure that any Member of this House who possesses a Morone would be glad to get £1,000 for it. I must protest against giving £40,000 or £45,000 for a Holbein. Then we have looming in the distance another purchase, as to which the Chancellor of the Exchequer told me that the charge would not come into the Supplementary Estimates this Session, but we are to hear of it in the course of next year. The right hon. Gentleman, however, does not mention the price to be paid to Lord Daruley.

(7.32.) Sir G. CAMPBELL: I am glad to find myself in sympathy with the right hon. Gentleman opposite, and I hope the Committee will disallow the extravagant sums it is proposed to pay for certain pictures. I object to this, not only because of its extravagance, but because it is a breach of an agreement made between the National Gallery Directors and the taxpayers. I further object on the ground of the bad precedent thus set. A few years ago extravagant purchases of this kind were made, but only on condition that the enormous sum then paid would be recouped from the annual allowance. I do not know anything about the value of these pictures, but I do know the course taken when it is desired to force pictures to an extravagant price. A clique is got up, and the newspapers are induced to protest against the idea that certain valuable pictures shall be allowed to go to Germany or to America, the result being that extravagant prices are given to retain them here. I have not heard anything said as to these pictures being of a popular character such as would gratify the masses of the people. I went to the National Gallery in order to ascertain what sort of opinion was formed by the public as to the Madonna for which £60,000 was paid, and I certainly saw no evidence of public appreciation.

(7.36.) Mr. CONYBEARE: I hope my hon. Friends will no longer lend themselves to the farce of discussing these matters. It is compromising to the dignity of this House to maintain a discussion as to the



expenditure on these pictures, as to which nobody cares 2½d. whether they are in the National Gallery or not. I simply rise to say that this sort of expenditure is incurred, not to gratify the picture fanciers, but to enrich a few noble Lords who want to marry their eldest sons and get as much money from the taxpayers as possible. This is what it all comes to, and I hope the public will understand that at the fag-end of a long Session it is sought to force this kind of thing upon the taxpayers. It is a scandal and a disgrace to the country, and, for my part, I will have nothing to do with it.

Vote agreed to.

27. £1,209, to complete the sum for the National Portrait Gallery.

28. £14,453 (including a Supplementary sum of £1,200) to complete the sum for the Learned Societies and Scientific Investigation, United Kingdom.

29. £41,000, to complete the sum for the Universities and Colleges, Great Britain.

30. £9,874, to complete the sum for the London University.

#### Class V.

31. £114,920 (including an additional sum of £30,000) to complete the sum for Colonial Services, including South Africa.

(7.44.) DR. CLARK (Caithness): I have to ask the reason why we do not get complete information with regard to the South African expenditure? Until this year we have been able to see how and for what the money has been spent. We are now asked for £16,000, as to which we have no information. With regard to Bechuanaland, the money is thrown away to a large extent on a Police Force which is totally unnecessary, when at the same time the people need money for education purposes and hospitals. I trust that this dog-in-the-manger policy will cease, and that you will no longer allow nine-tenths of the income to be expended on a police chiefly used by Colonel Carington instead of dogs when he is out shooting.

SIR G. CAMPBELL: Having been unable to enter into the fragmentary discussion on South African matters last

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night on the Vote for the Colonial Secretary I come fresh to the subject to-day. If, however, I am informed that I shall have an opportunity of speaking on the subject to-morrow, I will not continue my remarks this evening.

\*(7.47.) THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (MR. W. H. SMITH, Strand, Westminster): I hope the hon. Member will not think it necessary to prolong the Debate this evening, but will have some regard to the convenience of hon. Members. We sat until 4 o'clock this morning, and re-assembled at 12 o'clock to-day, and some regard should be paid to the convenience not only of Members generally, but also of the officers of the House. I may state that the Report of Supply will be taken as the first Order to-morrow.

SIR G. CAMPBELL: That being so, I will postpone my remarks.

Vote agreed to.

32. £35,000, for Cyprus, Grant in Aid.

(7.50.) MR. A. O'CONNOR: I think this Vote ought not to pass without some discussion, although I admit that adequate discussion is hopeless in the present state of the House. But I must enter my protest against this Vote from a taxpayers' point of view. I say that, from that point of view, this money would not be required if the island were properly administered. The ordinary expenditure has been steadily going up since 1883, while the actual revenue has decreased from £194,000 in 1883-4 to £172,000 in 1885-6, and £145,000 in 1887-8. Beyond this, the deficit, which was £10,000 at the beginning, rose to £31,000 in 1885-6, and £65,000 in 1887-8. The expenditure on the island is perfectly indefensible, and the mode in which the money is raised is ruinous and inhuman. If any stable reform were introduced it would not be necessary to harass the people as they now are, by having their property sold to secure payment of miserably small sums, but as it is, and under existing circumstances, I suppose we must wait until an additional charge is made next Session, when we may probably have a better chance of protesting.

Vote agreed to.

33. £38,375, to complete the sum for Subsidies to Telegraph Companies.

CLASS VI.

34. £259,989, to complete the sum for Superannuations and Retired Allowances.

35. £7,280, to complete the sum for Merchant Seamen's Fund Pensions, &c.

36. £12,848, for Friendly Societies Deficiency.

37. £928, to complete the sum for Miscellaneous Charitable and other Allowances, Great Britain.

CLASS VII.

38. £15,374, to complete the sum for Temporary Commissions.

(7.59.) MR. CONYBEARE: I do not propose to discuss this Vote, but I wish to ask a simple question with regard to the Mining Royalties Commission. A day or two ago I stated that one of my constituents in Camborne had informed me that the Royal Commissioners were empowered to report on such matters as came under their consideration. I want to know whether the Commissioners have not power to offer recommendations as well as to report their opinions?

\*(8.1.) MR. W. H. SMITH: I cannot pretend to give a proper interpretation of the Reference to the Royal Commission, seeing that I have not had notice of the question, and, therefore, have been unable to obtain information. But the matter is one upon which I do not think I could offer an opinion under any circumstances. The Reference was issued to the Commission, and it is for the Commissioners themselves to say what meaning or construction is to be put upon it. It is for them to submit their Report as they may think fit, and it would be impertinent on my part to interpret for them what the Reference means.

(8.3.) DR. CLARK: As to the Highlands Commission I should like to ask whether they have reported, or whether they intend to go back again to Sutherlandshire, to Cape Wrath and Caithness,

where owing to the late unfortunate storm many people lost their lives. The Commission has reported, and having done so is it possible for it to go back to those places?

\*MR. W. H. SMITH: The Report of the Commission will remain on the Table.

DR. CLARK: Yes; but can the Commissioners go back?

\*MR. W. H. SMITH: No.

MR. ANGUS SUTHERLAND (Sutherland): I am informed that the Secretary for Scotland promised that the Commission should go back.

\*MR. W. H. SMITH: I have heard nothing about it.

Vote agreed to.

39. Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £6,738, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1891, for certain Miscellaneous Expenses."

(8.6.) MR. LABOUCHERE: This is the last Vote of the normal Estimates, and I beg to say before we dispose of it that I have sat still to-day, listening to this preposterous farce that has been going on, and watching the way in which the Public Accounts are being treated. They say the last straw breaks the camel's back, and I must confess that this last straw breaks my back. I see here an item for the cost of robes and insignia for persons upon whom various orders are conferred, and also a periodical allowance of £270 for trumpeters, and such like persons. I have always divided the House against any expenditure I have come across on Knights of the Garter, or of the Thistle, or of St. Patrick, because these orders are confined to Royal personages and noblemen—Dukes and such like. I cannot for the life of me understand how anybody can give a straw for these wretched honours. If they were conferred for merit, I could understand it.



expenditure stand charges being made which not of the Orders of the Bath, or are in the Michael and St. George. Some of rise to insignia has been given in respect of is in orders; but a sum of over £1,000 far as to the Knights of the Garter and the Thistle, and I therefore beg to move that the Vote be reduced by the sum of £1,270.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £5,468, be granted for the said Service."—(*Mr. Labouchere.*)

(8.8.) **SIR HERBERT MAXWELL:** I do not know whether the hon. Member will insist upon going to a Division when I tell him the result of a careful inquiry as to this account. There are two classes of these honours—hereditary and personal. The hereditary honours entail charges upon those who receive them, and the result does not appear in the Vote, although the money goes into the Exchequer. In respect of the other class of honours, items appear on the Votes, and the country is put to some expense; but when the one class is set off against the other, the result is that during five years, from 1882 to 1887, £25,700 was paid out of the Exchequer and £29,300 into it. There has, therefore, been a gain to the Exchequer.

(8.9.) **MR. LABOUCHERE:** I do not call it a gain to the taxpayer, but I call the amount which these people have to pay a tax. I consider that if people wish to be made Dukes and Marquesses they should pay something for the article—if the article is worth anything in the market I think we ought to get the highest price. But the hon. Gentleman's argument, that because we receive money in respect of some of these honours therefore we should pay for insignia in other cases, is worth nothing. The hon. Member tells us that one class of these personages costs us nothing. Why, Sir, they cost us millions, owing to their obstructive tactics in the other House.

(8.10.) **MR. ATKINSON (Boston):** I do not agree at all with the remark of the hon. Member for Northampton  
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with regard to the House of Lords, as I am one of those who are inclined to thank God that we have a House of Lords, but with his other remarks I perfectly agree. Seeing that when in the provinces we, as Mayors, have to pay for our own robes, it is only right that the recipients of honours such as he has referred to should pay for their insignia. I shall, therefore, divide with the hon. Member, and I think that the more we get the common sense element introduced into our Legislature the more we shall find these items disappear from the Estimates.

(8.12.) The Committee divided:—  
Ayes 26; Noes 49.—(Div. List, No. 247.)

Original Question put, and agreed to.

40. Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £5,305, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1891, for the Re-payment to the Civil Contingencies Fund of certain Miscellaneous Advances."

(8.20.) **MR. LLOYD-GEORGE:** I beg to move to reduce the Vote by £3,588 8s. (being £439 3s. 4d. Fees paid on the Installation of His Royal Highness Prince Henry of Prussia as a Knight of the Garter; £2,769 4s. 8d. Equipage Money on appointment of the Earl of Zetland Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; £200, Special Steamers for Conveyance of Lords Lieutenant of Ireland; and £180, Expenses in connection with the Funeral of Her Royal Highness the Duchess of Cambridge.) I do not propose to inflict a long speech upon the Committee, as I think it would be unjustifiable at this period of the Session; but I object to this Vote, not on account of the amount, but on account of the principle involved. I will refer to the payments categorically. With regard to the first payment, namely, £439 3s. 4d., Fees paid on the Installation of His Royal Highness

Prince Henry of Prussia as a Knight of the Garter, I wish to point out that that dignity is, as a general rule, granted for some signal service rendered to the country; but what service has Prince Henry of Prussia ever rendered to this country? He has not yet rendered any service to his own country, to say nothing of service to Great Britain. When this honour is conferred upon people here they have to pay their own installation fees; but that is not so in the case of a foreign Prince. Although it may be argued that diplomatic considerations should weigh in these cases, I hold that that argument should only be valid in cases where these honours are bestowed upon persons of distinction. But when they are conferred upon people who have never done anything to deserve attention, these interchanges of courtesies become empty expressions of diplomacy without any real meaning in them. With regard to the second item, £2,769 4s. 8d. Equipage Money on appointment of the Earl of Zetland Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, I think it is generally admitted that this office is a sinecure. ["No, no."] Well, there is nothing which the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland is supposed to do which is not better done already by his subordinates. We have been frequently reminded by the Chief Secretary that he is the real Governor of Ireland. The Lord Lieutenant is simply a man in buttons, who wears silk stockings and has a coat of arms on his carriage. [*Cries of "Order!"*]

(8.22.) THE CHAIRMAN: Order, order! The salary of the Lord Lieutenant is placed upon the Consolidated Fund, in order that he may not be criticised in this style. The only question into which the hon. Gentleman can enter is that of the adequacy of this expenditure.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE: I only wish to point out to the House that this sum of £3,000 is thrown away upon a sinecure. I find that a sum of about £3,000 appears in the Estimates under the head of Dublin Metropolitan Police, a Force which is as necessary to the present system of Government in Ireland as the Lord Lieutenant is unnecessary. Well,

then comes a sum of £180 in an unfortunate the funeral of the Duchess of Caives. The Such items are not calculated to p. having sentiments of loyalty; on the cont. back to they cause irritation and provoke amount of criticism and inquiry which. of otherwise would be absent. The result of the inquiry promoted by this item is to show that the family of the Duke of Cambridge has from first to last received something like £3,000,000 out of the Exchequer. I think it positively monstrous that we should be paying these sums for what is absolutely worthless to this country, when there is so much suffering, so much absolute penury and want among our working classes. Shortly before this Supplementary Estimate was issued, the Report of the Sweating Committee appeared, and what a ghastly comment are the main features of that Report upon this expenditure. The Report shows that thousands of hard-working, thrifty men are living a life of hopeless, ceaseless toil, and yet we are asked to spend hundreds in decorating a foreign Prince, and thousands in adorning a mere supernumerary. These items represent principles of expenditure which do a vast amount of harm in this country. Others are induced by this extravagance to spend a vast amount of money on what is perfectly superfluous, and the result is this monstrous sweating system that is a blot on our civilisation. I do not believe that all this gorgeousness, and this ostentation of wealth, is necessary in order to maintain the Constitution. On the contrary, I think it does far more to repress than to promote sentiments of loyalty.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £1,717, be granted for the said Services."—(*Mr. Lloyd-George.*)

(8.27.) MR. ATKINSON: I wish to dissociate myself from the remarks made by the Mover of this Amendment, as far as the greater part of the reduction is concerned. But if I can vote only against the £180 for funeral expenses I shall do so. I believe no man is a greater enemy of royalty, and of the

prospects of royalty in this country, than the man who allowed this £180 to come on the Estimates. Personally, I have done my best to prevent this coming before the House, even to the extent of offering a cheque for the amount. To justify myself allow me to say that last year, when it was a question between £40,000 and £36,000 a year for the family of the Prince of Wales, I opposed the reduction of the amount to the latter sum, although the Government had been so weak-kneed as to give way to the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. Gladstone) on the subject. That justifies my opposition as a royalist and a loyalist. I shall vote against this £180 with the greatest pleasure, and I hope we shall never again see such a shabby item brought up on the Estimates.

(8.29.) DR. CAMERON (Glasgow, College): I would suggest a compromise. Let my hon. Friend withdraw his Amendment, and let the Leader of the House accept the cheque of the hon. Gentleman opposite. I see from the gestures of the hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Atkinson) that it would be a relief to his conscience, as well as to the burdens of the country, if the Government were to accept his generous, patriotic, and sporting offer.

MR. T. M. HEALY: The hon. Gentleman's offer to hand over a cheque reminds me of a story told of a noble Lord now dead, who, when he was asked for a contribution towards the burial of a lawyer, offered a cheque for a guinea, saying, "Here, go and bury 21 of them."

(8.30.) MR. CONYBEARE: Owing to having paired with an hon. Gentleman on this side of the House I am prevented from voting upon this question, but I feel bound to explain the absence of my name from the Division which is about to be taken. But, while I am obliged to make that explanation, I want to ask the Government for an explanation of two or three items of this Vote. In the first place, I want to know how it is that the seal of the Governor of British New

*Mr. Atkinson*

Guinea costs so much as £98 ls. 6d.? I am sure there are Members of this House who could provide an amply sufficient article for a less sum. I want to know, in the second place, what has been the result of the inquiries as to Mrs. Giles, of Barbadoes, alleged to have been abducted? We should like to know who she is, and who abducted her, and for what purpose she was abducted, whether she has been returned, and if her friends know of her whereabouts? All these questions ought to be answered, and I think we ought to divide against the payment of £21 16s. 10d. for the inquiries as to this Mrs. Giles, unless we get a satisfactory answer from the Government. I have got a suggestion to make which I think will meet with the approval of the Committee with regard to the item of £180. Great as is my loyalty and respect for the Royal Family generally, which I think all hon. Members know burns with great fervour in my breast as a staunch Republican, I cannot but feel the most profound regret that a paltry sum of this kind should be placed upon the Estimates, not that it is paltry in the size of it. I should have thought £10 would have been enough to bury anybody. [MR. BROOKFIELD: Disgraceful.] The only persons in this country outside royalty who come upon the country for the expenses of their burial expenses are paupers. I think it is, as an hon. Member explained, a slur upon Royalty that a sum of this kind should be placed on the Estimates, and what I suggest is that this sum be remitted for payment to the Poor Law Guardians of the parish in which the deceased lady died.

THE CHAIRMAN: Order, order!

(8.35.) SIR G. CAMPBELL: I think we ought to be told whether Her Majesty's Government intend to accept the liberal offer of the hon. Member for Boston (Mr. Atkinson) or not. I observed that the Secretary to the Treasury retired behind the Chair to consult about the matter.

(8.35.) MR. LABOUCHERE: I think we have a claim to some answer from the Government. Here is an item

of £430 for fees paid on the installation of His Royal Highness Prince Henry of Prussia. [Mr. ASHMEAD BARTLETT: "Oh!"] The hon. Member says "Oh"; but he himself gets a salary. If he likes to pay this £430 himself I shall have no objection. This question of fees paid upon the installation of Knights of the Garter is a very old one. Prince Henry of Prussia may be a very estimable person, but it is not to be supposed that this Garter was given to him for any service he has rendered to this country. It is one of the honorary distinctions that are exchanged between the Royal Family of this country and the Royal Families abroad. I have not the slightest objection to this gentleman, or to hundreds of princes or tinkers getting Garters; all I object to is to our having to pay £430 as fees. Who gets these fees? Is it a fact that this interchange of orders is not to be made between Members of the Royal Family here and the Royal Families abroad without some harpies in this country getting hold of the money? We have a right to complain that we have received no explanation of this item. We have allowed the Estimates to go through in the most reckless fashion, not because we approve of the mode, but because we declined to take part in this ignoble farce which has taken place to-day. As there are only one or two Votes remaining to be taken, Ministers seem to think they can cease to be civil. [Cries of "No!"] Yes; it would have been very different if there had been 20 or 30 Votes, because in that case we would have taken it out of you. I am a very old stager at this business; and I know that as the Estimates get on the friendly feeling of Ministers decreases. I ask again that we shall receive some explanation, first of all, as to the ground upon which this Garter was given to Prince Henry of Prussia, and, secondly, as to the ground on which this expenditure has been incurred by the public, and, thirdly, as to who receives the fees.

\*(8.41.) SIR H. MAXWELL: The latter part of the hon. Member's interrogation has been already answered. As I have already explained, this is, practically, a mere matter of book-keeping, and in the end nothing is paid by the public. On the contrary, the result is a small income to the Exchequer. As to the policy which guides the distribution of these honours I hardly think this is the place to discuss it.

(8.42.) MR. T. M. HEALY: It seems to me the hon. Baronet has defended these honours on the most unhappy basis, namely, that the country makes a profit out of them. If that is to be the basis of the distribution of honours, I would suggest that we put down a Dukedom, say at £500,000, a Lordship at £100,000, and a Baronetcy at something like £1,000. The suggestion that the nobility of this country has to pay for these honours is somewhat unusual: we tax the home manufactured article in order to enable the foreigner to escape scot free, and, in my opinion, this is contrary to the principles of the Merchandise Marks Act. As to the funeral expenses of Her Royal Highness the Duchess of Cambridge, the hon. Member for Boston (Mr. Atkinson) has given a practical turn to the discussion. Why is his offer not accepted? He has offered to write out a cheque for £180, and his offer was made with that *bond fide* security which distinguishes his Protestantism. We may assume he is able to afford it, and we may also assume that the Treasury will be glad to get it. I think that when an offer of this kind has been made it would be unbecoming of us as representatives of the ratepayers to reject it. I suggest that the hon. Member should withdraw temporarily, and then appear at the Bar waving his cheque. We should be witnesses of the Secretary to the Treasury accepting cash down, and we should all go away with the knowledge that we have done a good night's work.

(8.45.) The Committee divided:—Ayes 27; Noes 49.—(Div. List, No. 248.)

Original Question again proposed.

(8.50.) MR. LABOUCHERE: Sir John Gorst, on a question of privilege, I desire to draw your attention to the fact that the hon. and gallant Member for Rye (Mr. Brookfield) used the word "disgraceful" as applied to some observations of my hon. Friend the Member for Camborne (Mr. Conybeare). I consider it altogether wrong for a Member of the House to make use of such an expression, especially when it is uttered in such a tone as not to reach the ear of the Chair while it reaches the ear of the Member for whom it is intended.

THE CHAIRMAN (Sir J. GORST): I understand that the words complained of by the hon. Member occurred before the Division. If so, it is too late to take notice of them now.

MR. LABOUCHERE: They were uttered during the Division, or when the Division was called. I said to the hon. Member, "Get up and say that if you think it"; and then I used the word "cowardly." And I do say now it is a cowardly thing to make an observation of that sort unless the gentleman gets up and says it openly in the House. The hon. Member for Rye came up to me after the Division had been called and said, "I hope you will see fit to withdraw what you said to me." I said, "I shall not do anything of the sort, because I do not think any hon. Member ought to withdraw, out of the House or privately, what he has said in the House." Upon this, the hon. Member for Rye said, "You are a man of the world, and you will understand the consequences of refusing." I am not aware what are the terrible consequences that the hon. Member threatens, but I think it is quite contrary to order and quite contrary to all rules and regulations in this House—and I am sure that the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury will agree with me—that any Member should induce another Member of this House to withdraw an observation he has made by threats made to him privately.

(8.53.) THE CHAIRMAN: Order, order! It seems to me that the conduct

of both the hon. Members is out of order. In the first place, neither hon. Member had at the time any right to address anyone unless he was covered; and, in the second place, he had no right to address anyone except the Chair. The word "disgraceful" is undoubtedly out of order under any circumstances, and it seems to me that the word "cowardly" is equally disorderly, and therefore I would suggest that either this matter should drop altogether, or that each of the hon. Members should withdraw and apologise.

\*(8.54.) MR. BROOKFIELD (Sussex, Rye): I am sure, Sir, no one wishes to prolong this incident, whatever it may be worth, but I may as well justify my own conduct in the matter. The hon. Member for Camborne did us the honour to come and sit on this side of the House, from which he expressed certain views regarding the Royal Family, upon which I feel very strongly. He made use of the expression that £10 was enough to bury anyone, upon which I used the word "disgraceful," and I am bound to say I consider the expression of such an opinion was disgraceful. Upon this, the hon. Member opposite (Mr. Labouchere) called out the word "coward." I thought I could not overlook the matter altogether, and I suggested to him that he should withdraw it. He has given, as he is so well able to do, a humorous turn to the affair by saying that I threatened him with vague consequences. I hope the hon. Member does not think I should make myself so ridiculous as to threaten to fight a duel with him in the present day. If I were driven to any course of that kind I should take much more summary measures. I express my great regret if I have done anything wrong, but that I will leave to the Committee to judge.

(8.56.) MR. LABOUCHERE: I understand the hon. Gentleman to admit that he did say that something unpleasant would happen. He now explains what that unpleasantness would be, namely, that he would make a personal assault upon me. But I entirely

accept your view, Sir John Gorst. I, of course, should not have used the expression "cowardly" unless the hon. Member had said what I considered was improper to my hon. Friend the Member for Camborne. If the hon. Gentleman will withdraw the word "disgraceful," I shall be most happy to withdraw the expression I used also.

(8.57.) **MR. CONYBEARE:** I have been most unfortunately dragged into this controversy. I wish to ask you, Sir, whether the opinion I expressed, that a certain sum of money would be sufficient to bury any person, was in any sense a disgraceful or disorderly expression?

**THE CHAIRMAN:** I have ruled that words used before the Division ought to have been taken notice of at the time. The controversy has been going on some time, and the incident is now closed.

**MR. CONYBEARE:** May I make a personal explanation? I cannot but express a hope that the hon. Member opposite will not in future attack me as he has done.

**THE CHAIRMAN:** Order, order! The hon. Member is not making a personal explanation. The hon. Member is in order in making any remarks necessary to explain his own conduct. He is not in order in commenting on the conduct of any other Member.

**MR. CONYBEARE:** Well, Sir, I will not put it in that way. The hon. Member took umbrage at my sitting in a vacant place on the other side of the House on a former occasion, and, referring to me, he said to another hon. Member, "There is that damned fool."

(8.59.) **MR. T. M. HEALY:** I beg to move that the words lately spoken by the hon. and gallant Gentleman opposite be taken down.

**THE CHAIRMAN:** It is too late to take that step. The words should have been taken down at the time.

**MR. T. M. HEALY:** The hon. Member for Rye has said that he would take a much more summary method, which I understand to mean personal chastise-

ment of the hon. Member for Northampton, and I think these words should be taken down.

**THE CHAIRMAN:** The words can only be taken down if exception is taken to them at the moment they are uttered.

**MR. T. M. HEALY:** The hon. Members for Northampton and Camborne were both entitled to speak, and I rose at the earliest moment I could to call attention to the matter. I submit that when a threat of personal chastisement is made the words ought to be taken down.

**THE CHAIRMAN:** It has always been the rule that the words should be taken down at the time, if at all.

Question put, and agreed to.

41. Motion made, and Question put,

"That a sum, not exceeding £922, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1891, as a Grant in Aid to make good certain amounts required to be written off from the assets of the Local Loans Fund."

(9.2.) The Committee divided:—Ayes 51; Noes 27.—(Div. List, No. 249.)

42. £160,000, for Pleuro-Pneumonia.

43. £1,000, for Jamaica Exhibition, 1891.

44. £1,153, for West Donegal Railway Deposit.

45. £200, for Grant to Munster School of the Society of Friends.

46. £40,000, for Labourers' Cottages, Ireland.

#### REVENUE DEPARTMENTS.

47. £714,027, to complete the sum for Customs.

(9.11.) **MR. A. O'CONNOR:** I wish to ask whether the principal officers whose salaries are charged in this Vote really exist—whether there are such persons as the Chairman, Deputy Chairman, and Secretary? Also whether there is such a person as the Commissioner? I also wish to know whether the salary of £1,200 charged for the Secretary is paid while the duties are discharged by a

gentleman whose pay is also drawn as Surveyor General? There are many persons here charged for who, I believe, do not really exist. This matter involves an important principle, which relates to the amalgamation of the Customs and Inland Revenue Services. We are to maintain these two expensive Services because the Government do not see their way to their amalgamation, in consequence of the personal injury that would accrue to the heads of these Departments. We know that Sir Algernon West is at the head of the Inland Revenue, and must, on the amalgamation of the Departments, be at the top of the tree. In that case the question arises, what is to become of the gentleman who is now Chairman of the Customs Department? Thus the great reform we ask for is stopped by this personal question. I trust the Secretary to the Treasury will answer the question I have put.

(9.13.) MR. JACKSON: Yes, Sir; I will answer the question. The officers to whom the hon. Member refers do all exist. There are a Chairman, Deputy Chairman, Commissioner, and Secretary, but the hon. Member is wrong in saying that the Secretary is the Surveyor General. Having been appointed Secretary he no longer holds the post of Surveyor General. With regard to the question of amalgamation, I can assure the hon. Member that it has been most fully and carefully considered by the Government, who have come to the conclusion that the evidence is decidedly against the wisdom or expediency of such a charge, and that, on the whole, it is not desirable to amalgamate.

(9.15.) MR. A. O'CONNOR: I contend that there are not individuals to fill all the posts for which pay is drawn. There are not three Surveyors General, though three are paid for.

MR. JACKSON: The question has been considered whether it is possible or desirable to reduce the number of Surveyors General to two. I have carefully gone into the question, and I have

*Mr. A. O'Connor*

come to the conclusion that it is not desirable.

Vote agreed to.

48. £1,553,926, to complete the sum for Inland Revenue.

Resolutions to be reported to-morrow.

RAILWAYS (IRELAND) BILL.--(No. 417.)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

(9.18.) THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (MR. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.): In moving the Second Reading of this Bill, I have to say that it is a measure simply carrying out the policy of last Session. It is intended to make more rapid the works connected with light railways in the West and North-West of Ireland, in view of the possibility of a serious failure of the potato crop in that part of the country. The Government propose, by having a special Grand Jury as soon as the list can be got through, to enable the works to be commenced in time to deal with any distress that may occur. Clause 5 enables a Railway Company as promoter to construct a railway which does not exactly satisfy the requirements of the Light Railways Act.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. A. J. Balfour.*)

SIR W. LAWSON (Cumberland, Cockermouth): We have been told that this Bill simply carries out the policy of last Session, but I object to the policy of last Session.

\*(9.22.) MR. MURPHY (Dublin, St. Patrick's): The question whether or not this will promote urgency in the objects which the Government have in view depends upon the mode in which the Act is worked. I have some special knowledge on this subject, and I should like to have some explanation as to the position of the lines which are not under the Act in relation to the Government scheme. — There are five railways scheduled in the Act; but outside these five railways there are three or four others which are



not scheduled at all in the Act, but are scheduled in an Order in Council. I should like to have some information as to whether the lines not in the Act are part of the present Government scheme. I may mention, for the information of the Committee, that there are two railways outside the Act of 1889 altogether, having been promoted under the Act of 1883, and to which this Bill has no reference, which will probably be commenced in the present year, and will then give a certain amount of employment in districts which are congested. The lines to which I refer are the line along the coast of County Clare to Kilrush and Kilkee, known as the South Clare Railway, and the Tuam and Claremorris line. The County Clare line has already been passed by the House of Lords and this House, and will shortly be an Act. With regard to the Galway Railway, there has been a certain amount of difficulty, and it is very desirable that the powers sought for should by some arrangement be confirmed. I respectfully contend that the provisions in the Bill will in no way meet the apprehended distress during the autumn and winter, because, supposing the Grand Jury are called together in November, it will be at least six months afterwards before anything can practically be done. It should be known that all the lines which are scheduled were already passed by the Grand Juries as long ago as last March, and if the Treasury really desire that the light railway projects already approved of shall be executed speedily, they had better give the promoters an opportunity of going before the Privy Council to have the Orders in Council made out, and that will end the matter. That can be done without any Bill.

(9.40.) **MR. JACKSON**: In reply to the first question put by the hon. Member, I must say that the lines which are not included in the Schedule will be in precisely the same position as before, and will be in no way retarded.

\***MR. MURPHY**: Will the operation of the Act in reference to the other lines be suspended until those scheduled under this Bill have been dealt with?

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**MR. JACKSON**: No; this Bill has a double object. It is intended to remedy the defects in certain presentments, and also to enable the Treasury to negotiate in reference to railways that are not light railways. But that is owing to the inherent difficulty of the case, and not to the fault of the Government. The Treasury and the Board of Works will take every possible pains to expedite these works.

(9.43.) **MR. T. M. HEALY** (Longford, N.): The right hon. Gentleman asked us to consent to the introduction of this Bill on the ground that it would do something to avert the distress which was threatened on the Western and South-Western Coast of Ireland, and we thought that if we could, by accepting it, help in the troubles which were then threatened, it was our duty to do so. But I am inclined to think that it will not do anything to meet the apprehended distress during the forthcoming winter, and I warn the Government against laying that flattering unction to their souls. My hon. Friend the Member for Dublin (Mr. Murphy), who has had much experience in the construction of these railways, has declared that even after the passage of this Bill not a single pick can be put into the ground with reference to any of these railways before the potato crop, not of 1890 but of 1891, is dug up. I ask the House to realise what that means. This Bill is really a Bill to give the Midland and the Great Western Railway Companies a large sum of money to construct a line in the West of Ireland. That can be done in a clause of a few lines. The usual notices might be dispensed with, for I can assure the Government the landowners of Galway are only too anxious to sell their land on any terms, and without any notice whatever. If the Government wish to hasten the time when these lines may be constructed, they should take the word "November" out of the Bill and put in the month of September or October, and they could easily call the Grand Juries together in time to cover that procedure.

(9.52.) MR. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.): I should like to ask why November is the date which has been fixed upon for the meeting of Grand Juries, because, if this is an urgent case and the Government intend to proceed with their Bills, they must know that it would be easy to call the Grand Juries together next month instead of several months later.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: It is necessary to fix a date in November, because of the notices that have to be served under the Act of Parliament.

MR. T. M. HEALY: Why not abolish the notices altogether?

MR. T. W. RUSSELL: Exactly.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I do not think that would be possible. It is only reasonable that a landlord should wish to have notice before his land is taken from him.

(9.55.) MR. SEXTON (Belfast, W.): I think that the general project of the Bill is excellent, but after the speeches of my hon. Friend the Member for Dublin (Mr. Murphy) and the hon. and learned Member for North Longford, I gravely doubt whether it will in any way meet the distress which, unfortunately, is apprehended in Ireland during the coming winter. Why not, as my hon. Friends suggest, dispense with the notices altogether and call the Grand Juries together at once?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: There are certain limits fixed under the Statutes, and we have allowed the minimum amount of time which can be taken before the Grand Juries are called together.

MR. SEXTON: Well, I can only urge the Government to strain a point in this case, and dispense with these notices altogether. I am sorry to observe that the Bill does not include Belmullet, a district requiring assistance, perhaps, more than any other part of Ireland, and I would suggest as strongly as I can to the Government whether it is not desirable to include that district in the Schedule.

(10.0.) THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN, Dublin University): We have done our best to

facilitate the progress of the scheme. The notice to owners of land, however, is not the only thing to be considered. A substantial guarantee for a portion of the capital is required; and before going to the Grand Jury for sanction to such a scheme many proceedings must be taken involving a certain amount of delay. As a consequence of the efforts of the Government, the scheme will come on for hearing by the Grand Jury in November, instead of at the ordinary time, March, thus saving four months.

Question put, and agreed to.

Bill read a second time, and committed for to-morrow.

#### SUPPLY—REPORT.

Resolutions [12th August] reported, and agreed to. (see page 729.)

#### CENSUS (IRELAND) BILL—(No. 386.)

As amended, considered.

A Clause (Certificate of population.)—(Mr. T. M. Healy.)—brought up, and read the first and second time.

(10.5.) MR. COURTNEY (Cornwall, Bodmin): Is there not a little difficulty arising from the fact that there will be many areas in relation to which the census will not be taken, and as to the population of which there will be no evidence? Should there not be an Amendment of the words "any area?"

MR. T. M. HEALY: As a matter of technique, the right hon. Gentleman may be right, but in practice the difficulty will not arise. Obviously, there can be no certificate where there is nothing to base it upon.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.): I would suggest the addition of the words "if possible" after the word "bound."

Amendment proposed, after the word "bound" to insert the words "if possible."—(Mr. A. J. Balfour.)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. T. M. HEALY: If we subjected English Bills to such criticism, progress would not be rapid. May I observe that

the absence of such a clause as this in the Census Act of 1881 cost the Dublin Corporation £10,000! The Corporation brought an action to recover for the supply of water to the Kingstown Corporation; but in the absence of any legal proof of the population in support of the claim for the 1d. rate under the Dublin Corporation Act, the Corporation were non suited. So the absence of such a provision as this cost the Dublin Corporation £10,000.

Question put, and agreed to.

Clause, as amended, added.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The question was raised as to the time at which enumerators should make their visits. The actual hours are not, I believe, inserted.

MR. SEXTON: Yes, they are in the Bill.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL: Between 10 and 4.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Well, the point is this: Of course, on this matter we are bound to consult the opinion of experts founded on experience. This I have done, and they represent two objections to the hours from 10 to 4, first, that this will include an interval of time during which the head of the household is usually absent: and, secondly, that it will necessitate an augmentation of the staff that must inevitably lead to delay and increased expense. I trust the House will agree to substitute the hours 8 to 7, which will effect the object desired, namely, that the visit of the enumerators shall be made in daylight.

Amendment proposed, in Clause 2, to leave out the word "ten" and insert the word "eight."—(Mr. A. J. Balfour.)

Question proposed, "That the word 'ten' stand part of the Clause."

MR. SEXTON: With the very adequate force available as numerators, I would suggest that every necessity of the case would be met by inserting the hours 9 to 6. For the inhabitants of towns 8 is an unreasonably early hour.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: It is undesirable to impose a limit against the opinion

of those whose experience we have to rely on; but rather than provoke controversy, let me suggest from 8.30 to 6.30.

MR. T. M. HEALY: If the Census Paper is left, the head of the family would get it on his return to tea.

MR. COURTNEY: As the enumerators will have to cover, in some instances, large areas, it would be well to leave sufficient time for the second visit if necessary.

MR. SEXTON: Will the right hon. Gentleman accept the hours 8.30 to 6?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR assented.

Question put, and negatived.

Question, "That the words 'half-past eight' be there inserted," put, and agreed to.

Amendment proposed, to omit "four" and insert "six."

Agreed to.

Amendment proposed, in Clause 3, page 2, line 14, at end, add—

"But the initial letters only of the Christian names and surnames of such inmates shall be stated in any such Return."—(Mr. A. J. Balfour.)

Agreed to.

MR. SEXTON: In relation to Returns of certain diseases and infirmities there are subsequent inquiries to be answered, and I would suggest that the enumerator should be provided with these additional papers, so that there may not be the necessity for an additional visit.

(10.27.) MR. A. J. BALFOUR: That is a matter to be provided for in the Instructions, and I think it can be done.

Bill read the third time, and passed.

STATUTE LAW REVISION (No. 2)  
(RE-COMMITTED) BILL [LORDS].  
(No. 405.)

Considered in Committee, and reported, with Amendments; as amended, to be considered to-morrow.

CUSTODY OF CHILDREN BILL [LORDS].  
(No. )

Order for Second Reading read.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir R. WERNER, Isle of Wight): In moving

that the Order for the Second Reading of this Bill be read and discharged, I regret that, owing to the opposition of certain hon. Members from Ireland, this Bill cannot now be proceeded with. But Her Majesty's Government regard it as a very valuable measure, and would have been willing to consent to the exclusion of Ireland from it. I hope hon. Gentlemen from Ireland will consider the matter as early as possible, as the Bill is so desirable in the interests of children.

(10.30.) MR. SEXTON: I may say that I have received communications from Ireland which render it necessary for me to oppose the Bill, but during the Recess I will communicate with the right hon. Gentleman more definitely on the subject.

Order discharged.

Bill withdrawn.

#### WAYS AND MEANS.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Resolved, "That, towards making good the Supply granted to Her Majesty for the Service of the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1891, the sum of £31,057,732 be granted out of the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom."

Resolution to be reported to-morrow.

#### FINANCIAL RELATIONS (ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, AND IRELAND).

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a Select Committee be appointed to consider the present financial relations between England, Scotland, and Ireland, and to report—

- (1) The amount and proportion of revenue contributed to the Exchequer by the people of England, Scotland, and Ireland respectively;
- (2) The amount and proportion of revenue which under recent legislation is paid to local authorities in England, Scotland, and Ireland respectively;
- (3) The amount and proportion of moneys expended out of the Exchequer; (a) upon civil and local government services for the special use of; and (b) upon collection of revenue in England, Scotland, and Ireland respectively;
- (4) The amount and proportion of State Loans outstanding, and of State Liabilities incurred for local purposes in

*Sir E. Webster*

England, Scotland, and Ireland respectively;

- (5.) How far the financial relations established by the sums so contributed, paid, advanced, or promised, or by any other existing conditions, are equitable, having regard to the resources and population of England, Scotland, and Ireland respectively."—(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer*).

(10.32) MR. LLOYD-GEORGE: I beg to move the Amendment which stands in the name of my hon. Friend the Member for Mid Glamorgan, to insert after "England" the words "Wales (including Monmouthshire)." I hope the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer will accept the Amendment.

Amendment proposed, in line 3, after the word "England," to insert the words "Wales (including Monmouthshire)."—(*Mr. Lloyd-George*.)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

\*(10.32.) THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (*Mr. Goschen*, St. George's, Hanover Square): It would not be possible for the Government to accept this Amendment. We cannot treat Wales as a separate financial entity, nor would it be to the advantage of Wales to be so treated; and I would point out that only a short time ago it became necessary to make a separate arrangement, financially, with Scotland and Ireland, but that Wales was not considered in the matter. I see no reason why Wales should be treated separately, and even if the Amendment were carried it could not have the effect the hon. Member probably desires, as we could not undertake to establish separate relations as between England and Wales.

(10.33.) MR. RANDALL (*Glamorgan, Gower*): I trust, notwithstanding what has fallen from the Chancellor of the Exchequer, he will see his way clear to extend the terms of the Reference, so as to include Wales specifically. There is an impression abroad in the Principality that as regards our financial relations in comparison with Ireland and Scotland,

Wales suffers. There can be no harm whatever in including Wales, so that we know exactly where we stand, and although the Chancellor of the Exchequer is of opinion that Wales might suffer if we investigated this matter, I think it would be satisfactory to the Principality to know the real state of the facts.

(10.34.) MR. T. M. HEALY: Perhaps the hon. Member will receive a suggestion. If he cannot obtain what he desires by this Amendment, the information he seeks may be obtained by having an interchange of Welsh Members on the Committee. I see there is a very distinguished Welsh Member on the Committee, but perhaps another, a Liberal Member, might be exchanged for a Conservative Member, and *vice versa*.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE: I am afraid I must press the Amendment.

(10.35.) The House divided:—Ayes 22; Noes 50.—(Div. List, No. 250.)

(10.42.) SIR G. CAMPBELL: I have put an Amendment on the Paper in order to elicit some sympathetic statement from the Chancellor of the Exchequer. I put a question to him in the House asking if he would consent to give us the figures promised by the Revenue Department, distinguishing the Metropolis from other parts of the kingdom in these matters. I thought that he would consent to do this, as a matter of course, but much to my surprise he gave me a point blank refusal. It seems to me that what I propose is the merest justice, and the crux of the whole question as regards Ireland and Scotland. The Metropolis is the common centre. An enormous number of payments are made in London on account of foreign investments, Indian pensions, and so on. Enormous sums are received by Scotchmen, London being in many respects the capital of Scotland. There is more Scotch money in London than in Edinburgh, and, under the circumstances, I think we should be allowed to have the information for which I ask. The sympathies of the Chancellor of the Exchequer would not appear to be at all with Scotland.

Amendment proposed, in line 5, after the word "respectively," to insert the

words "regard being had to the payments made in the Metropolis as a common centre."—(Sir George Campbell.)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

\*(10.45.) MR. GOSCHEN: I have done more for finance in Scotland than any of my predecessors, and I am prepared to take the responsibility the hon. Member suggests of refusing his Amendment. Any figures representing the Metropolis as a separate financial unit would be misleading.

Question put, and negatived.

Main Question again proposed.

(10.46.) MR. SEXTON: I think the terms of the Reference are unduly restricted. I suppose we may expect to have the Chancellor of the Exchequer in the chair, and I have no doubt the terms of the Reference will be strictly construed by him. The main object of the Committee I take to be the fixing and adjusting from time to time of fair proportions of the contributions of Ireland and Scotland to Imperial purposes. I think the Chancellor of the Exchequer will agree that even after the contribution has been fixed it may be deranged by the increase of certain taxes, by the diminution of certain taxes, or by the distribution of the Budget surplus. That being so it will be necessary for the Committee to make, to some extent, a retrospective inquiry on these three points. If the present Reference will allow of such an inquiry I should be satisfied, but if the Reference is to be strictly construed I fear it will greatly embarrass the Committee. Then I think the first clause of sub-head 3, and the whole of sub-head 4 are irrelevant. I say, however much you expend on Civil and Military Service in Ireland, you are not able to raise from Ireland a greater Revenue than she is able to afford. I object to the inclusion of population as a factor. The conditions of Ireland on the one hand, and Great Britain on the other, are so different that the introduction of population as a factor is entirely misleading. At the time of the famine, Ireland had double the population she has now; but her contribution to Imperial taxation was much smaller

than it is now. The Reference, therefore, to my mind, is in part irrelevant, in part too restricted, and in part misleading.

\*(10.53.) MR. GOSCHEN: From the beginning, I have held that the object of this inquiry is not to be retrospective, that is to say, to see whether Scotland or Ireland has paid too much or too little in the past, but that the object is to see whether Scotland or Ireland should be relieved of any portion of the taxation they now pay. Should I occupy the chair on the Committee, I should endeavour to be as equitable as possible, but I cannot hold out any hope that the inquiry will have an historical retrospect.

(10.54.) MR. SEXTON: I do not desire that we should inquire as to whether Ireland has at any time paid too much, but that the general course of policy as to the imposition and distribution of taxation should be examined.

\*(10.54.) MR. GOSCHEN: That would mean what I describe as an historical retrospect. My object is more practical, namely, to see if there should be any alteration of existing burdens. The power of a country to pay taxation must to a large extent depend on numbers. I trust all these matters will be threshed out in Committee, and I hope I shall be able to show the hon. Member that the Reference is neither unfair, irrelevant, or misleading.

(10.56.) MR. A. O'CONNOR: It affords great satisfaction to the Irish Members to see the willingness of the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer to agree to the appointment of this Committee, but, as my hon. Friend has shown, in two respects the terms of the Reference to the Committee are very misleading. I would ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether the Committee will not have such power of casting a glance backward as will enable them to properly appreciate and understand existing circumstances. If you take the circumstances of to-day only, without reference to the circumstances which have induced them, it is possible that you may have a very erroneous and one-sided view of the relations between the two countries. I submit that to inquire merely into—

*Mr. Sexton*

"The amount and proportion of moneys expended out of the Exchequer; (a) upon civil and Local Government services for the special use of; and (b) upon collection of Revenue in England, Scotland, and Ireland, respectively"

is to limit the matter too much, and to leave out of consideration a very material element, namely, the Army and Navy Services. It is with regard especially to the Navy that the inequality of taxation between England and Ireland is most marked. If you are to inquire only into expenditure in regard to Civil and Local Government, you will be evidently taking a very partial view, and I would suggest that in this matter the terms of the Reference should be extended, in order that we may take into view the whole of the National expenses.

(10.58.) DR. CLARK: We must take into view that certain monies in England are derived from the Imperial Exchequer, whereas in Scotland they come from local sources.

\*MR. GOSCHEN: Account will be taken of that.

DR. CLARK: Under the circumstances, although I was formerly opposed to the Motion, I think we might very well agree to it.

Question put, and agreed to.

Committee appointed.

Ordered, That the Committee do consist of Twenty-one Members.

Committee nominated of,—Mr. John Morley, Mr. Arthur Balfour, Mr. Childers, Lord Randolph Churchill, Mr. Henry H. Fowler, Mr. Baring, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman, Mr. Solicitor General for Scotland, Mr. Sexton, Sir Richard Temple, Mr. Sinclair, Dr. Cameron, Sir Matthew Ridley, Mr. T. W. Russell, Mr. Dillon, Mr. Bristowe, Mr. James William Lowther, Mr. Stuart Rendel, Mr. Arthur O'Connor, Mr. Jackson, and Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Ordered, That the Committee have power to send for persons, papers, and records.

Ordered, That Five be the quorum.—(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.*)

It being after Six of the clock, MR. SPEAKER adjourned the House without Question put.

House adjourned at Eleven o'clock.

## HOUSE OF LORDS,

Thursday, 14th August, 1890.

## ROYAL ASSENT.

The following Bills received the Royal Assent:—

Supreme Court of Judicature.

Census (Scotland).

Factors (Scotland) (No. 2).

Partnership.

Reserve Forces.

Education of Blind and Deaf-mute Children (Scotland).

Police.

Aldershot Roads.

Tramways Order in Council (Ireland) (South Clare Railways).

And a number of Private Bills.

COLONISATION—Message to the Commons for copy of the Report, &c. from the Select Committee.

ELECTIONS (SCOTLAND) (CORRUPT AND ILLEGAL PRACTICES) BILL. (No. 158.)

METROPOLIS MANAGEMENT AMENDMENT ACT (1862) AMENDMENT BILL. (No. 213.)

Returned from the Commons with the Amendments agreed to.

PHARMACY ACT (IRELAND) (1875) AMENDMENT BILL.—(No. 258.)

Returned from the Commons with the Amendments agreed to, with an Amendment.

MARRIAGES IN BRITISH EMBASSIES, &c. BILL.—(No. 167.)

Returned from the Commons with several of the Amendments agreed to, and one other Amendment disagreed to, together with a Reason for such disagreement, and a Consequential Amendment to the Bill.

## CENSUS (IRELAND) BILL.

Brought from the Commons; read 1<sup>o</sup>: Then (Standing Orders Nos. XXXIX. and XLV. having been dispensed with) Bill read 2<sup>o</sup>: Committee negatived; Bill read 3<sup>o</sup>, and passed.

VOL. CCCXLVIII. [THIRD SERIES]

## PROPOSED BRITISH ART GALLERY.

## QUESTION—OBSERVATIONS.

THE EARL OF HARROWBY: I beg leave to ask my noble Friend the Lord President of the Council a question of which I have given him private notice upon a subject of interest, I am sure to your Lordships as well as others—whether any steps have been taken to provide accommodation for the very munificent gifts of pictures which have recently been made to the nation, and also with respect to other promises of gifts of pictures, which there is reason to hope will come to maturity hereafter?

\*THE LORD PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL (Viscount CRANBROOK): Your Lordships are aware that there has been considerable discussion, since the munificent offer of Mr. Tate, as to where his pictures should be placed, both in the public Press and elsewhere. The Government have not neglected the question, but have endeavoured to ascertain what is the general view as to the best mode of dealing with the pictures which he has given to the nation; as to whether British art should be put in a better position than it has yet enjoyed as a separate school of art, and in particular as to finding better accommodation for the reception of those pictures. In consequence of a Memorandum by the Earl of Carlisle, who is well acquainted with the subject and who strongly recommended that the eastern and western galleries of South Kensington, which are no doubt among the best lighted galleries in existence, should be used for a British Art Gallery, consideration has been given to the subject, and in particular in connection with the Imperial Institute; and negotiations have been going on in the hope that a scheme may be brought about for providing a gallery along the Imperial Institute to connect the eastern and western galleries, so that the galleries may be made a most complete gallery for British art, both for sculpture, water-colours, and oil paintings. That being so, on July 24 last I called together at the Privy Council Office gentlemen whose names will, I think, commend themselves to your Lordships. I was there with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and we had with us Viscount Hardinge, Sir Henry Layard, Sir Frederic



Leighton, Sir Francis Burton, Sir John Gilbert, Sir James Linton, and Mr. Scharf. So that I think your Lordships will see it was a very representative assembly of persons well qualified to judge in matters of this description. It was decided, I may say without any disrespect to my own Department, that the British Art Gallery should not be in any way under the Science and Art Department, but under an independent Board, composed, to some extent, if not wholly, of those connected with national art in this country, and that it should be a Board of such a character as would give confidence to testators and donors who will probably be liberal again in connection with this matter to the advantage of British art. Considerable discussion took place with respect to the eastern and western galleries at South Kensington at that time, and Sir F. Leighton mentioned that it had been agreed by the Commissioners of the 1851 Exhibition that these galleries should have façades in connection with the Imperial Institute, so that they should not present their present shabby appearance, but have a dignified entrance fitting for such valuable collections of pictures as we hope will be found there, and in harmony with the Imperial Institute and with the connecting gallery. It is thought that there will be adequate space for sculpture, water-colours, and oil paintings, and that, on the whole, a most admirable gallery may be provided. An adjournment of that meeting took place at which I was not present nor was the Chancellor of the Exchequer, but a certain number of those who had been present visited the galleries on July 26 or 27, and reported them to be adequate for the purpose, and well lighted. I hold in my hand a copy of the Report which they made to me on that occasion, and I think it is desirable your Lordships should be acquainted with it. They say—

"We, the undersigned, having, at the request of the Lord President of the Council and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, visited the east and west galleries at South Kensington in reference to their adaptability for the purpose of a National Gallery of British Art, beg to state that in our opinion they are adequate in regard to space and well lighted."

That is signed by Sir A. Hardinge, Sir H. Layard, Sir F. Leighton, and Sir James Linton. Lord Carlisle was not  
*Viscount Cranbrook*

able to attend that meeting, but he remains strongly of the opinion that he at first expressed. It seemed proper, if these galleries are to be used as a museum of British Art, that a competent opinion should be obtained as to their immunity from fire. The Board of Works, therefore, obtained the opinion of Captain Shaw as to the fireproof capacity of the buildings. His Report is longer than I need read to your Lordships, but the Report of that officer is to the effect that the galleries are well adapted in every way to be used as a sculpture and picture gallery, and with some slight alterations, which he has suggested, might be made as safe from the risk of fire as it is possible for buildings of the kind to be. I thought it better to make this statement at some length, as there has been considerable discussion upon the subject out of doors, and it may have been supposed that the Government are not taking any interest in the matter; but without desiring to say anything as regards other sites at this moment, I think your Lordships will see that these galleries are well worth the attention of those in authority in order to see whether they cannot really be adapted for national art purposes.

#### TURKEY AND THE EASTERN QUESTION.

**LORD STRATHEDEN AND CAMPBELL:** In consequence of the unavoidable absence of the noble Marquess the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, I shall not proceed with the notice referring to the Turkish Correspondence which I have given, relating as it does so pointedly to his Department. It would be against the established usage of the House to do so.

#### BILLS OF SALE BILL.—(No. 51.)

Commons Amendment considered (according to order).

**THE LORD CHANCELLOR:** This Bill, as I brought it in, was to meet a particular difficulty in the Act; and in pursuance of a request from merchants in Liverpool I strove to meet that difficulty, but I am afraid the adoption of the Amendment in its present terms would give the measure a far wider application than the authors, or those interested in it, would desire. I propose to adopt it as far as possible, omitting

certain words, and adding or transposing others.

Some of the Commons Amendments agreed to; some agreed to, with Amendments; one disagreed to; and a Committee appointed to prepare a Reason to be offered to the Commons for the Lords disagreeing to one of their Amendments: The Committee to meet forthwith.

#### BANKRUPTCY BILL.—(No. 237.)

Commons Reason for disagreeing to one of the Amendments considered (according to order).

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Lord Knutsford): The only Amendment the Commons have made is to restore Sub-section 5 of Section 23, which I think must have been struck out by accident. Her Majesty's Government and the President of the Board of Trade assent to the Amendment, and I therefore move that the Amendment be agreed to.

Moved not to insist on the said Amendment, agreed to; and a message sent to the Commons to acquaint them therewith.

#### TENANTS COMPENSATION BILL. (No. 254.)

Further proceeded with after the Third Reading (according to order): Further Amendments made: Bill passed, and returned to the Commons.

#### EXPIRING LAWS CONTINUANCE BILL. (No. 264.)

House in Committee (according to order): Bill reported without Amendment: then (Standing Order No. XXXIX. having been dispensed with) Bill read 3<sup>a</sup>, and passed.

#### PUBLIC WORKS LOANS BILL. (No. 265.)

House in Committee (according to order).

Clauses 1 to 4 agreed to.

\*THE MARQUESS OF WATERFORD: I have an Amendment for the insertion of a new clause providing that notice of a loan shall be given to the owner-in-fee. I think your Lordships will consider it absolutely fair, as a change was made last year in the law relating to loans under this Act by which, up to that time, as I

stated to your Lordships the other night in asking a question of the Lord Privy Seal, a tenant was liable for his own loans, contracted as they often certainly are without the knowledge or against the consent of the landlord. By the change last year the owner-in-fee at the time of the determination of the tenancy was suddenly made liable. That was altered to a certain extent, no doubt, after some discussion in another place, so that the owner-in-fee should not be liable for the whole of the loan, but only to the extent of the improved value of the land at the time of the determination of the tenancy. Now, all I ask of your Lordships is that, as the owner of the fee has been placed in an entirely different position to that which he occupied before by that very great change in the law, he should have notice. I earnestly hope that the Lord Privy Seal will be able to give me a satisfactory answer. By the first paragraph of the clause which I wish to have inserted notice is to be given to the owner-in-fee, and that he should have power to inspect copies of the plans and specifications. By the second paragraph the owner-in-fee is empowered to oppose and prevent a loan on sufficient proof to the Commissioners that it is unnecessary or unsuitable to the holding. Could anything be fairer than that? It is for the benefit of the tenant as well as of the owner-in-fee that an unsuitable work should not be placed upon the holding. It cannot be injurious to the interests of either to prevent it. Then, by my next paragraph I ask, and this is distinctly in the interest of the State, that no insolvent man, or a man who is really not a fit and proper person, should be granted a loan, and that, in fact, the owner-in-fee should be able to appear and prove, if he is able, that fact to the Commissioners. The Commissioners are in Dublin, and they have no opportunity of knowing the position or circumstances of tenants as the owners have, who with their agents and bailiffs know, unfortunately too well in some instances, how extremely impecunious many of their tenants are. It is outrageous that a tenant who would be unable to go to a bank, having no security under all these Land Acts to offer them for advancing him a loan, should be able to obtain a

loan from the Board of Public Works, which a bank would not give. Therefore, I maintain that it is not only in the interest of the owner, but of the State, that such loans should not be given. My next paragraph is with regard to the arrangement that the Board of Works should not issue the whole of the loan until a satisfactory proportion of the work had been done; that they should pay one instalment, and not pay the second until a certain larger portion of the work had been done. I only ask that they should not be paid over the whole of the money until they have proved that the work has been well done, and that the money advanced has been properly expended. Who is so capable of giving proof to the contrary, if such be the case, than the man who is generally resident in the place, the owner-in-fee? The next paragraph—they are all directed to the same thing, and I am sorry to have to detain your Lordships so long in regard to them—is, that the loans or the work shall not be altered or increased without notice being given to the owner-in-fee. I think your Lordships will agree with me that these proposals are absolutely fair. All I ask is that there should be notice given to the owner. You have changed the law in regard to his liability, and I ask that he should have notice when one of these loans is to be advanced. There is no doubt in the world—I know it personally from my own knowledge of affairs in Ireland—that these loans have been, in many instances, extremely improperly granted; and not only that, but that they have not been properly administered or used for the purpose for which they were obtained. The Lord Privy Seal may perhaps reply that the Board of Works Inspector would see what was going on, and would report if the work was not being properly done; but, from what we see continually happening, these loans are improperly granted and expended. If the noble Lord doubts what I say let him look at the end of the Bill, where there is actually a provision in the Schedule for forgiving loans to men who should never have received them. If these men are not able to repay the loan, I ask, why should they have had money granted to them by the State? I hold that it is absolutely fair, not only in the interest of the owner-in-fee, but in the interest

*The Marquess of Waterford*

of the State, and I may say in the interests of everybody, that this notice should be given. If the law has been changed in one direction, why should not you change it in this respect? Certainly the Board of Works have found out for themselves that there is a deficiency in this Act; they have discovered that there is no arrangement for notice, and, therefore, they have provided for it themselves. I hold one of the forms of notice in my hand, and I must say it is entirely fallacious. I draw the noble Lord's attention particularly to this point. There is a Memorial to be filled up in the case of a loan being obtained, and one of the conditions is that the memorialist is to name the owner. Well, who is the owner he names? Why the immediate owner, not the owner-in-fee. There is no necessity whatever for his naming the owner-in-fee, and there may be three or four men between the owner-in-fee and the immediate owner. The notice which the Board of Works issues is to "the owner;" they do not say anything about the owner-in-fee. Therefore, I maintain that it is only fair and only just that the owner-in-fee, who will be made responsible for the loan, should have notice. As I have said, the Board of Works only gives notice to the owner and the name of the owner may be filled in falsely, and, no doubt, often is in these cases. Your Lordships may ask why do the Inspectors pass loans under improper circumstances. Well, you are no doubt aware that things are often done in a very slipshod way in Ireland, and, in these days, everything is done in favour of the tenant and against the landlord. An Inspector goes down to examine, and is shown the building or work that is being done, and he says—"Well, the tenant has gone to some expense in putting up this building or doing this work, and if I do not allow this loan he will be 'broke;' the man has, after all, laid out a certain amount of money, though the work is not well done, and I think we ought to give the advance to him." Drains may have been filled in, and the Inspector cannot say whether they are properly done. In 1887 there was an arrangement made—Mr. Parnell himself moved it—by which leaseholders should have two years within which to apply to the Court to have their rents fixed;

and last year the Chief Secretary for Ireland gave them another 18 months. This year, under the Expiring Laws Continuance Bill, another 12 months was given them. As I have said, Mr. Parnell himself moved it originally in another place, and there is now to be two years and six months' time given in addition. This is a proof that everything is done for the tenant in Ireland. I venture to put it to your Lordships, is it not wise and necessary to have some kind of finality in these matters? I hope the noble Lord will see his way to allowing these Amendments, because it cannot be denied that they are absolutely fair, and I think it is not very much to ask on the part of the landlords in Ireland who have been suddenly made liable for loans contracted by the tenants, probably against their consent, that they should have notice before these loans are issued. I beg to move the Amendment which stands in my name.

Amendment moved, after Clause 4, page 2, to insert a new Clause as follows:—

"Whereas under the fifth section of the Public Works Loans Act, 1889, it was enacted that certain rentcharges therein mentioned should, upon the cesser or determination of the particular estates therein referred to, become a charge upon the fee simple and inheritance of the land: Be it therefore enacted as follows:—

The Commissioners of Public Works in Ireland, on receipt of any application by memorial from any person occupying lands merely as a tenant thereof for a loan in accordance with the provisions of the Landed Property Improvement (Ireland) Act, 1847, and the Acts amending and extending the same, shall cause notice thereof to be served on the owner or owners of the fee simple and inheritance of the lands the subject of such memorial, and the persons so served shall be at liberty to inspect all plans and specifications lodged with the said Commissioners in reference to the said lands, and to obtain copies of same according to the rules and regulations of the said Commissioners.

All persons served with such notice shall be entitled to oppose such memorial for a loan, and prevent same being granted on proof in the mode provided for by rules to be made by the said Commissioners that the works suggested are unnecessary or unsuitable to the nature of the holding, or that for any other reason they would either not be an improvement to the said lands, or would be injurious to the interests of the persons beneficially entitled to the fee simple and inheritance in said lands, or that by reason of insolvency or for any other cause the person bringing forward such memorial is not a proper person to be entrusted with an advance under the said Acts.

The said Commissioners shall not pay the first or any future instalment of the said loan if any persons served with notice as aforesaid shall prove to the satisfaction of the said Commissioners that the amount of such instalment has not been expended properly or at all on the works in respect of which the said loan was granted, and upon such proof it shall be optional to the person so proving to himself complete said work.

The plans and works in respect of which said loan was made shall not be altered, nor shall the said loan be increased, unless and until due notice of such alteration or increase shall be served on the like persons as are provided for under this section, and the persons so served shall be entitled to prevent such alteration or increase being made or granted on proof of the like matters as are referred to in this section."—(*The Lord Tyrone* [M. Waterford.] )

THE LORD CHANCELLOR: Apart from the merits of the Bill, I entertain very serious doubts as to the competency of your Lordships' House to alter it. It is a Money Bill dealing with sums annually voted on certain conditions on the part of the persons who receive the loans, which are sums advanced for the purposes limited in the Bill and under the qualifications inserted in it. I am not at all contesting the right of this House to reject the Bill altogether, but I entertain the most serious doubt as to whether it is not a most serious invasion of the particular privilege of the House of Commons to impose further restrictions upon the granting of these sums. Before my noble Friend replies, I feel it my duty to call the attention of the Chairman of the Committee to the nature of the discussion in which we are engaged.

\*THE MARQUESS OF WATERFORD: I do not, of course, desire to dispute what the noble and learned Lord has said, but I would point out that his objection would be met if two words in the last paragraph are left out. I have made inquiries in another place, and I am informed that if those words are left out no objection can be made, and I am quite ready to omit them. Beyond that, there is not a word connected with money in it.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR: I am afraid I cannot quite acquiesce in that view, and it rather seems to me that the advice the noble Marquess has received is suicidal, because if, in order to bring it within the law of Parliament, as I have pointed out, the conditions under which these loans are made are not to be

altered, there can be no further limitation imposed.

**\*THE MARQUESS OF WATERFORD:** No; the words are "shall not be increased."

**THE LORD CHANCELLOR:** Those words have been struck out. It is "unless and until notice shall have been served" upon the person as provided by the 1st section. My commentary only had reference to what appears to me to be the inconsistency of the argument, and I would call your Lordships' attention to a Resolution which we have repeatedly acquiesced in. On the 3rd July, 1778, a Resolution was passed which we have constantly recognised as being the law of Parliament, that—

"All supplies and aids to His Majesty in Parliament are the sole gift of the Commons," and that all such grants ought to rest with the Commons, and that

"It is the sole right of the Commons to direct, limit, and appoint in such House the ends, purposes, consideration, limitations, and qualifications of such grants which ought not to be changed or altered by the House of Lords."

It seems to me impossible to contend that the proposal of the noble Marquess does not come within the prohibition contained in those words, as it would constitute a condition upon which is to depend the advance of the money which the Commons have agreed to grant.

**\*THE MARQUESS OF WATERFORD:** I think perhaps I might meet the objection, if the noble and learned Lord will agree, by only proposing my Amendment down to the word "Commissioners," which will make it merely refer to the notice.

**THE LORD CHANCELLOR:** If the noble Marquess will forgive me, I do not think he quite sees the point of my observation. By the hypothesis of his Amendment the Commons have agreed to advance certain sums on the conditions contained in the Statute as it now stands, and the noble Marquess now proposes to put in a limitation upon the power to advance that money by prescribing that that money shall not be advanced unless a certain notice is given.

**\*THE MARQUESS OF WATERFORD:** The noble and learned Lord has, I think, misunderstood me. The latter part of the clause no doubt does put a limit upon it, but the first certainly does not; it asks for notice to be given simply.

*Lord Halsbury*

**THE LORD PRIVY SEAL (Earl CADOGAN):** I would ask the noble Lord to pardon me for a moment, as I wish clearly to understand this point. Is it not the case that in the earlier part of the clause it provides for notice being given when the loan is applied for or before it is granted? Is not that so?

**\*THE MARQUESS OF WATERFORD:** It is only to cause notice to be given to the proper person instead of to somebody else as at present. It does not make any limitation.

**EARL CADOGAN:** The notice is in itself a limitation, because, as I understand, if the notice were not given, the provisions in the Act of Parliament could not be carried out.

**\*THE MARQUESS OF WATERFORD:** It does not provide that the loan shall not be given unless the notice is given.

**EARL CADOGAN:** Certainly, under the noble Lord's clause, if notice is not given, the transaction would not be carried out.

**\*THE MARQUESS OF WATERFORD:** Just so.

**THE EARL OF MORLEY:** Then it seems to me that a notice of that kind is one which limits the loans, or imposes further conditions, upon their being granted. But the conditions of the grants cannot be altered by this House. That is, as it appears to me, after hearing what the noble and learned Lord has said.

**\*THE MARQUESS OF WATERFORD:** Of course, if that is the opinion of both the noble and learned Lord on the Woolsack and the Chairman of Committees, I withdraw my Amendment. Perhaps, however, Her Majesty's Government might consider the question of notice in another Bill next year.

**EARL CADOGAN:** I may say that one part of the answer which I was instructed to give to my noble Friend consisted of a conditional promise that the matter should be dealt with next year. At present no inconveniences, I believe, have been found to arise from the absence of the notice desired. Clause 6 has been found sufficient to protect the landlord. Still, I would remind the noble Lord that this is an annual Bill; and by the time it comes forward again next year, if any inconvenience has been found to arise, Her Majesty's Government will be prepared to endeavour to meet it.



\*THE MARQUESS OF WATERFORD: I will only say that, in my opinion, Clause 6 does not protect the landlord in any way whatever. I have read it.

EARL CADOGAN: The noble Lord read the clause with the exception of the last three lines. I have not the section before me to refer to the actual words, but it provides for the rent-charge, and that the value is to be ascertained by persons who are independent and of high official standing. The way in which that clause bears upon the proposal of my noble Friend is that there is no necessity for notice to the owner if, when the time comes for making the advance, the value has been ascertained by an independent authority, and if the advance is limited by that value.

\*THE MARQUESS OF WATERFORD: I quite understand what the noble Lord has stated; but, at the same time, I will call to his attention that, under the future-purchase Acts, there is very often a loan created on the holding, which comes in before the new loan for purchase. So that a landlord would be prevented selling or dealing with this farm, because that public works loan would come in and reduce the security for this loan for purchase. We are strongly of opinion that this clause does not protect us. However, I hope Her Majesty's Government will consider it.

Amendment (by leave of the Committee) withdrawn; Bill reported without amendment; Then (Standing Order No. XXXIX having been dispensed with) Bill read 3<sup>d</sup>, and passed.

#### PUBLIC HEALTH ACTS AMENDMENT BILL.—(No. 260.)

Amendments reported (according to order); Then (Standing Order No. XXXIX. having been dispensed with) Bill read 3<sup>d</sup>, and passed, and returned to the Commons.

#### DWELLINGS FOR THE WORKING CLASSES.

THE EARL OF WEMYSS: I move for the Return which stands on the Paper in my name.

Moved—

"For a Return of the moneys expended out of the rates by municipal and other public bodies in Great Britain, in connection with the erection of dwellings for the working classes, of the accommodation provided, and the gross and

net annual income derivable therefrom, in the following form:—

Net Annual Income.		
Other Outgoings.		
Expenses of Administration.		
Annual Rental derived from Property not sold.		
Amount Realised by Sale of Land.		
Accommodation provided.	No of Families.	
	No of Rooms.	
Total Cost.		
Cost of Land and all Subsidary Interests, but excluding Legal Expenses.	Cost of Erecting Buildings, excluding Legal Expenses.	Legal Expenses.
Statute under which Land acquired.		
Name of Authority.		

The amount expended in the purchase of land under Torrens', Cross's, or any other Acts, is to be included in the above return, whether dwellings have been erected thereon by the authority or not."—(The Lord Wemyss [E. Wemyss].)

LORD DE RAMSEY: I regret it is not considered advisable to grant the Return asked for by the noble Earl, and I will call attention, in case they may have escaped the noble Earl's notice, to the Returns which have been already presented to Parliament. I allude to Nos. 287 and 275. The Return which the noble Earl asks for would be very laborious and very expensive, and considering that a new Act has been passed this Session, and considering also that there is a large amount of information to be derived from the two Returns I have already referred to, I hope the noble Earl may think well to withdraw his application for this Return.

THE EARL OF WEMYSS: Of course, if Her Majesty's Government, or the Official Department connected with this subject, decline to give the Return, it would be vain of me to attempt to ask your Lordships to grant it. It is possible that, on reference to the Papers to which the noble Lord has referred, they may give a portion of the information which I ask sufficient to enable one to call attention to this important subject. When my noble Friend gives as an official reason for not granting this Return that a new Consolidating Act has been recently passed, I must tell him that it is really in consequence of that that I have thought it necessary to ask for full information in reference to this question—the housing of the working classes at the public expense, for that is what it comes to. At present, under existing Acts, municipalities are authorised to clear away blocks of houses which are insanitary, and to build others in their place. I myself hold very strongly that the action of municipalities and the State upon this question, should be negative simply; that they should say “These buildings are unhealthy, and cannot be let or inhabited,” but that they should leave it to private enterprise to build new houses. Private enterprise has, in this direction, been so successful hitherto, that a dividend, I believe, of 5 per cent. is paid upon buildings of this kind; whereas, on the other hand, I believe that all municipal trading does not pay, and it would be found, if a clean debtor and creditor account were laid on the Table of your Lordships' House, showing on one side the cost of clearing away old buildings, erecting others, and letting

them; and, on the other, the result of the letting; that there was a very considerable deficit which falls very heavily upon the ratepayers, many of whom are really worse off than well-to-do artisans receiving high wages, yet exempted from Income Tax, and for whom these buildings are provided. However, as the Return has been declined, and no doubt the ground alleged would be sufficient that the information is already before the House, I propose, during the recess, to go thoroughly into the matter, and if it appears desirable to do so, to bring the whole subject before your Lordships' consideration on the re-assembling of Parliament.

LORD DE RAMSEY: May I call the noble Earl's attention to a few facts, as he proposes to re-introduce this subject in another Session? First of all, that the Return he asks for is unlimited as to time; and, again, that it covers all cases where Local Acts have given exceptional powers, as well as cases under the general Acts applicable in each of the three Kingdoms. Again, a very important item for the noble Earl's attention is this: he desires a Return of the accommodation provided. The accommodation provided would not, except in very rare cases, be under the supervision of the Local Authorities, and in most cases, therefore, the Return which the noble Earl asks for would not come within the knowledge of the Local Authorities. Lastly, in the Return the noble Earl asks for particulars of the “net annual income.” It is surely open to doubt what net annual income is referred to, whether it is that of the Local Authorities themselves, or, where they have sold it or let it to others, whether it is that of the lessees or the purchasers. Perhaps the noble Earl would make it a little more explicit, and state what he means by the “net annual income.” If the noble Earl pursues this subject next Session I can assure him that I shall give it my best attention.

THE EARL OF WEMYSS: Of course I withdraw my Motion, and I wish merely to add that I am very much obliged to my noble Friend for the suggestions he has made. My object is to get complete information on all points necessary to enable the public to arrive at a just opinion as to how this system of building



houses for the working classes in town and country—and I mean by in town in the different Municipalities as well as the Metropolis—answers. This Return, I may say, as to form, was drawn up by a person who is thoroughly conversant with the subject, to whom I spoke about it. I told him what I wanted, and asked him to draw up a form which he thought would give me the information I required. Before next Session I will, however, follow the noble Lord's advice, and look thoroughly into the matter.

\***LORD NORTON**: I would make one suggestion to the noble Earl, that if he moves for the Return next year he should draw a distinction between authorities dealing with buildings under Local Acts and those under General Acts. There is a very material difference. Under the General Acts, Local Authorities can only purchase houses which are unfit for human habitation, and after rebuilding they are bound to sell or part with them within 10 years. They cannot retain them in their own possession. In my own neighbourhood I know that restriction has been removed in a Local Act. In Birmingham the Local Authority by this means possesses a considerable property in the town; so that in course of time they will be able to dispense to a great extent with rates, and carry on the business of the town by the rents of the houses in their own possession. That is not only a material difference between the action under the General Acts and Local Acts, but a dangerous power for any Corporations or Municipal Authorities to acquire, that they should become landlords to such an extent in towns as to acquire complete political as well as municipal power by the command of so many appointments.

**THE EARL OF WEMYSS**: I will certainly act upon the suggestion of my noble Friend. He has opened up a vista of further danger than I believed existed in this matter.

Motion (by leave of the House) withdrawn.

**PHARMACY ACT (IRELAND) (1876)  
AMENDMENT BILL—(No. 268.)**

Commons Amendment considered (on motion), and agreed to.

**MARRIAGES IN BRITISH**

**EMBASSIES, &c., BILL—(No. 167.)**

Commons reason for disagreeing to one of the Amendments made by the Lords, and Commons Consequential Amendment to the Bill, considered (on motion): The Amendment to which the Commons disagree, not insisted on; and Commons Consequential Amendment agreed to.

**BILLS OF SALE BILL—(No. 51.)**

Report from the Committee of the reason to be offered to the Commons for the Lords disagreeing to one of the Amendments made by the Commons to the Bill; read, and agreed to; and a message sent to the Commons to return the Bill with the reason and with the Lords Amendments to the Commons Amendments.

House adjourned at twenty-five minutes  
past Five o'clock, till to-morrow,  
half past Four o'clock.

**HOUSE OF COMMONS,**

*Thursday, 14th August, 1890.*

**MESSAGE FROM THE LORDS.**

That they have agreed to, Police Bill, London County Council (Money) Bill, Reserve Forces Bill, Tramways Order in Council (Ireland) (South Clare Railways) Bill.

Amendments to, Education of Blind and Deaf-mute Children (Scotland) Bill [Lords]; without any Amendment.

**METROPOLITAN HOSPITALS, &c.**

That they do communicate Copy of Report, &c., from the Select Committee appointed by their Lordships in the present Session of Parliament, on Metropolitan Hospitals, &c., as desired by this House.

**HOP INDUSTRY, TOWN HOLDINGS, AND INFANT  
LIFE PROTECTION BILL.**

That they do request, that this House will be pleased to communicate to their Lordships, Copies of the Reports, &c., from the Select Committees appointed by this House in the present Session of Parliament on Hop Industry, Town

Holdings, and Infant Life Protection Bill.

Lords Message considered.

Ordered, That printed Copies be communicated.

ROYAL ASSENT,

Message to attend the Lords' Commissioners.

The House went;—and being returned;—

Mr. SPEAKER reported the Royal Assent to the Bills mentioned on page 929.

### PRIVATE BUSINESS.

#### LONDON STREETS (REMOVAL OF GATES) BILL.

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Question proposed [12th August] on consideration of Lords' Amendments, "That this House doth agree with the Lords in the Amendment, page 3, line 19, as amended, as followeth:—"

"Provided that if any lands shall be taken or injuriously affected by anything to be done under or by virtue of this Act without the consent of the owner thereof compensation shall be made for the same by the Council in the manner provided by 'The Lands Clauses Consolidation Act, 1845,' and the Acts amending the same, the provisions of which Acts so far as relates to lands taken otherwise than by agreement and to compensation for lands injuriously affected shall be deemed for that purpose to be incorporated with this Act. The words 'injuriously affected' shall have the same meaning as in the said Act. Provided also that no claim for compensation under this Act shall be made after the expiration of six months from the date of the notice served upon such owner under the provision of this section and duly published."

Question again proposed.

Debate resumed.

(3.23.) MR. SHAW LEFEVRE (Bradford, Central): I moved the adjournment of the Debate on Tuesday last at the suggestion of those around me, as it seemed to us, after what had taken place and the confusion in which the Amendment before us had got into, that the Government ought to re-consider the Amendment in concert with the London Council. The President of the Local Government Board has asked the House to agree to the Lords Amendment; but, at the same

time, he has admitted that it is not in a satisfactory shape, that it is possibly open to a construction which will let in the London Council to a multitude of claims from leaseholders and others affected by the removal of the gates, whom he does not think entitled to any compensation whatever, and whom it was not the intention of the Lords to include within the purview of their Amendment. He supported an Amendment of my hon. and gallant Friend the Member for Bucks which would have prevented this interpretation of the clause. It is clear that the Division which took place on the Amendment of my hon. and gallant Friend was under a misunderstanding. If hon. Members had understood at the time, as they did later, that the President of the Local Government Board had consulted the Lord Chancellor and the Prime Minister on the subject, and that both of them had said that it was not the intention of the Lords to secure compensation to the leaseholders, and that they approved of the Amendment desired by the London Council, if hon. Members had also understood that the Solicitor General was not speaking as Law Officer of the Crown, but in his private capacity as one personally interested in the question, and who had headed the Petition against the Bill on behalf of the leaseholders, I think the Division would have been very different. Under these circumstances, I think it was to be expected that the Government would, before asking us to agree to the Lords Amendment, make an effort to put it into a shape in which its meaning would be quite clear and certain. I understand, however, that the President of the Local Government Board feels himself unable now to amend the Amendment; this being the case, I think we have a very strong claim that the Government should not pass the Lords Amendment, but should allow it to be negatived, and should repudiate the claim of compensation to any one, be it the ground landlord or the leaseholder. The case against the Amendment on its merits seems to me to be a very strong one. Select Committees of both Houses of Parliament have, after long inquiries, come to the conclusion that there is no valid claim for compensation on the part of any one for the removal of these obstructive gates. The Committee of this House

was presided over by one of its most experienced and able Chairmen, the hon. Baronet the Member for Herefordshire. The Duke of Bedford was heard before it. He said, through his representatives, that he did not care about the gates personally, that he was not interested in wanting the gates, that he appeared only on behalf of his tenants. The evidence showed evidently that his only interest was that of a reversioner, and that his reversion would be improved in value rather than the reverse. The leaseholders were also heard by counsel. It was shown that there was no precedent whatever for any compensation being given to mere leaseholders for any diversion of traffic, either for increase of traffic or diminution of traffic, caused by street improvements. The Committee was unanimously of opinion that there was no claim for compensation for the removal of the gates, either on the part of the Duke of Bedford or of the leaseholder. Before the Lords Committee the case was again gone into. The Duke of Bedford did not appear; he acquiesced in the decision of the Commons Committee—he no longer asked for compensation. The leaseholders were again heard by counsel, and, after a long inquiry, the Lords Committee again decided that they had no claim whatever to any compensation, but the Committee inserted a clause requiring the London Council to lay down a noiseless pavement in the streets leading to these gates—a requirement which will cost the Council £13,000. On the Third Reading of the Bill, the House of Lords adopted the unprecedented course of inserting a clause giving a claim of compensation to the Duke of Bedford. It does not appear that the Duke asked for it, or desired it, or would act upon it. It is quite certain, also, that the Amendment was not intended to apply to leaseholders. We have the opinions of Lord Selborne, the Lord Chancellor, and of Lord Herschell, that the leaseholders are not entitled to compensation, and that it was not intended to secure to them compensation by the clause. Whether the clause will have that effect I cannot confidently say. We have the legal opinion of the Solicitor General that it will have this effect; but the Solicitor General is not very sound on the subject of compensation. He is apt to be sanguine on the subject when

publicans are concerned, and he may be excused for being over sanguine when he is personally concerned. What is certain is that the clause will lead to protracted litigation on the parts of hundreds of leaseholders, though probably the ultimate decision will be against them. If the Amendment should only secure compensation for the Duke, it is superfluous and unnecessary, for he does not ask for it; and the evidence is conclusive that his reversionary interest is not in any way damaged. On the other hand, if the Amendment is worded so as not to carry out the views of the framers, but to have the wider sense which some people fear it will have, and which the Lords certainly did not mean it to have, it will entail endless litigation, and costs, and claims against the London Council, and would make it absolutely impossible to deal with the 250 other gates which now obstruct and impede the traffic of London; and it would form a most dangerous precedent, which would in effect make any street improvement which diverts traffic by increasing it in one direction and diverting it in another absolutely impossible. I hope, therefore, that the Government will now see their way to reject the whole of the Lords Amendment.

\*(3.40.) MR. SYDNEY GEDGE (Stockport): The simple answer to the bogey which the right hon. Gentleman has conjured up is, that the clause creates no new precedent, but simply follows the lines the Legislature has laid down in all similar cases from time immemorial. It does not say that the Duke of Bedford shall or shall not have compensation, nor that compensation shall or shall not be awarded to the leaseholders, or tenants, or, as the right hon. Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. H. H. Fowler), with a laudable desire to throw dust in the eyes of the House, said—the lodgers. All that it says is, that if property is injuriously affected there shall be a claim for compensation, and that the words "injuriously affected" shall have the same meaning as in the Lands Clauses Consolidation Act. This clause decides nothing as to who shall have a right to claim; but it says that if there is any person whose lands are injuriously affected then he shall be entitled to compensation. Why should the London County Council, for whom I have the

greatest respect, be excepted from this provision of the law? I have no desire to throw a stone at the County Council, but rather to protect them against the predatory instincts of some of their leaders, and I say that there is nothing more here than would apply to any Public Department of the State—even the War Office, if it proposed to take lands in order to prevent an invasion from being rendered easy. The next bogey which has been conjured up is, the tremendous number of lawsuits which the clause will inevitably give rise to. Not so, if claims do arise there will be a test case tried, which will govern the whole. Are we to deny the owners of property their legitimate rights because the London County Council may have to pay the costs? If the parties fail to substantiate their claims they will be cast in the costs. It is said that the Duke of Bedford waived his claim by declining to carry his Petition to the House of Lords. As a matter of fact, the Duke never petitions the House of Lords; he thinks it would be unworthy of his position as a Peer to do so, and he never has petitioned the House of Lords against a Private Bill. If the leaseholders can show, under the Bedford Paving Act, that these gates ought to be kept up, they ought to be entitled to compensation if they are removed, and it can be shown that their interests are in consequence injuriously affected. It has been said that the clause does not represent the view of the House of Lords in inserting it. I must say that I prefer to take the clause itself to any statement as to the views of the noble Lords who voted for it. I do not believe that the House of Lords passed the clause without knowing what it was they really meant. I prefer to believe that Lord Selborne, who drew it up, knew perfectly well what the clause meant. I hope the Government will not consent to the proposal to disagree with the Lords Amendment, and I think if they do they will not be supported by many of their followers.

\*(3.55.) Mr. H. LAWSON (St. Pancras, W.): I regret that the time which has elapsed since the adjournment of the Debate has not convinced the hon. Gentleman opposite that the proposal contained in the Lords Amendment is both unreasonable and

*Mr. Sydney Gedge*

unworkable. I should prefer that there should be a definite liability imposed upon the London County Council rather than this large and uncertain burden, which it is difficult, if not impossible, to assess, and in regard to which the lawyers themselves are much divided. I have here a letter from Lord Selborne to the Parliamentary agent. I imagine when they opposed the Amendment of the hon. and gallant Member for North Bucks, on Tuesday, that hon. Members were of opinion that they were confirming some right enjoyed by the leaseholders on this estate. [*Cries of "No!"*] If that were not so, a good many Members voted under a misconception. Lord Selborne says that practically the owner of the gates and bars is the only person entitled to claim compensation under the Lands Clauses Act.

\*Mr. GAINSFORD BRUCE (Finsbury, Holborn): Will the hon. Member read the whole of the letter?

\*Mr. H. LAWSON: The noble lord says that there was no intention in the Amendment of entitling any person to compensation except those whose cases would come under the Lands Clauses Act. He thinks that everyone whose lands are taken away, and who are in that sense injuriously affected, ought to be compensated. He adds—

"Practically, I take it the freeholder who is the owner of the bars and gates is the only person in the situation."

Lord Herschell, in conference with two other Law Lords, has come to the same conclusion as to the meaning of the words, but opposed to those noble Lords are the opinions of the Solicitor General and the hon. and learned Member for Holborn (Mr. Gainsford Bruce), and if there is this division among lawyers as to the construction of the words there will inevitably be a serious litigation and heavy expense entailed upon the London County Council. I can say that, as a matter of fact, there will be litigation, and it is the intention of the leaseholders to test the case. I am sorry that the learned Solicitor General is not present, because I was anxious to point out to him that he has violated the customary usage of the House, that no hon. Member who has petitioned the House against a Bill should take part in the Debate upon it. I find that the very first name to the Petition is

that of Sir Edward Clarke, who asks for compensation in the event of any deterioration of the value of his property. I can only assume that the hon. and learned Gentleman in thus departing from the practice of the House had forgotten the position he occupied. These gates were put up on the Bedford estate to prevent the Skinners' Company and the owners of the Mortimer estate from using roads for heavy traffic towards the maintenance of which they contributed nothing. The Duke of Bedford has never inserted any covenant in his leases giving his tenants or lessees a right to claim compensation in the event of the gates being removed. The gates were erected for a special purpose, and the necessity for them disappeared when, in 1855, the ratepayers of the district took on themselves the cost of repairing and maintaining the streets and roads. Surely, then, it is a vicious principle to set up a new claim for compensation, based upon an entirely new ground. It has never been held that the increase or the diminution of traffic forms a ground for compensation. Before the Committee of the House of Lords the learned counsel engaged in the case admitted that the citizens took the burden or the benefit, whichever it might be, and it is contended that the Duke of Bedford's estate will, in reality, be greatly benefitted by the abolition of these gates and bars. Why should this House force upon the Duke of Bedford compensation which he does not want or ask for? I fear the result will be to perpetuate a useless, senseless, and irritating anachronism.

(4.5.) THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir R. WEBSTER, Isle of Wight): In addressing the House upon this subject I wish it to be understood that I speak as a private Member, and not as a member of the Government. I hope I may be able to remove the impression created by the remarks of the right hon. Member for Bradford (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) that the London County Council will run any risk by the retention of this clause. I am acquainted with the Debate which occurred in the House of Lords, and I cannot imagine anyone entertaining any real fear that leaseholders will be able to obtain compensation under this section, except in one special case. This case is where a house has, in fact, been injured

physically by increase of traffic, and it is to meet that case that I think it is right that the words should stand as they are. I have had the opportunity of taking part in hundreds of these inquiries, and in a claim for compensation a man must either prove that his land has been taken, or that it has been injuriously affected. It is not contended that the land of the leaseholders would be taken unless in removing one of the bars the railings or some of the land should be taken away, in which case the leaseholders might have reason to claim compensation. But it is said that hundreds and thousands of claims might be let in by allowing these words to stand, and that, therefore, the County Council would be afraid to act. I say, without the slightest reservation, that increase of traffic or the removal of traffic *per se* has never yet been allowed to give a claim for compensation for injurious affection. There have been cases in which the removal of traffic has been allowed to come in as an element where there was, in fact, physical interference. I remember a case of a publichouse which, from the letting point of view, was injuriously affected by the access to it being obstructed, and the traffic being diverted owing to the building of a railway bridge near, and other alterations connected with the level of the roadway. Giving, therefore, to the House the benefit of my 20 years' experience in these cases, I believe the suggestion that there is any risk whatever to the County Council by accepting this Amendment is a bogey. It is said that the leaseholders would rush into Court and endeavour to engage the County Council in litigation.

\*MR. LAWSON: The Solicitor General said so.

SIR R. WEBSTER: I do not know what the Solicitor General said in this matter, but I have heard the speech of the right hon. Member for Bradford, and I say that the clause is intended to apply to cases in which *de facto* there is land taken, or in which it is injuriously affected. I think it would be unjust, in these circumstances, to strike the words out of the Bill in view of the cases which have to be met.

\*(4.10.) MR. T. H. BOLTON (St. Pancras, N.): I rise for the purpose of suggesting one or two considerations which I think can hardly have been in the mind of the Attorney General

when he formed his opinion. It is perfectly true that under the Lands Clauses Act no compensation for increase or decrease of traffic has been awarded, but this Bill makes anything done by virtue of it the subject of consideration for compensation. How can it be said that property "injuriously affected by anything done by virtue of this Act" shall not be taken into consideration and shall not be entitled to compensation? I merely mention the point for the consideration of the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General. I defer to him, for he is the head of the English Bar, and he has at his right hand an eminent and distinguished lawyer (Mr. Matthews) thoroughly capable of forming a sound opinion. In the *Times* newspaper of to-day I noticed an advertisement in which the legal representative of the Bedford Lessees Defence Committee distinctly expresses his satisfaction on behalf of the leaseholders and occupiers with the clause which the Lords have inserted. He says—

"The leaseholders of the Bedford estate claim that under the present operation of the Bedford Paving Act and their leases they have an indefeasible right as against the freeholders and the whole world to the maintenance of the gates."

He goes on to say that the leaseholders are perfectly satisfied with the clause introduced by the House of Lords, and that they object altogether to the omission of that clause. Therefore the lessees contemplate claims under the clause. The London County Council, and I presume they are supposed to know something of their business, have had the matter under their serious consideration, and they anticipate, if this clause is allowed to remain, very heavy claims being made against them for compensation. They, therefore, ask the House of Commons to deal with the matter one way or the other—to recognise compensation or exclude it—and not to retain in the Bill an obscure clause which is certain to lead to expensive litigation. Personally, I am strongly opposed to compensation altogether. I do not think that the meaning of the vote the other night has been altogether accurately represented by my right hon. Friend the Member for Bradford. It simply meant

*Mr. T. H. Bolton*

that the House would not give the Duke of Bedford, to the exclusion of others who might have better rights, a claim to compensation. The vote which is now about to be taken is upon the broad question whether we are to give compensation or not. I am sorry that the proposition of my hon. Friend the Member for West St. Pancras, simply to disagree with the Lords Amendment, was not put; we should then have avoided the difficulties which have arisen since. My opposition is altogether to the introduction of the principle of compensation as applicable to increase or decrease of traffic in connection with a street improvement in the public interest. The Attorney General admits that hitherto there has been no claim for compensation in such a case.

SIR R. WEBSTER: What I said was that the simple removal of traffic had never been made the subject of compensation, but that where physical injury is done to the property by a particular course taken a claim for compensation would lie.

\*MR. T. H. BOLTON: Apart from any special injury to land or property, as a subject for compensation this Bill, if it does anything at all, introduces an entirely new principle. I object to this principle: but, in any case, I say that this House has no right to leave a question of this kind in a state of uncertainty that is calculated to lead to a considerable amount of litigation.

\*(4.15.) MR. GAINSFORD BRUCE: I do not agree with the observations which have fallen from the hon. Member for North St. Pancras (Mr. T. H. Bolton). So far as the meaning of the clause is concerned, I think we are all agreed that it means that if the property of any person is injuriously affected, the person whose property is so injuriously affected shall be entitled to compensation. Upon that point there can be no difference of opinion. It is agreed that there may be a difference of opinion as to whether the leaseholders may be persons injuriously affected. I do not say that that is not a question of law, but I maintain that this House is not a tribunal to decide such a question. When works have been sanctioned by Act of Parliament, the Legislature has always introduced a clause to say that if any person is injuriously affected he shall have the

ordinary legal remedy, and that it shall be left to the Courts to decide whether he has been injuriously affected or not. All that I ask the House is, that it will not interfere with the ordinary course of law. The Attorney General's opinion is entitled to much weight, but it is a question not for this House, but for a Court of Law to determine according to the facts of the case. When the right hon. Member for Bradford said there was no precedent for this House recognising increase or diminution of traffic as a ground for compensation, he probably was not aware of the Midland Railway (Additional Powers) Act, 1882, which gave power to alter certain roads and streets, and which enacted that compensation should be given for loss or injury sustained by reason of deprivation of frontage or access to the Sharpness Company, and to the other owners of property in Birmingham. This Bill, however, does not go so far; it does not direct that compensation shall be given, but simply provides that if a person is injuriously affected he shall have the ordinary remedy.

(4.20.) MR. PICKERSGILL (Bethnal Green, S.W.): The Attorney General has endeavoured to convey that there will be no litigation under this Act if it passes. Now, everything which falls from the learned Attorney General is entitled to the greatest weight and the highest consideration, but on this occasion I trust the House will not forget to contrast the views of the hon. and learned Gentleman with those of his own Colleague, the Solicitor General, and the hon. Gentleman who has just sat down. It has been said that, in removing these gates, no land will be taken, but it is clear that the land upon which the gates are erected will be taken—small in quantity, I admit—but an appreciable quantity, and, as I read the law, the effect will be to give a larger operation to the words "injuriously affected" as applied to other land not taken, but held along with the land which is taken. As a Metropolitan Member, I certainly entertain the greatest possible apprehension as to the amount of litigation to which this clause will give rise, not only in the central but also in the more remote parts of London. Only yesterday a case was decided in the

North London Police Court which showed that in other parts of the Metropolis there are avenues of houses enclosed by similar gates, which, although the property receives the benefit of the main drainage and other works, to which the ratepayers generally have contributed, are not subject to the jurisdiction of the London County Council. I maintain that the effect of adopting this Amendment will be to establish an *Alsatia*, the existence of which will be antagonistic to the public interests.

(4.25.) MR. ADDISON (Ashton-under-Lyne): There are two cases in which compensation may be given under the Lands Clauses Act—one is where the land is injuriously affected, and the other is where structures erected upon it are injuriously affected, without being absolutely taken. When the Attorney General speaks of taking land I presume that he means injuriously affecting the land of a particular owner.

\*MR. H. LAWSON: May I point out that no land is taken under this Bill at all.

MR. ADDISON: If there is no land taken I cannot conceive how any claim for compensation can arise, although that may cut both ways.

(4.26.) MR. J. ROWLANDS (Finsbury, E.): I think that the speech of the hon. and learned Member for Holborn (Mr. G. Bruce) was conclusively against the Lords Amendments. We have had a statement from the Attorney General giving us what, in his opinion, the scope of the law is. The hon. Member for Holborn was not satisfied with that statement; but he as good as said that the Attorney General might be quite right as to the general law, but that he had not taken into consideration that in this case there are Private Acts of Parliament, which, in their bearing, would alter the scope of the law. That means that we are going to give to the freeholder and lessees of this property a distinct power of litigation as against the London County Council. I do not think that that is a position in which this House should place the County Council. We might have accepted the position of the Attorney General, but, now that we are able to see where we are going, and are able to put the opinion of the hon. and learned Member for Holborn against that of the



Attorney General, I think we ought to hesitate before we inflict on the County Council the crop of litigation which will, undoubtedly, be the fruit of this clause. Either these gates and bars should be removed, or they should not, and if the House believes that the County Council should remove them it should have the courage of its opinions, and give the County Council the power of doing so. We are all prepared to admit that there will be increased traffic, but, with that exception, there can be no injury whatever to any of the property in the neighbourhood.

\*(4.29.) MR. CREMER (Shoreditch, Haggerston): The other day, when this question was submitted to the House, three and a half hours were occupied in discussing it. We have now been discussing it again for an hour and a half, so that five hours of the precious time of the House have been taken up with a proposal which comes from the House of Lords, and is directly antagonistic to the decision of their own Committee and a Committee of this House. I hope that the country will take a note of that fact when it is asked to consider what the real causes of the obstruction of public business are. When we are engaged in discussing important measures submitted by the Government we are taken to task and accused of obstructing the useful legislation of the country. I think the country will understand from what has occurred to-day that the obstructionists are not in this Chamber, but in another House. Where are we on this question? On the one side we have the Local Authority pronouncing strongly in favour of the Bill, not in its amended form, but in the form in which it went to the House of Lords. I have lived for the last 12 or 14 years within a stone's throw of one of these gates and bars, and I know that during the whole of that time the Local Authority in the district have been doing their best to get these obstructions removed. Men of all shades of political thought have united in bringing the influence of the Local Authority to bear on the Duke of Bedford to induce him to listen to reasonable proposals, but he has persistently defied them. The London County Council is promoting the passage of this Bill, and I believe that, if a poll of the inhabitants of

*Mr. J. Rowlands*

London could be taken on the subject, 95 per cent. of the people would be found favourable to the removal of these obstructions. On the other side we have the Duke of Bedford, the landowner. His attitude is only natural, indeed I suppose that if I were the landowner I should adopt the same course. We have him resisting the removal of these gates and bars. Then we have a few leaseholders who consider themselves deeply interested in maintaining these gates and bars, and who consider that if these obstructions are removed they are entitled to compensation. I do not blame them for fighting their battle, but I think that when they were beaten in the Committees they ought to have taken their defeat gracefully. But, not satisfied with being defeated in two Committees, they induced the House of Lords, or a number of the Members of that distinguished Assembly, to aid them in setting up a claim to compensation. Then we have another small body of men who are supporting the landowner and the leaseholders, and they are the champions of the rights of property, of whom the hon. Member for Stockport (Mr. Gedge) is such a distinguished leader. [*Cries of "Divide!"*] It is all very well for hon. Members to cry "Divide!" but the question is whether we are to allow a handful of men sitting in another place, and who have never received a mandate from the people, to over-ride the decision of the County Council and two Committees who have seriously considered the subject. It is not our fault that the time of the House is taken up in discussing these Amendments. We did not introduce them, but have opposed them throughout. [*Cries of "Divide!"*] I am quite aware hon. Members are very anxious to get away, and if they had used their influence to induce their friends in another place not to introduce these Amendments, they might have got away by this time. I only desire now to draw attention to the conflicting opinions which have been uttered by various Members of the Government, and by legal gentlemen sitting opposite. Some of them say that without these Amendments the property owners and leaseholders will be entitled to claim compensation if any injury is done them. Others say they will not be so entitled, and it is necessary these Amendments

should be introduced in order to make the law quite clear. The Lord Chancellor adopts the latter view. He is a clear-headed man, and knows quite well what he is about. If there were no other reason, I would strongly resist the Amendments on the ground that the Lord Chancellor supports them.

(4.38.) **MR. M'LAREN** (Cheshire, Crewe): As I am probably the only Member in the House who has read or heard the evidence, I desire to say a few words as to two matters of fact. The hon. and learned Member for Holborn (**Mr. Gainsford Bruce**) has misled the House—no doubt, unintentionally—as to two important matters of fact. He said that under the Bedford Paving Act the tenants have a right to the maintenance of these gates.

\***MR. GAINSFORD BRUCE**: I said that that was a question to be decided by a proper tribunal.

**MR. M'LAREN**: I thought he gave the House to understand that under the Bedford Paving Act there was some right.

\***MR. GAINSFORD BRUCE**: I stated that it would be one element in the determination of the legal question.

**MR. M'LAREN**: If I have misunderstood the hon. and learned Gentleman I apologise. But, as a matter of fact, under the Bedford Paving Act of 1855, the Duke of Bedford has an absolute right to remove these gates at any time he chooses, and the tenants have no right to object. If the Bill were rejected, and the County Council could induce the Duke of Bedford to remove these gates, not one of the tenants could claim sixpence in compensation. By these Amendments, therefore, we shall put the tenants in a different and better position than that which they occupy at present.

\*(4.40.) **MR. MORTON** (Peterborough): The question of these bars and gates has been before Londoners for nearly 30 years, and, therefore, it is high time it was settled. But, as far as I can see, it will not be settled if this House allows compensation to anybody whatever. As I understand the matter, all we have to consider is whether these

people are morally—I do not trouble myself about law at all—entitled to any compensation. There cannot be the slightest doubt that they are not morally entitled to one penny of compensation. This is a question between the classes and the masses. As Brown, Jones, and Robinson were not allowed to have gates and bars, I do not see why Lords, Dukes, and Solicitor General should be allowed to have them. The classes are beginning to see that they will have to give up their privileges, but, in doing so, they want to get as much plunder out of the ratepayers as they can.

(4.42.) The House divided:—Ayes 87; Noes 58.—(Div. List, No. 251.)

(4.50.) Clause 4a (Noiseless pavements to be laid down before the removal of gates or bars in pursuance of this Act), the next Amendment, read a second time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House doth agree with the Lords in the said Amendment."

\*(4.51.) **MR. LAWSON**: I should like the Government to consider whether it is not necessary, in consequence of Amendments just agreed to, to make an addition to Clause 4a, which appears in the Bill as Clause 5. The clause deals with noiseless pavement, and it was introduced by the Lords Committee out of consideration for the leaseholders and other persons who felt they were interested in the quiet of the area within these gates and bars. I would suggest the correction of the words—

"The laying down of such asphalt or other noiseless pavement may be taken into account in estimating the compensation which the leaseholders or other persons on either side of the street might otherwise claim under Clause 4 of the Bill."

The tribunal ought to have the opportunity of taking into account the laying down of noiseless pavement, as the County Council will have to pay for laying down the pavement, and may be charged for doing so. They ought not to pay compensation twice over.

\*(4.53.) **SIR R. WEBSTER**: I sincerely hope the House will not agree to this. For the last 40 years there has been but one rule, and that is to take the state

of things before the alteration, and after the alteration, and to ask the question whether the property has been injuriously affected. I think the proposal of the hon. Member is unwise, and I could not myself be a party to it.

(4.55.) The House divided:—Ayes 98; Noes 49.—(Div. List, No. 252.)

#### DUBLIN CORPORATION BILL.

Ordered, That, in the case of the Dublin Corporation Bill, returned by the House of Lords with an Amendment, the Standing Orders be suspended, and that the Lords Amendment to the Commons Amendments be considered forthwith.—(*Mr. Arthur Balfour.*)

Lords Amendment considered.

Question put, after Clause F, inserted by the Commons, insert the following Clause:—

"If at any time it appears to the Lord Lieutenant after investigation that the expenses specified in Section 27 of 'The Collection of Rates Act, 1849,' in relation to the rates for the time being collected by the Collector General, regard being had to due and reasonable economy, are such that the limit of two pounds ten shillings in the said section mentioned will not be sufficient to discharge such expenses, the Lord Lieutenant may by order made by and with the consent of the Privy Council direct that the said limit shall, for a period to be named in the order, be such amount greater than two pounds ten shillings as shall under the circumstances be necessary to discharge such expenses, and thereupon the said section shall with respect to such period be read and construed as if the amount specified in the said order were inserted in the said section in relation to the rates in this section before-mentioned, instead of the amount of two pounds ten shillings."

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House doth agree with the Lords in the said Amendment."

\*(5.2.) MR. HASTINGS (Worcestershire, E.): Sir, it is within my knowledge that a statement was made in another place which reflects somewhat on the character for efficiency of the Police and Sanitary Committee of this House. That Committee consists of 11 Members, and it was said that not more than six Members as a rule attend, and by implication that no more Members were present when we decided

*Sir R. Webster*

that the Dublin Municipal Corporation were to collect their own rates. It is only this morning that I had the opportunity of referring to the Minutes of the Committee, and I find that on every occasion during which the Police and Sanitary Committee met on the Dublin Corporation Bill, ranging from the 29th April to the 21st May, there were only three occasions on which the numbers came as low as six. On all other occasions the number ranged from eight to ten, and on the particular occasion on which the Committee arrived at a conclusion with regard to the collection of these Municipal Rates, out of the 11 members 10 were present. They were present from the beginning to the end; the whole matter was most thoroughly and exhaustively discussed; and the conclusion was unanimous.

(5.6.) MR. SEXTON (Belfast, W.): I wish to confirm what the Chairman has said. There were present 10 members, representing the four Parties in the House, and they were unanimous.

(5.7.) MR. COURTNEY (Cornwall, Bodmin): I ought to mention to the House that a question of very great gravity has arisen upon this Amendment. It is the fact that the collection of the rates in Dublin was fixed by a Public Act in 1849, and it is a question whether the Lords can interfere in any way with a Public Act. We have in a Private Bill abandoned the collection of rates under the Public Act, and it becomes a question of considerable difficulty whether the Lords Amendment is an infringement of the limitation laid down by a Public Act, and is an action on the part of the Lords which we ought to disallow. The matter is one of considerable doubt, and I have not had very much time to give it consideration. But those who advise me entertain the very strongest doubt whether it is not an infraction of our privileges. At the same time, there can be no doubt about the propriety of the Amendment. On further consideration, it appears to me that what the Lords have done has been to call attention to certain things omitted by this House, and which are

necessary and consequent upon the action taken by this House. Under these circumstances, we must allow the Amendment to be accepted as a necessary consequence of our own acts, and not as something which originated in the Lords. I think it would be well that a note should be entered in the Minutes, to show that we did not admit any infraction of the privileges of this House.

MR. SPEAKER: Of any infraction of the privileges of this House I should be the first to take notice. I have considered the subject, and I have given directions that if this Amendment is accepted a special entry shall be made in the Journals of the House, to the effect that this House, while disapproving of any infraction of its privileges or rights by the other House, in this case waives its claim to insist upon its privileges. Under these circumstances, I hope the House will admit that no harm has been done to the privileges of this House, and that this Amendment is a Consequential Amendment on the Amendment of the Commons, and only carries out the full intentions of this House. I hope on those terms, and with that full explanation, that the House will allow the Amendment of the Lords to pass with this note entered in the Journals.

(5.10.) MR. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyron, S.): I do not rise for the purpose of

making any opposition, but only to observe that had this clause been added to the Bill with the Amendment now proposed by the Lords there would have been no further opposition.

MR. SEXTON: The hon. Member having given evidence on the Committee still continues irreconcilable.

Question put, and agreed to. [Special Entry.]

#### CENSUS (ENGLAND AND WALES) BILL. (No. 385.)

Lords Amendment to be considered forthwith; considered, and agreed to.

#### HOUSING OF THE WORKING CLASSES BILL.—(No. 375.)

Lords Amendment to be considered forthwith; considered, and agreed to.

#### LOCAL TAXATION (CUSTOMS AND EXCISE) DUTIES BILL.—(No. 404.)

Lords Amendments to be considered forthwith; considered, and agreed to. [Special Entry.]

#### POLICE (SCOTLAND) BILL.—(No. 398.)

Lords Amendments to be considered forthwith; considered, and agreed to.

#### PUBLIC LIBRARIES ACTS AMENDMENT BILL.—(No. 167.)

Lords Amendment to be considered forthwith; considered, and agreed to.

### POST OFFICE (REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE).

Return ordered—

"Showing, for each year since 1869-70, inclusively, the Revenue Expenditure and Net Revenue of the Post Office in the following form:—

Year.	Revenue.				Expenditure.							Net Revenue.	Net Revenue after deducting Columns 6 and 6.
	Postal Receipts.	Extra Receipts.	Estimated value of services to other Departments.	Total.	Sites and Build- inga.		Superannuations.	Packet Service.	Other Expenditure.		Total Expenditure.		
					Purchase.	Erection.			Under Post Office Vote.	Under other Votes.			
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.	

—(Mr. Shaw Lefevre.)

## POST OFFICE TELEGRAPHS (REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE).

Return ordered—

"Showing, for each year since the Purchase of the Telegraphs, of the Revenue Expenditure, and Net Revenue of the Post Office Telegraphs in the following form :—

Year.	Revenue.				Expenditure.							Net Revenue.	Net Revenue, after deducting Columns 6, 7, and 8.	Interest on Stock created for purchase of Telegraphs.
	Telegraph Receipts.	Extra Receipts.	Estimated value of services to other Departments.	Total.	Sites and Buildings		Telegraph extension.	Superannuations.	Other Expenditure.		Total expenditure.			
					Purchase.	Erection.			Under Telegraph Vote.	Under other Votes.				
1870-71 ..	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.	14.

—(Mr. Shaw Lefevre.)

## QUESTIONS.

## GIBRALTAR DOCK.

ADMIRAL MAYNE (Pembroke and Havverfordwest) : I beg to ask the First Lord of the Admiralty whether he can give the House any information as to the Report of the Committee on the Gibraltar Dock?

\*A LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY (Mr. ASHMEAD BARTLETT, Sheffield, Eccleashall) : The Committee have, after a thorough investigation, completed their Report, which is in the printers' hands. The Report will be presented to the Admiralty and the other Departments interested in a few days, but I am unable to give the House any information as to the proposals of the Committee until the Government have come to a decision upon them.

\*ADMIRAL MAYNE: Do I understand the hon. Gentleman that he cannot say whether the Committee are in favour of a dock or not?

\*MR. ASHMEAD BARTLETT: The question as to the desirability of a dock was not directly submitted to the Committee. The Admiralty had already come to a decision that it was desirable that the dock should be built.

## INDIAN FACTORY LEGISLATION.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.) : I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India if the Secretary of State in Council approved the submission by the Government of India to the Indian Legislature of the Factory Law Amendment Bill now before that Legislature; and whether the Secretary of State has now required the Government of India to report their views regarding the resolutions of the Berlin Conference, in order that the question how far those resolutions should be applied to India may be decided by the Secretary of State rather than by the Government of India?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Sir J. GORST, Chatham) : The reply to the first paragraph is, Yes. To the second, No. I will take this opportunity of repeating a statement which I was instructed by the Secretary of State to make in reply to the hon. Member for South East Lancashire (Mr. Hoyle), which, I understand, has been imperfectly reported, namely, that the principles affirmed at the Berlin Conference are being, and will be, observed in India.

## NEWFOUNDLAND LOBSTER FISHERY.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs if he has yet ascertained whether the embargo placed on Mr. Baird's lobster factory in Newfoundland, in accordance with the terms of the Agreement for a *modus vivendi* with France, is maintained or has been withdrawn under stress of proceedings in the Newfoundland Courts?

\*THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Sir J. FERGUSON, Manchester, N.E.): The embargo has not been withdrawn, but the factory has been dismantled by the proprietor, and the men employed have gone to work elsewhere.

## RETIRED OFFICERS.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War if he can state in brief, or will lay before the House, the existing terms on which officers of the Army, not compulsorily retired on account of age, are allowed voluntarily to retire with a money bonus or pension for life; what is the amount of such bonus or pension; and whether the liability of officers so retired to serve when required, extends to service with the Militia or other Forces of the Crown, or only with the Regular Army?

\*THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Mr. E. STANHOPE, Lincolnshire, Horncastle): When voluntary retirement is permitted, a combatant officer of 15 years' service and upwards may retire on £120 a year if below the rank of lieutenant colonel, or on £250 if he has been three years in that rank. After 25 years' service, a major may retire on £200 a year; after 27 years, a lieutenant colonel can retire on £300 a year, and after 30 years' service, on £365. A lieutenant colonel or colonel, after completing his term of service in that rank, may retire on £420 or £450 a year, according to the arm of the Service in which he has served. A general officer may retire at any time on the retired pay of the next lower grade, and a major general may retire at 60 years of age on £680 a year; a lieutenant general at the age of 65 on £830; and a general at the same age on £980 a year. A captain or lieutenant up to the age of 50 years, a field officer up to 55 years, and a

general officer up to 67 years of age, is liable in a time of emergency to be recalled to service in the Regular or Auxiliary Forces.

## IRELAND—THE DUKE OF LEINSTER'S TENANTS.

MR. LEAHY (Kildare, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland if he has seen the report in the *Freeman's Journal*, of the 9th instant, of a meeting of the Duke of Leinster's tenants, who purchased holdings under the Ashbourne Act, called for the purpose of discussing the advisability of memorialising the Government to have the time extended for the payment of the annual instalments of the purchase money, say, from 49 years to 80, and thus enabling the tenants to meet the instalment now due, and for which, in some cases, writs have actually been issued, from which it appears that, amongst other things, it was stated that most of those who purchased their holdings are now unable to pay the present rent or interest, and that many of those who consented to purchase were considerably in debt at the time, and consented to purchase because it afforded them temporary relief; and that a resolution was unanimously adopted, authorising the preparation of a suitable Memorial to Parliament, in accordance with the views held by all present, to be presented by the county Members, asking to have the time extended for payment of the purchase money, so as to reduce the present and future instalments to such a reasonable amount as the people would be able to pay; if he will state the terms of the sale, how many years' purchase, and what pressure was brought to bear on them to induce them to buy; and whether he can now hold out any prospect of relief to these people?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.): The Land Commissioners report that the question appears to refer to 83 applications from tenants of the Duke of Leinster, lodged in August, 1886. The total areas were 6,580 acres. The Poor Law Valuation was £3,967. The total rents were £4,029, all judicial. The advances were £76,366. The annuities are £3,054 (being £975 less than the judicial rents, or a reduction of 24·19 per cent., and £912 less than the Poor

Law Valuation). The average rate of purchase was about 19 years. The average price of the fee simple was less than £12 per acre. The average annuity is less than 10s. per acre. Most of the tenants were stated to be respectable and comfortable farmers. Most of the purchases were completed in December of the same year, each of the tenants having executed his conveyance in conformity with the then existing law. No complaint appears to have been made of duress or unfair pressure on the part of the landlord, either then or subsequently, until now. The negotiations were conducted on behalf of the tenants by the late very Rev. Dr. Kavenagh, P.P., who, in August of the same year, wrote to the Commissioners that the tenants were free contracting parties; that they had made excellent bargains; that their rents were low; and that the purchase would reduce these rents by 25 per cent. Besides the above sales, which seem to be those referred to in the paragraph mentioned in the question, considerable sales of the holdings on the same estate have been since carried out on a similar basis. The total sales on the estate completed up to 31st March, 1890, were 337, and the purchase money amounted to £246,401. Of the 337 purchasers, there are only eight in default in payment of their annuities; and the total amount of their indebtedness is £187 19s. 7d.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.): It is alleged to be the fact that the Land Purchase Commissioners have availed of the one-fifth lying out to the Duke of Leinster, and appropriated that to the payment of arrears.

\*MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I should think that very improbable, and I rather doubt whether the Commissioners have the power to do it.

MR. T. M. HEALY: If they have not the legal power, what is the one-fifth lying out for?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The hon. and learned Gentleman is aware that before the guarantee deposit can be applied the debt must be an irrecoverable one.

#### THE CASE OF SARAH ANN MAYCOCK.

MR. CHANNING (Northampton, E.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether his attention has been called to the sentence

*Mr. A. J. Balfour*

passed on July 31st, at Elford Petty Sessions, in Staffordshire, on Sarah Ann Maycock, a girl 14 years of age, a fine of £5 and costs, and in default a month's hard labour, for having pulled sticks from a fence, the damage being assessed at one shilling; and whether he will advise the remission of this sentence?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (MR. MATTHEWS, Birmingham, E.): I have not yet received the Report, which I asked for from the Magistrates immediately on the hon. Member's question appearing on the Paper. I am, therefore, unable to say at present whether it is a case in which I can advise any remission.

#### MINES IN CORNWALL AND DEVON.

MR. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Cambridge): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department why the revised list of mines, referred to in the last paragraph of Mr. Pinching's Report for the Cornwall and Devon district as being appended thereto, is not published with the Report; whether he will state how many mines were, during the year 1889, working in his district, and how many of the mines committed to his charge were during that year personally visited by Mr. Pinching; and whether, in those that he visited personally, any special observations or inquiries were made by him with reference to the sanitary conditions of the mines, and the prevalence among the miners of the miners' disease?

MR. MATTHEWS: For reasons of economy it was decided last year that the lists of mines in the various districts should not be laid before Parliament and should only be published for sale. The lists can be obtained from the Queen's Printers or any bookseller. The number of mines working in Mr. Pinching's district was 146, including 30 small stone mines about Swanage, working on an average three men each, and 38 mines working less than 13 men each. The Inspector was unable to say offhand how many were visited personally by him, but the great majority were visited either by him, or by his colleague while he was on sick leave. Observation and inquiries were made as to the ventilation of the mines; but no complaint reached the Inspector as to miners' disease, or any insanitary conditions in the mines,



and no special inquiry was directed to those subjects.

MR. CONYBEARE: In reference to my second question, it would be useful if such an appendix could be made to the Report. In regard to the third paragraph, is it not the fact that Mr. Pinching has remarked that a certain number of the mines are only small, but that smaller mines are as much in need of careful supervision as the larger mines? Will the right hon. Gentleman give instruction that a record of the mines visited during the year should be kept?

MR. MATTHEWS: Certainly, Sir.

THE EDITORS OF THE *WATERFORD NEWS AND WATERFORD CITIZEN*.

MR. SEXTON (Belfast, W.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland how the amount of £30, offered to the editors of the *Waterford News and Waterford Citizen*, for one day's illegal detention in gaol, has been arrived at; has his attention been called to the case of Mr. Henry O'Connor, of the *Leinster Leader*, sentenced to a month's imprisonment with hard labour, on a conviction quashed as illegal by the Court of Exchequer after Mr. O'Connor had been four days in gaol; is he aware that Mr. Justice O'Brien decided that Mr. O'Connor has no legal remedy for the wrongful conviction and detention, and that his action for false imprisonment against the Resident Magistrates (Colonel Forbes and Sub-Inspector Mercer) must be non-suited; and in view of the fact that Mr. O'Connor's solicitor proved that he incurred nearly £30 costs in procuring the mandamus from the Queen's Bench compelling the "case stated," which procured his release, independent of the costs of his defence, and that it was on the argument of the Crown Lawyers that this gentleman was held to have no legal remedy, will the Government offer any compensation to Mr. O'Connor, following the principle on which the *Waterford* editors, without any judicial decision, have been compensated for a shorter confinement?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Messrs. Redmond and Fisher having, through a telegraphic mistake, been detained in custody for some hours after they first tendered bail, I expressed an opinion in this House that they were technically

entitled to damages, and undertook that they would not be put to the trouble of legal proceedings, but that the amount of the damages would be otherwise measured. Their solicitor was thereupon instructed to submit a claim. He did so, claiming £50 each. This was refused, as being out of all proportion to any loss or inconvenience which could have been occasioned. An amended claim for £30 each was then submitted, and although regarded as still large, was agreed to in order to carry out the undertaking above mentioned. Mr. Henry O'Connor was sentenced to two months' imprisonment with hard labour, on the 11th January last, on a charge of intimidation, contained in notices and editorial comments published at various times in the *Leinster Leader*, against a man who had taken some evicted land. He declined to appeal, and was committed to prison. On 15th January he was released on the issue of a mandamus for a case stated. The conviction was subsequently quashed on a particular point which did not touch the merits of the case, there being no doubt as to the illegal character of the publications complained of. Mr. O'Connor did subsequently fail in a civil action against the Resident Magistrates who had adjudicated. The Crown was not represented in the case. The learned Judge decided to the effect that the Magistrates had acted *bond fide*, and within their jurisdiction, that there was no question to go to the jury, and that he therefore directed them to find for the defendants. The point on which the conviction by the Magistrates was set aside was the insufficiency of legal proof that the particular copy of the *Leinster Leader* put in evidence had been published at the *Leinster Leader* office, and Mr. Baron Dowse, in giving his concurrence in the judgment quashing the conviction, is reported to have stated that he was sorry to arrive at that conclusion, not because the defendant would get off, but because he was morally certain that these papers produced were copies of the *Leinster Leader*. The Government cannot undertake to offer Mr. O'Connor any compensation whatever in the matter.

THE MAHARAJAH OF MYSORE.

SIR ROPER LETHBRIDGE (Kensington, N.): I beg to ask the Under Secre-

tary of State for India whether the attention of Her Majesty's Government has been drawn to a statement in the *Times*, of 8th August, that His Highness the Maharajah of Mysore has taken steps to put the Army of the State Mysore in a position to render extremely valuable aid in the defence of the Indian Empire; and whether any recognition of the loyal and patriotic action of His Highness and the Mysore Durbar has yet been accorded?

\*SIR J. GORST: Yes; the Secretary of State has no doubt that the aid which it is reported the Maharajah of Mysore will give towards the defence of India will be suitably recognised by the Government of India.

#### THE BENGAL AND ASSAM RAILWAY.

SIR ROPER LETHBRIDGE: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India whether it is true, as stated in a recent telegram, that the Government of India proposes to take the construction and working of the proposed Bengal and Assam Railway out of the hands of private enterprise, and to work it as a State monopoly; and whether any Returns are available that show the relative cost of Government and private control respectively in such undertakings in India?

\*SIR J. GORST: The construction of the proposed Bengal and Assam Railway is a matter still under the consideration of the Secretary of State and Government of India. No Returns are available, but information on the subject may be found in the annual Reports of the Director General of Railways laid before Parliament.

#### MINES REGULATION ACT, 1887.

MR. J. ROWLANDS (Finsbury, E., on behalf of Mr. FENWICK, Northumberland, Wansbeck): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether his attention has been called to the following statement, which appeared in the *Daily News* of Tuesday, 12th instant, namely—

"That three men were drowned yesterday in the Talsore and Gronant Lead Mine in Flintshire by water from an old working breaking in upon them. A fourth man narrowly escaped;"

and whether there was any reason to suspect that the mine was approaching old workings; if so, whether the precau-

*Sir Roper Lethbridge*

tionary measures provided for in General Rule 13 of the Mines Act of 1887 were duly observed?

MR. MATTHEWS: I am informed by the Inspector that the body of water was known to exist, and the working was being made for the purpose of tapping it. General Rule 13 of the Coal Mines Act does not apply to metalliferous mines, but advance bore-holes, though not compulsory under the Act, had been ordered by the agent. Until the evidence is heard before the coroner and the mine is pumped out it will be impossible to say how far the order had been obeyed, or whether the provisions of the Act had been disregarded in any way.

#### RAILWAY TICKETS.

MR. J. ROWLANDS (on behalf of Mr. CAUSTON, Southwark, W.): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether all Railway Companies are now printing the fares charged upon their tickets; and, if not, which Companies do not, and what are their reasons for not complying with the Law?

\*THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE (Sir M. HICKS BEACH, Bristol, W.): In reply to the question of my hon. Friend the Member for Cheltenham, I stated on Monday that 42 Railway Companies are now printing the fares charged on their tickets. In the case of the other companies I have fixed the 1st January, 1891, as the date on and after which this should be done. I fixed this time in consequence of the great number of tickets, amounting to many millions, in the stock of those companies.

#### SMALL INVESTMENTS IN GOVERNMENT STOCK.

MR. BARTLEY (Islington, N.): I beg to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether he has considered the proposals with regard to the re-investment of dividends on Government Stock held by small investors, as suggested by Mr. N. L. Cohen, in a letter to the *Times*, under the heading of "Accumulative Consols?"

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. GOSCHEN, St. George's, Hanover Square): Yes, Sir; I have been in communication with the Bank of England on the subject of the proposal made by Mr. N. L. Cohen for giving

small investors in Government Stocks facilities for having their dividends automatically invested. The Bank of England have gone into the matter with every wish to make the plan a success, and they have submitted to the Treasury a scheme which is simple and has every appearance of being effectual, and which will involve no legislation. A notice will be given that proprietors of all holdings in Consols not exceeding £1,000 will, on signing and sending an order to the Bank, have their dividends received for them, and employed in the purchase of Consols by the Bank, the Stock purchased being added to the amount previously held. As much publicity as possible will be given to the notice, and the Bank will supply holders with a form of order. A fee at the rate of 1d. for each pound of cash employed in the purchase of Stock will be charged and debited to the holder against his dividend account; the number of accounts under £1,000 somewhat exceeds 80,000. Under the scheme a ready means of making provision for a future day will be afforded to small holders; and the number of persons directly interested in the public funds will be increased. I have every reason to anticipate success for the scheme, and if by dint of the energy and co-operation of the Bank my anticipation is realised the public will owe a debt of gratitude to Mr. Cohen, to whom the credit of the proposal is wholly due, and I propose to ask the Bank of Ireland to give small Stockholders similar facilities.

#### VACCINATION.

DR. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid): I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board whether it has been reported to him that many parents, who are not opposed to vaccination, object to the use of human lymph with their children, as being attended with risks special to itself, and desire, therefore, to have their children vaccinated with calf lymph, declaring that on no other condition will they submit them to the operation; whether the medical officer of the Local Government Board has declined to admit the right of parents to require at the hands of public vaccinators the use of calf lymph, and has declared that the responsibility for the lymph employed rests not with the parents, but

solely with the vaccinator; whether Mr. T. M. Watt, public vaccinator of the Hovingham district of the Malton Union, Yorkshire, has repeatedly applied to the National Vaccine Establishment for calf lymph, and been definitely refused it; whether Mr. Watt has reported that for three months he has thus been prevented from performing his duties as public vaccinator; and whether the President of the Local Government Board will direct that the National Vaccine Establishment furnish public vaccinators with calf lymph when they prefer and require it for performance of their official duties?

\*THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. RITCHIE, Tower Hamlets, St. George's): Representations have from time to time been made to the Local Government Board as to the cases of parents who desire to have their children vaccinated with calf lymph, on the ground of their objection to the use of human lymph, but such representations have been very exceptional. It is the case that the Medical Officer of the Board, in a letter which he addressed to Mr. Watt, pointed out that the responsibility for the lymph must rest with the Public Vaccinator, and not with the parents. An application which was made by Mr. Watt for calf lymph on April 2nd last was complied with; but on subsequent application for additional lymph, he was referred to a letter addressed to him on the 26th April, in which it was explained that the organisation of the National Vaccine Establishment did not admit of its undertaking to supply either human or calf lymph for the ordinary vaccination of individual children, of whom from half to three-quarters of a million required vaccination every year. It has been more than once explained to Mr. Watt that the principle on which the National Vaccine Establishment proceeds in its distribution of lymph, whether to public or private vaccinators, is to furnish each applicant with enough for the performance of a few first vaccinations, and the Establishment expects that the recipient will exert himself to vaccinate in series from the beginning which he is thus enabled to make. Mr. Watt's duties as Public Vaccinator require him to vaccinate half-yearly, namely, in April and October.

The Board assume that he is complying with the terms of his contract in not vaccinating in the interval. I do not propose, pending the sitting of the Royal Commission on Vaccination, to make any change in the administration of public vaccination in England and Wales.

#### LIGHTHOUSES IN THE RED SEA.

MR. THOMAS SUTHERLAND (Greenock): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether any agreement has been come to between Her Majesty's Government and the Ottoman Porte, in reference to the construction of lighthouses in the Red Sea; if so, where such lights are intended to be placed; whether the localities in question have been decided upon in conformity with the judgment of those most accustomed to the navigation of the Red Sea, and to what extent, if any, British ships are to be called upon to contribute to the cost and maintenance of the same; to what extent per annum the dues now paid to the Egyptian Government for Red Sea lights is in excess of the cost of maintenance of these lights, including a fair allowance for depreciation of capital; and at what date, and to what extent, shipowners may expect a reduction in these tolls, conformably with the agreement entered into between Her Majesty's Government and the Government of the Khedive when the tolls in question were established?

\*MR. J. FERGUSSON: Negotiations are still in progress with the Ottoman Government with reference to the erection of lighthouses in the existing route through the Red Sea in the vicinity of Abu Ail, Mocha, Zebayr, and Jebel Tier. These localities have been decided on after consultation with the other Maritime Powers concerned, but the exact sites are left for further consideration. The tolls received by the Egyptian Government on account of the Mediterranean and Red Sea Lights exceeded the cost of the maintenance of those lights in the last accounts received, those for 1888, by £67,869, and in view of this an arrangement has been come to whereby when the new Conventional Tariff comes into operation a sum of £40,000 a year will be set aside out of these Light Dues for the erection and maintenance of the additional lights

*Mr. Ritchie*

required in the Red Sea and the Gulf of Aden. In this manner, if satisfactory arrangements can be come to for the establishment of these additional lights, British shipping will have the benefit of the new lights without any increase in the dues now paid for the existing lights.

#### INCHKEITH.

MR. BUCHANAN (Edinburgh, W.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War what prevents the War Office taking possession, for Military purposes, of the Island of Inchkeith; what is the price asked for the island by the proprietor; and what is the valuation upon which he pays taxes; whether he is aware that considerable risk attends the embarking and disembarking of troops on the island; and whether a suitable jetty will shortly be constructed?

\*MR. E. STANHOPE: Negotiations for the purchase of Inchkeith are now pending. The question of constructing a jetty must largely depend on the result of the negotiations.

#### PRISON MAT-MAKING.

MR. J. ROWLANDS (on behalf of Mr. CAUSTON): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether his attention has been called to the fact contained in the Prisons Report for 1888-9, that Messrs. Goodacre and Sons, of Plaistow and Glemsford, paid the Government for prison labour for making mats at Stafford Prison the sum of £216 7s. 4d., being less than £2 per annum each for the labour of 117 prisoners; and whether, in view of the clause in the Prisons Act, which states that there is to be no undue prison competition with any particular trade or industry, he will give the House an assurance that the grievance complained of will be remedied?

MR. MATTHEWS: The comparatively small sum quoted as paid by Messrs. Goodacre is explained by the fact that this firm worked its looms for only a part of the year. In the following year the amount earned by 119 prisoners was £477 7s. 6d. The prison mat-making has been repeatedly reduced, and is being still further reduced. The daily average number of prisoners engaged in mat-making was last year 1,218, and for the first three months of the current year

1,064. It would be still further reduced if any other suitable labour could be suggested.

#### GUN LICENCES IN IRELAND.

MR. SEXTON (Belfast, W., on behalf of Mr. ROCHE, Galway, E.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that Mr. Patrick M'Dermott, of Derrygoolan, Woodford, was served with a notice on Friday last, signed by "Zetland," revoking his gun licence; whether he will state if Mr. M'Dermott was ever charged with any offence; and, if not, why his licence has been revoked; whether he is aware that, in order to use his gun, Mr. M'Dermott had to take out a 10s. Excise licence on the 1st of August each year; and although the notice depriving Mr. M'Dermott of using his gun was dated 29th July, it was not served until the 8th of August; and whether, under those circumstances, he will direct that Mr. M'Dermott shall get back his money if he is not allowed to have his gun?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: It is the case that the Lord Lieutenant has revoked the game licence which was held by Mr. M'Dermott. His Excellency did so in the exercise of his discretion, as being of opinion that Mr. M'Dermott is not a fit person to hold a licence. If Mr. M'Dermott considers that he is entitled to have refunded the Excise licence paid by him his proper course is to memorial the Excise Authorities.

MR. SEXTON: I suppose it is of no use asking why the gun licence was revoked. I should like to point out, however, that though the revoking order was issued before the end of the Excise year it was not served until several days after, and in the meantime Mr. M'Dermott had taken out a fresh licence. Will the right hon. Gentleman, under the circumstances, order that the money paid shall be refunded?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I will consider the point, but Mr. M'Dermott can easily apply to the Excise Authorities.

MR. T. M. HEALY: Was the licence revoked at the instance of a landlord to prevent Mr. M'Dermott shooting grouse?

MR. E. HARRINGTON (Kerry, W.): The gun licence was, I am told, revoked because Mr. M'Dermott was suspected of shooting game. I noticed the right hon.

Gentleman in his answer referred to the game licence.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: That was an error, and I withdraw the word. My answer refers to the gun licence.

MR. E. HARRINGTON: You said game.

MR. SEXTON: It is the first thing the right hon. Gentleman has ever withdrawn.

#### POLICE INSPECTORS ON THE MAGISTERIAL BENCH.

MR. SEXTON: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that at Woodford Petty Sessions on Monday last District Inspectors Wade and Dulton sat upon the Bench with Mr. Hickson, R.M., and Mr. Lewis, J.P., a local landlord, during the hearing of cases against tenants of Lord Clanricarde; and whether it is in accordance with the regulations of the Constabulary that District Inspectors should sit on the Bench?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The Constabulary Authorities report that the District Inspectors referred to did not sit upon the Magisterial Bench, but upon a form at the end of it. They occupied this position, as there was no room to sit at the table in the body of the Court. I have suggested that in future they should occupy a seat in the body of the Court.

MR. SEXTON: Will the right hon. Gentleman turn his advice into an instruction? It is simply indecent that officers who are frequently the prosecutors should take a seat on the Bench.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I can only repeat it ought not to be the case.

#### THE EDUCATION ESTIMATES.

MR. J. G. TALBOT (Oxford University): I beg to ask the Vice President of the Committee of Council on Education whether, before preparing the Education Estimates for another year, he will consider the case of those teachers who entered the profession under the Minutes of 1846, with a view, if possible, of awarding to all such teachers who are eligible the pensions to which they believe themselves to be entitled, and so removing a cause of distress and anxiety to a class who have laboured long for the public benefit?

\***THE VICE PRESIDENT** (Sir W. HART DYKE, Kent, Dartford): If my hon. Friend will consider the present position of the teachers to whom he refers in connection with the actual terms of the Minutes of 1846, I think he will arrive at the conclusion that their claims have been fully and fairly met by the action of the Department since the matter was brought under the notice of Parliament in 1884.

\***MR. J. G. TALBOT**: I beg to give notice that I shall take an opportunity hereafter of calling attention to this matter.

#### CHARGE AGAINST CONSTABLES.

**MR. P. O'BRIEN** (Monaghan, N.): I beg to ask the Attorney General for Ireland whether he is aware that, in the case of the policeman charged and proved to have been drunk when on duty in Millstreet on 22nd July, there was division of opinion on the Bench of Magistrates trying the case on the 5th inst.; whether Surgeon Major Leader, who dissented, is correctly reported to have stated that "a case was brought before them of false imprisonment by a policeman" at the prosecution of his District Inspector, "and that he thought they should go into it no matter what happened subsequently," and to have stated that, on the evidence of the head constable, the arrests were illegal; whether a conviction for illegal arrest can be given under the Act of Will 3, c. 13, s. 19; and whether the attention of the Lord Chancellor will be directed to the action of Mr. Butler, R.M., in obtaining the dismissal, without prejudice, of the case against the policeman in question?

\***THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND** (Mr. MADDEN, Dublin University): I understand it is the fact that at the hearing of the case two members of the Bench were in favour of a dismissal and the third member was in favour of proceeding with the case. Surgeon Major Leader was the dissenting Magistrate; but I am not aware of the exact terms in which he expressed his dissent. The majority of the Bench, in dismissing the case, acted without prejudice and in the exercise of their judicial discretion.

#### IRELAND—PRISONS—RELEASE OF CAPTAIN R. TONSON RYE.

**MR. P. O'BRIEN**: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant

of Ireland whether Captain R. TONSON RYE, Deputy Lieutenant for Cork County, has been discharged from Cork Gaol, where he has been confined for unlawfully shooting a tenant; and what reasons are given by the Prison Authorities for discharging the prisoner in question?

**MR. A. J. BALFOUR**: The conviction against Captain Rye was for unlawfully wounding. He is considerably advanced in years, and the condition of his health in prison becoming serious a consultation of three doctors, including the medical member of the General Prisons Board, was held. They reported that further confinement would endanger his life. He was accordingly discharged from custody by direction of the Lords Justices.

**MR. P. O'BRIEN**: Has the prison doctor, who gave this certificate, ever advised the release of prisoners under the Coercion Act?

**MR. A. J. BALFOUR**: The hon. Member must know that many such prisoners have been released.

#### THE ANGLO-FRENCH AGREEMENT.

**SIR RICHARD TEMPLE** (Worcester, Evesham): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether, under the recent Anglo-French Agreement, the British sphere includes the Houassa plateau and extends to the Western shore of Lake Tchad; and, if so, to what point; and whether the Bornu State is outside the French sphere?

\***SIR J. FERGUSSON**: The line is to run from Say on the Niger to Barraua on Lake Tchad, but the details of it will be settled by the Joint Commission. The only stipulation which the Declaration contains for their guidance is that the line is to include within the sphere of the company's influence all that fairly belongs to Sokoto. This would entail a deviation to the northwards, and I believe that the Houassa plain and Bornu lie to the south of the points indicated.

#### THE NEW POLICE BUILDINGS.

**MR. CAVENDISH BENTINCK** (Whitehaven): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether he has any objection to state to the House the names of the high

architectural authorities upon whose advice he appointed Mr. Norman Shaw architect for the new Police Buildings?

MR. MATTHEWS: The artistic authorities of whom I spoke the other night were consulted by me in a strictly private and confidential way, and I do not feel justified in mentioning their names in public. I take upon myself the full responsibility for the appointment of Mr. Norman Shaw, and I think his work justifies his appointment.

#### A POSTAL DISPUTE.

MR. MAC NEILL (Donegal, S.): I beg to ask the Postmaster General whether he will state the offence for which Mr. H. L. Quin, lately employed as a telegraph clerk at the Central Telegraph Office, was dismissed; whether Mr. Quin has hitherto had a blameless record for efficiency, good conduct, punctuality, and regular attendance; and whether there is any previous instance in this office of a clerk being dismissed for a first offence?

A LORD OF THE TREASURY (Sir H. MAXWELL, Wigton): Mr. Quin was dismissed for using the telegraph wires for private purposes to the hindrance of public messages. Neither was the object with which he used the wires calculated to bespeak a lenient view of his conduct. Having formed one of a deputation to his Controller, which pledged itself to a particular line of action, he had no sooner left the room than he proceeded to the telegraph wires and advocated another. Thus, persons at a distance were stirred up by him to adopt the very course which the deputation, of which he was a member, had just assured the Department would not be adopted. For this act of duplicity, added to his infraction of a rule to which the Department attaches the highest importance that the public wires shall not be used for private purposes, there was in the Postmaster General's judgment only one suitable punishment, and that was dismissal. Mr. Quin's conduct inside the office had hitherto been good. There are many instances of clerks and others being dismissed for a first offence.

MR. MAC NEILL: Was not this gentleman's real offence that he was Secretary to the Postal Clerks' Union?

SIR H. MAXWELL: No, Sir. His offence was aggravated by duplicity. He proposed as a member of a deputation to advocate one course and used the wires to urge the men to adopt another and illegal course.

MR. MAC NEILL: This is a serious question, affecting a man's livelihood. Will the hon. Member lay the Papers on the Table, and enable the House to judge of the matter.

SIR H. MAXWELL: No, Sir; I cannot do that.

#### CONTINUOUS BRAKES.

MR. CHANNING: I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether an Order under "The Railway Regulation Act, 1889," has been made by the Board on the Great North of Ireland Railway Company to provide their passenger trains with continuous brakes, complying with the conditions laid down by the Board, and within what period; and whether the Board have received from the company satisfactory assurances that such Order will be complied with within the period named?

\*SIR M. HICKS BEACH: The company in question has assured the Board of Trade that they will provide for and use on all their trains carrying passengers continuous brakes complying with the requirements laid down, and an Order to this effect will shortly be made. It has been delayed in this case, in common with others, for the reason explained in my reply to the hon. Member's other question to-day.

MR. CHANNING: I also beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade what Orders have been issued to the Railway Companies, under the provisions of "The Railway Regulation Act, 1889," in respect of the provision on all passenger trains of brakes complying with the conditions laid down by the Board; what periods of time have been fixed for compliance with such Orders; what extensions of such periods of time have been granted, and to what Railway Companies; what Orders have been made by the Board as to Returns of overtime work under Clause 4 of the Act, and how frequently such Returns will be made; and whether, in case such Orders and extensions of periods are numerous, he will have a Return laid before the House stating particulars?



\*SIR M. HICKS BEACH: Several Orders have been issued, and I shall be glad to show the hon. Member a list; but as regards many of the principal Railway Companies, the matter has been postponed in consequence of the difficulty as regards mixed trains. The difficulty appeared to me to be so important that I directed the Railway Inspectors to confer with a Committee of the General Managers as to the limitations which might reasonably be authorised. The Report of that Conference is now before me, and the necessary Orders will be issued without delay. It must not, however, be supposed that the Act has been inoperative because the Orders, generally speaking, have not yet been issued. Communications have passed between the Board of Trade and the Companies, and the latter are, as a rule, making preparations for an early compliance with the Act. I propose early next Session to lay on the Table a Return on the subject. As regards overtime, a Return has been presented and will shortly be circulated with reference to the months of September, 1889, and March, 1890. The result of the selection of these months will be considered before further Returns are called for.

#### IRISH LICENCES.

MR. T. M. HEALY: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland are the Government opposed to the Bill to restrict the issue of new licences in Ireland?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: As the hon. Member is aware, the restriction of the issue of new licences was an integral part of our general licensing scheme. That scheme was dropped, and with it the proposals in question. Without giving any opinion on the general question, I must frankly state it as my opinion that at this stage of the Session it would seem impossible to consider a Bill which is undoubtedly of great importance, and which, if it had formed part of the Government Bill, would doubtless have led to many hours' discussion.

MR. T. M. HEALY: Does the right hon. Gentleman's opinion also apply to the Irish Sunday Closing Bill?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Of course, I should greatly rejoice if that Bill could be passed.

MR. T. M. HEALY: Are we to understand that in preference to taking my Bill, on which both sides are practically agreed, the Government propose to devote time to the discussion of the Sunday Closing Bill?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I apprehend the Government cannot give time for anything. But I believe the Irish Sunday Closing Bill meets with general approval, and I should be glad to see it passed.

MR. T. M. HEALY: The right hon. Gentleman forgets it has not been read a second time.

#### FALKLAND ISLANDS.

MR. MAC NEILL: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he will call the attention of the Comptroller and Auditor General of Her Majesty's Exchequer to the charges preferred against Governor Ker, O.M.G., of the Falkland Islands, in regard to the vouchers supporting the charge of £900 in connection with Government House, which are alleged to be fraudulent, with a view to their special examination by Sir Charles Ryan, and a Report obtained from that officer?

\*THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Baron H. de WORMS, Liverpool, East Toxteth): I have already informed the hon. Member that I have no knowledge of the circumstances to which he refers, as no charges of this nature have been made to the Secretary of State; but as soon as I receive the evidence which the hon. Member has promised to place in my hands, the matter shall be looked into, and the attention of the Auditor General will be called to it if there appears to be even the slightest suspicion of fraud, though it must be apparent that no fraudulent act would be likely to escape the searching examination of the Audit Office. But, in justice to the Governor, I must protest against these charges being sent privately to the hon. Member, instead of officially to the Secretary of State, who alone can deal with them; and publicity is thus given to them behind the back of the Governor, and before he has had any opportunity of reporting upon them. The House will, I feel sure, under the circumstances, entirely suspend its judgment upon the matter.

**MR. MACNEILL:** Is not the right hon. Gentleman aware that these charges are the common talk in the colony, and does he not know that I put a question to him on the subject when the Governor himself was in this country?

**\*BARON H. DE WORMS:** The Secretary of State fully investigated the charges made at that time, and found that they were without foundation. This is an entirely new charge. Of course, if the hon. Member has further evidence we will look into it.

#### RIGHTS OF WAY IN SCOTLAND.

**MR. BUCHANAN:** I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether, considering that a Resolution was carried in the House on the 18th March in favour of vesting the responsibility for rights of way in Scotland in the County Councils, and that a wide feeling in favour of this reform exists in England as well as Scotland, and that a resolution to this effect was unanimously carried a few days ago in the County Council of Cumberland, the Government will introduce legislation next Session for vesting the control and responsibility for rights of way in the County Councils?

**MR. GOSCHEN:** I cannot pledge myself to such legislation as is suggested by the hon. Gentleman.

#### BRITISH INDIAN SUBJECTS IN THE ORANGE FREE STATES.

**MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton):** I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India whether his attention has been drawn to an Order issued by the Orange Free States, directing British Indian subjects to quit the towns within their jurisdiction; and, if so, whether the Secretary of State for India will use his influence with the Secretary of State for the Colonies to make a remonstrance in the terms of the Treaties of Pretoria in 1881 and of London, 1884, to secure for British subjects freedom of travel and trade?

**\*SIR J. GORNT:** The question as to the British Indian subjects in the Free States has been the cause of great anxiety to my noble Friend the Secretary of State for India, and he has used, and will continue to use, every means in his power to maintain those Treaty rights to which they are entitled.

#### THE SMITH-BARRY ESTATE.

**MR. MACARTNEY (Antrim, S.):** I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether his attention has been called to a list of 29 outrages, published in the *Globe*, 12th August, 1890, alleged to have been committed in connection with the dispute on the Smith-Barry estate, in the County of Tipperary, from September, 1889, until June last, including attempts to intimidate by means of personal violence, arson, destruction of property, attacks on the police, and the use of explosives; and whether he can state in how many of the cases mentioned any one has been made amenable?

**MR. A. J. BALFOUR:** My attention has been called, by my hon. Friend's question and by the copy of the paper he was good enough to send me, to the list of 29 outrages committed in connection with the combination against payment of rent on the Smith-Barry estate. I have made inquiries into the matter, and the list appears to be perfectly accurate.

**MR. SEXTON** asked whether it included the outrages by the Police Constable Palmer, who had not been made amenable?

**MR. A. J. BALFOUR:** No, Sir.

#### BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

(5.58.) **SIR G. CAMPBELL:** There are on the Paper about 50 Votes for Report, then the Indian Budget, and after that some important Bills. Does the right hon. Gentleman propose to go on with the Indian Budget, the 50 Votes for Report, and the very important Bills to a late hour in the morning?

**\*SIR R. FOWLER (London):** Will the right hon. Gentleman not allow the Indian Budget Debate to be adjourned, as was done in 1873?

**MR. GOSCHEN:** It is hoped that the House will go through the Report with some rapidity, if hon. Members will only exercise some of the discretion they showed yesterday. I am sure it is the general wish of the House that we should make progress. I am disposed to adhere rigidly to the order of business.

**\*MR. CRILLY (Mayo, N.):** I wish to know from the right hon. Gentleman whether the Government intend to proceed with the line from Ballina to Belmullet in the County of Mayo? If it is the intention of the Government to

abandon the line, they should let the people know at once, because it is to the likelihood of work on this proposed line of railway that the people of the district are looking to save them from the consequences of the threatened potato famine?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I could certainly hold out no such expectation, with the funds at our command, that we could proceed with the line.

MR. T. M. HEALY: We have heard from the Attorney General for Ireland that it is the intention to give £244,600 to the Midland Railway Company in Ireland, and you are asking that the company shall be empowered to go on to the County of Galway, which is to contribute an additional £30,000. Now, this district is threatened with famine, and the consequences are likely to be very serious; and if this £30,000 is to be provided, I do hope that it will be equally divided between the owners and occupiers, and that the starving tenants will not have to pay the whole of that sum.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: An additional grant of £30,000 is required for the locality, besides which the Railway Company itself has to spend £30,000, £40,000, or £50,000 to complete the line. Contributions under all these railway schemes are advanced by the locality.

MR. T. M. HEALY: Is it not fair that the landlords who will have the benefit of this line should also have the privilege of paying for it, and that the whole burden should not fall upon the starving tenants?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: If the hon. Gentleman asks me an abstract question as to whether I think the rates ought to be divided between the landlords and tenants in a particular county, I think he could hardly expect me to answer that now. There is no difference, obviously, between the guarantee of £30,000 in this case and the guarantee of £30,000 in the case of any other county for an analogous purpose. With regard to the special amount of £30,000, it has already been offered for a far worse line.

MR. T. M. HEALY: The Privy Council rejected the action of the Grand Jury on the petition of these people that they ought not to be called upon to pay. When the Bill comes on to-night we shall discuss how this rate is to be divided. I think the landlord should have the privilege of paying.

*Mr. Crilly*

#### MESSAGE FROM THE LORDS.

That they have agreed to,—Tenants' Compensation Bill; Public Health Acts Amendment Bill, with Amendments.

That they do agree to certain of the Amendments made by this House to Bills of Sale Bill, with Amendments, to which they desire the concurrence of this House; and disagree to one other of the said Amendments, for which they assign their Reason.

#### ORDERS OF THE DAY.

##### SUPPLY—REPORT.

Resolutions [13th August] reported. (See pages 822 to 916).

First Twenty Resolutions agreed to.

Twenty-first Resolution (see page 858) read a second time.

(6.10.) MR. BARTLEY (Islington, N.): I should like to ask the Secretary to the Treasury when the Departmental Committee, which has been sitting for four years on some branches of this Service, will be ended, and whether there is any prospect of the clerks being put upon the Second Division, or whether any decision is likely to be come to?

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (MR. JACKSON, Leeds, N.): I believe the Report will be received this week from the Home Office. It is now under consideration.

Resolution agreed to.

Resolutions 22, 23, and 24 agreed to.

Resolution 25 (see page 896) read a second time.

SIR G. CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.): With regard to the lighting of the South Kensington Museum, I understand that the Colonial Society, the Engineers' Society, and other large Societies who hold *soirées* there, light it at their own expense. What I want to ask is whether the Government will favourably consider the proposition to light the Natural History Museum at night, in order that the people may have further opportunity of seeing the splendid collections which are there displayed? There could be no more useful means of assisting education.

**MR. JACKSON:** The introduction of the electric light is a matter of experiment. It has been thought advisable to begin with the British Museum, because it is nearer to the masses of the people, and is more easily reached by them than is the Natural History Museum. The same pressure has not as yet been put upon the Trustees to light the Natural History Museum, but experiments will be made with a view to the illumination of the building, should it ultimately be determined upon.

Resolution agreed to.

Resolutions 26 to 30 agreed to.

Resolution 31 (see page 899) read a second time.

**SIR G. CAMPBELL:** This Vote was reserved for discussion on Report. It was, to a certain extent, discussed two or three months ago.

**MR. JACKSON:** For four days.

**SIR G. CAMPBELL:** The Secretary to the Treasury certainly misleads the House. What happened was this: The Government lumped together two or three large Votes, and South African affairs got not more than a fraction of the four days. There have been considerable events since the Vote for South Africa was last before the House. I gave notice of the reduction of the salary of the High Commissioner, and of the very much larger sum of £110,000 to meet the expenses of the police in Bechuanaland.

(6.20.) Notice taken, that 40 Members were not present; House counted, and 40 Members being found present,

(6.22.) **SIR G. CAMPBELL:** Sir, £1,000 is given to the High Commissioner by the Cape Government as personal allowance. But it has since been disclosed—and I confess that I never understood it before—that he has £6,000 a year as Governor of the Cape, and £1,000 as personal allowance, and that the Cape Parliament has given him £2,000 a year, not as Cape Governor, but as High Commissioner. I must say I learn that with great astonishment. I cannot conceive why the Cape should pay him £2,000 a year. It seems to me very objectionable indeed that the High Commissioner should not be wholly our servant. That he is the servant of the

Cape Government is becoming more and more evident, especially having regard to the Treaty which was negotiated by the High Commissioner, which was the subject of a very sharp Debate at 2 or 3 o'clock the other morning. Sir, I am very much surprised indeed that the Swaziland Treaty—

**\*THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Baron H. de WORMS, Liverpool, East Toxteth):** I rise to order. Swaziland does not arise on this Vote.

**SIR G. CAMPBELL:** It arises on the salary of the High Commissioner, who negotiated this Treaty with a Cape politician in his joint capacity of servant of the British Government and of the Cape Government. These negotiations have resulted entirely in the interests of the Cape Government, and contrary to the interests of Natal. Some considerable concessions have been given to the Transvaal Government with regard to this question. It seems to me an extraordinary Treaty to have been made under the ægis of Great Britain. The Cape has maintained high protective duties to the extent of 15 per cent., while Natal has successfully gone in for Free Trade. Yet by this Treaty Natal is left out in the cold—a most extraordinary proceeding on the part of a Free Trade country like ours. It is a Treaty which enables the Cape Colony to maintain a protective system totally adverse to the interests of Free Trade, and most unjust and unfair to the Colony of Natal. I am at a loss to understand why we should force the Transvaal to join this Protective Union. And why we should force the Colony of Natal to join the Protective Union against the interests of Great Britain I am also at a loss to understand. I am convinced that it is a very great mistake to combine the offices of Governor of the Cape and High Commissioner of South Africa. I do not see why the Cape should rule over all the rest of South Africa. They have quite enough to do to manage their own affairs. They have managed them so badly that there has been a repetition of wars in South Africa. I hope, with regard to Basutoland, taken from the administration of the Cape, hon. Members will read the White Book, which shows the immense success which has attended the administration of Basutoland by the British Government. I think we ought

either to establish a great British South African Dominion, to be administered by a great officer who would be independent of the Cape, or else that we should promote the federation of the States of South Africa, and wash our hands of all responsibility for the natives. I should be sorry if we ever gave up the Cape, because I have always looked upon it as a sort of midway house between England and India. There is another alternative, and that is that we should take the chestnuts out of the fire for the Cape, that we should annex this country and do all the fighting for the Cape, and that we should then make the territory over to the Cape. That is an alternative which I do not favour. With regard to Swaziland, it is very common for us to rob Native States of everything worth having, and then to make Treaties for protecting them. What I gather is that this drunken Swazi King has conceded the whole of his territory several times over. If the concessions are maintained the result will be that, having got everything from the natives, we should leave them to govern themselves, and leave the Europeans, who have obtained all the plums, to govern themselves. I want to know whether the European Courts are to decide questions between European natives, or who is to decide them? There is a great and vital question as to whether this King has power to make concessions of the whole of his territory without the consent of his people. Who is to decide that question in Swaziland? Is the Court to be a one-sided tribunal consisting of Europeans alone, or are the natives to have a voice in it? Then there is the question of the validity of the claims of the British South Africa Company upon these territories. We know that the validity of the grants made by the Swazi King is disputed by a very large portion of the Matabele people. Is the Company to be allowed to decide in its own favour, and to appropriate the whole of the minerals? It is patent that at this moment the Army of the South Africa Company, such as it is, is in course of entering upon the territories it claims, and it is extremely likely that there may be bloodshed between the people of Swaziland, denying the right of their King to make a concession, and the Company's men, who, I believe, were called filibusters by an

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eminent Member of the Government whom I see opposite (Sir J. Gorst.) Well, I want to know who is to decide upon the validity of these concessions? Then there is the question of Bechuanaland. We are asked to spend £110,000 on Bechuanaland, and this expenditure has been growing year by year. This year the amount in the Estimates was at first £80,000, but there has been a Supplementary Estimate of £30,000, which brings the amount up to £110,000. Bechuanaland is one of those chestnuts which we are asked to take out of the fire, for we are told by Sir Hercules Robinson that we shall have to give it to the Cape in the end. This large force, practically a military force, for which this money is to be voted, is not to be used in Bechuanaland, but in the protected territory beyond, to the minerals in which the South Africa Company say they have obtained a claim. I ask, why should we be put to this expense if this Company is to have the benefit of the diamonds and minerals in that region? The Company should pay for its own police. As to South Africa, a question was asked to day with reference to the treatment of native Indian British subjects in that part of the world. The Under Secretary for India, in reply to that question, told the House, and I have no doubt very fairly, that these subjects of Her Majesty have the sympathy of the Government of India. I hope the Government of India has never been wanting in sympathy for Her Majesty's Indian subjects. But I want to know whether the Indian Government has induced the Secretary for the Colonies, and other Members of the Government, to adopt their view. Are these Ministers as zealous for the welfare of Her Majesty's Indian subjects as they would be for the welfare of Her Majesty's white subjects? We are told that remonstrances have been addressed to the Colonial Office, and that the Colonial Office is doing the best it can to induce the Transvaal and the Orange Free State to deal fairly by these Indian subjects of the Queen; but what I want to know is this: are they pressing the matter as if it were a case in which white men were concerned—white men with British constituents behind them? I cannot believe that they are doing so. In the case of Swaziland, when I asked the right hon. Gentleman the Under

Secretary for the Colonies if he could do anything in the interests of Her Majesty's Indian subjects in that country he said it was impossible to do so, as Swasiland was an independent country. Well, I think that if Manchester traders had been excluded by a Resolution of Dutch Settlers in Swasiland, as were Her Majesty's Indian subjects, we should not have submitted to it quite so tamely as we have done. I know that we are to have a voice in the Government of Swasiland, and I want to know whether care will be taken to mete out equal justice to all Her Majesty's subjects, and, if there is to be Free Trade for Manchester people, whether it is also to be conferred upon our enterprising Indian fellow-subjects as well? I do not call these Indian subjects of Her Majesty "the Jews of the East," as that is a term which implies some reproach. The Jews are not a very much respected body in the East of Europe. But they are contented with small profits, and Her Majesty's Indian subjects in South Africa are very like them. Their wants are few, and they are content to push their trade into Western countries by earning small profits. The result of the trading of these people has been so successful as to make all Europeans who come in contact with them extremely jealous. The traders in the Transvaal and in the Orange Free State and in South Africa generally are jealous of being under-sold by these industrious natives of India, and the result is that wherever it has been possible they have been shut out, and wherever it has not been possible attempts have been made to shut them out. Their influence in Natal has been undermined, and I do not know that they are very safe there. What I want to know is whether some effort will not be made to do justice to these people in the same way as if they were white traders. As we have already had a discussion on many points which arise under this Vote, it would not be fair to repeat what has been said, therefore I will confine myself to these observations, which bear upon matters we have had no opportunity of discussing.

(647.) **BARON H. DE WORMS:** The greater part of the speech of the hon. Member has been made by him once before—on June 2. On that occasion, however, the operation of the 12 o'clock Rule prevented

my replying, and so the hon. Member, no doubt, has thought himself justified in repeating his speech. But had the hon. Member been present on a recent occasion at about 3 o'clock in the morning he would know that every single question now put by him with respect to the Swasiland Convention has already been answered, and it is very much to be regretted that I should have to take up the time of the House by repeating the replies I then gave merely because the hon. Member was absent from the House on that occasion.

**SIR G. CAMPBELL:** I have not found a full report of the right hon. Member's speech in the *Times*.

\***BARON H. DE WORMS:** If a speech delivered at 3 o'clock in the morning cannot be reported at full length, that hardly constitutes a sufficient reason for making me repeat it. The hon. Member alleges that the Cape Government has not been sufficiently consulted with reference to the Swasiland Convention. Curiously enough, on the last occasion when the subject was considered an hon. Member sitting on the same side of the House as the hon. Member for Kirkcaldy declared that the Convention has been drawn up wholly in the interests of the Cape Government. There is no clause in the Treaty to justify these views. The object of the Treaty is to establish a proper and fair understanding with the Transvaal Government on the subject of the government of Swasiland. Under the rule of the "drunken King," to whom allusion has been made, the condition of affairs in Swasiland had become disgraceful. The country was really governed by a small committee of Europeans who consulted mainly their own interests, and matters came to such a pass that remedial steps had to be taken. The Transvaal Government having intimated that they intended to send an officer to Swasiland with that object, Her Majesty's Government thought right to send a British Representative to accompany him, and Colonel Martin was appointed in that capacity. The hon. Member asks me by whom a black would be tried who should have come into conflict with a white. According to the telegraphic summary of the arrangements, there is to be a Court of justice to administer Roman-Dutch Law and to

decide all cases, civil and criminal, between white settlers. No mention is made of natives, but I presume that a case between a white and a black would be determined in the same way. Of course, disputes between natives will continue to be decided by the King or Indunas, according to the custom of the country. By the Treaty of London we are debarred from taking possession of Swaziland ourselves, and the hon. Member, I feel sure, will not advocate our surrendering the country to the Boers. The middle course of recognising a joint Government had accordingly to be taken. The hon. Member has spoken in indignant terms about the concessions granted by the Swazi King. How, I should like to know, could the English Government have prevented the King from making these concessions? By what authority could they have prevented a ruler from doing what he liked with his own land? The hon. Member, following his usual practice, criticised, but failed to suggest remedies. His is the criticism of irresponsibility and sometimes of ignorance.

SIR G. CAMPBELL: I would explain that I want to know who is to decide as to the validity of the concessions?

\*BARON H. DE WORMS: That question is settled by the Convention. The Court to be appointed will inquire into the validity of the concessions. Then the hon. Gentleman asks me a question in regard to the concessions granted by the Chief Lobengula. We have nothing whatever to do with concessions granted by Lobengula or by any other African chief. When the British South African Company obtained these concessions we thought it advisable to grant a charter giving the Company a higher *status* than it would have had had it been simply a Limited Liability Company. Further than that, the Government had nothing whatever to do with the South Africa Company. As to the additional expenditure in Bechuanaland, I can only repeat that it is for the purpose of paying for 100 more police mainly to protect the construction of the line of telegraph. It is hoped that the increase in expenditure may be only temporary, and we have, by our precautionary measure in asking for an addition to the police force, prevented further great expenditure.

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(7.2.) DR. CLARK (Caithness): The right hon. Gentleman has not given us the details he promised with regard to the expenditure in Bechuanaland. How much of this money is for police? I wish to say a few words on the question. Practically, all the colony of Bechuanaland belongs to two chiefs, and practically all their best land has been taken from them. I happened to see these chiefs a couple of years ago, and it was heart-rending to hear them say that, in consequence of the loss of all their land, their cattle could only be taken to water once in three days. If, instead of throwing away £100,000 on extra police, the Government would put a dam in the river, they would be able to secure a good water supply, and the whole of the land would be made like a garden. Why spend this money on the police? If you want an armed force there, why not give the country a proper British force, and rule it as a Crown Colony? The land lies far above the sea-level, the climate is healthy, and the country would make a splendid sanatorium. The South African Company are building a railway through Bechuanaland. It seems to me that if the Government are going to rule it as a Crown Colony, they must either spend money themselves in developing its resources, or allow the colony to raise money and spend it. Hitherto they have acted like the dog in the manger—they will neither improve the country themselves, nor will they allow anyone else to do so. Hence the white population in Bechuanaland has diminished, and the native population is very discontented. I think there should be some Treaty between Bechuanaland and the Transvaal. The late High Commissioner's policy was one of starving out Bechuanaland, and compelling the Imperial Government to hand it over to the Cape. If the policy of the new Commissioner is to hold Bechuanaland as a Crown Colony, some money must be spent in developing its resources, and bringing white settlers into it. Well, you have given the country over to this company. That being so, surely the company, and not the British Government, ought to spend this £100,000. There are five tribes forming the Bechuana people, and Bechuanaland itself contains only two of them. If the High Commissioner is not going to annex Bechuanaland for a



time, he must take the whole of the five tribes and form them into a colony. The man who is responsible for what has taken place is the late Commissioner, Sir Hercules Robinson. From the beginning he has protested against handing over Bechuanaland to the Cape. I trust that, before we are asked to vote money next year for this purpose, some policy may be placed before us. The Cape is now going to make 250 miles of railway through this territory. The Bill passed the Cape Legislature two or three days ago. The line will cost the Cape between £1,000,000 and £2,000,000, and I think, under these circumstances, Her Majesty's Government might spend their £1,000,000 in damming up the river so as to give the country water during the dry season. The right hon. Gentleman is wrong in some respects. When the King made the first concession, he sent down to the Natal Government for permission. All the Government of Natal need have done was to give him a hint that he should not make the concession. You cannot get rid of your responsibility. You only go back to the Treaty of London; but, as a matter of fact, you ought to go back to the Treaty of 1881. By that Treaty Swaziland was cut away from the Transvaal because there were no white men there. Here is a splendid race debauched and destroyed by the action of the Colonial Office, and yet they deny responsibility. Lobengula was not desirous to give the concession, and, indeed, he has repudiated it. You are aiding and abetting Mr. Rhodes in sending a force of 1,000 armed men to take possession of the territory. Sir Sydney Sheppard approves of the proceedings of Mr. Rhodes, and will not permit anyone else to go through Bechuanaland. Lobengula states that the concession was got by fraud, and that he never intended to give it. You are responsible for the action of the Company. The right hon. Gentleman has told us that the Government have given permission to Colonel Carrington to head what was called the police. He is really a recruiting agent. You are responsible, because these 1,000 armed men, these armed filibusters, are going into the King's territory against his will. You are giving these men every assistance you can. The captains of the

companies are men holding commissions from Her Majesty. I think that before the Government ask for more money in respect to Bechuanaland, they should let us know what they intend to do.

Resolution agreed to.

Resolution 32 agreed to.

Resolution 33 read a second time.

(7.17.) DR. CAMERON (Glasgow, College): I rise to move the reduction of this Vote by the sum proposed to be taken in payment of the subsidy for the Halifax and Bermuda cable. Late as is the period of the Session it would be wrong to allow this payment to pass without some protest against the action of this House being over-ridden by a mere Treasury Solicitor, because it was on the advice of a Treasury Solicitor that the deliberate vote of this House has been overthrown. There is about this matter a most suspicious resemblance to an unbusiness-like job, and I think it but fair we should receive some explanation from the Secretary to the Treasury. The laying of the cable between Halifax and Bermuda has been long before the Government of the country, and it has been advocated by Naval and Military Authorities on strategic grounds. In 1886 Her Majesty's Government invited tenders for such a cable. Four offers were made, and the lowest was that of the International Cable Company. This Company offered to lay the cable for a subsidy of £8,000 a year for a period of 20 years. The Treasury came to the conclusion that the amount of the subsidy was excessive, and, therefore, they refused to enter into the transactions. In April, 1888, a fresh invitation for tenders was made. Three tenders were sent in, and again the lowest was that of the International Cable Company, who this time volunteered to construct and lay the cable for £6,923 a year for 20 years. This offer was accepted, but subsequently the Company asked to withdraw from the contract, on the ground of the price of material, owing, I suppose, to the corner in copper, so that the contract would be unremunerative. The Treasury very properly cancelled the contract, and invited the International Cable Company and its competitors to send in fresh tenders. Tenders were sent in,

and again that of the International Cable Company was the lowest. On this occasion the Company offered to lay the cable for £8,100 a year, extending over 20 years. Before the contract was ratified, the copper ring had collapsed, and I doubt whether there was any particularly valid reason for increasing the subsidy. A contract between the Treasury and the Company was entered into. The Treasury required special securities for the due performance of the contract. Article 14 of the contract sets forth that the capital of the Company, to the amount of £100,000, shall be subscribed and fully paid, within one month of the date of the execution of the agreement, or within seven days of the approval of the agreement by the House of Commons, whichever should first happen. It was further provided that if the Company failed to fulfil any of the conditions, the agreement should thereupon absolutely cease and determine. The condition set forth in Article 14 was not carried into effect. On the 12th of March the money should have been subscribed and fully paid up; but I was astonished to see in the newspapers on the 24th of March a prospectus, not issued by the International Cable Company, but by the Halifax and Bermudas Telegraph Company, inviting subscriptions for £120,000 worth of debentures for the purpose of laying this cable. The prospectus was a most peculiar document. It did not state what was the paid-up capital of the Company; indeed, several things in it induced me to ask the Secretary to the Treasury for an explanation. He told me that the time had been extended, and that the contract had been transferred to another Company. Well, but I want to find out something about this other Company. From my inquiries at Somerset House, I learned that the Halifax and Bermudas Telegraph Company was not registered at the time the contract was approved. I also gathered from the information to be found at Somerset House that the Halifax and Bermudas Telegraph Company had its Articles of Association subscribed by one merchant, one accountant, one agent, and four clerks. The nominal capital amounted to £50,000; but, according to information which came to Somerset House, only £35 had been subscribed by the gentlemen named in

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the Articles. I now ask the right hon. Gentleman what amount of subscribed capital has the Halifax and Bermudas Telegraph Company? The Articles of Association were of the usual tempting character. The Chairman was to receive £300, and the Directors £200 each, and 5 per cent. on the profits above 6 per cent., the Directors being called upon to act upon the representations of these gentlemen, consisting of a merchant, an agent, and four clerks. Then, having got up this bogus company, a prospectus was issued inviting the public to subscribe for £120,000 Four per cent. Mortgage Debenture Bonds for the purpose of laying this cable, the capital for which was to be subscribed in full and paid up before the 12th May. Long before this a prospectus was issued which contained statements of a most misleading character involving the declaration as a fact that there was a Government subsidy, which the Government had promised, of £8,100 a year for 20 years. Now, the Government had agreed to nothing of the sort, but had agreed to pay under certain conditions, and the contract contained a clause that if the cable should cease to work for six months, the whole thing lapsed into the hands of the Government. Where, then, would be the subsidy upon which the debenture holders were to rely? This subsidy was to last for 20 years, but the interest on the £120,000 was to be payable for 26 years, so that, having the capital subscribed, the Directors could carry on until five years of the time, and then leave the debentures to take care of themselves on maturity. Having seen this prospectus, I put a further question to the right hon. Gentleman, and after a good deal of pressing he promised a Treasury Minute, which Minute is, if I may be allowed the expression, about the "cheekiest" thing of the kind I have ever seen. Clause 14 of the contract states that, unless £100,000 are subscribed by the 12th May, the contract shall be null and void; and this Minute goes on to state that subsequent to this, and before the approval of the House of Commons, application was made to the Lords of the Treasury for the transfer of the agreement to another company specially formed to carry out the contract, and it was stated their Lordships entertained the application, but did not ratify it

until the contract was affirmed by the House. The right hon. Gentleman, in his explanation of the contract, never told us a word about this; that it was proposed that a bogus company should be formed; that the contract was to be handed over to a non-existent company. In anticipation of the approval of the House, the Minute says the Company proved to the satisfaction of the Treasury Solicitor that capital to the extent of £100,000 had been underwritten by responsible parties. Now, I do not like this underwritten capital; it means a commission to somebody. The prospectus asked for £120,000, and went on to say that Her Majesty's Government would subscribe £8,100 a year on condition that a paid-up capital of £100,000 was subscribed, and that, unless this condition was complied with, the Directors would not proceed to allotment. This means that this newly-formed Company, consisting of the merchant, agent, and clerks, with its paid-up capital of £35 at the time it got the contract, asked £120,000 from the public simply for the purpose of putting it in funds to lay the cable, and expressly told the public that unless £120,000 were subscribed it would not proceed to allotment; and I suppose if that had not been so, there would have been another extension of time, and the control of the House of Commons over these financial transactions would have become still more ridiculous. In this position of matters the Treasury gave a provisional sanction to the transfer to the proposed new Company, and, the Treasury Solicitor being satisfied of the security contemplated by Clause 14, the extension of time was granted. But what right had the Treasury to over-ride the contract, which had the force of law? If this explanation had been before the House when the right hon. Gentleman was defending this contract there would have been rather more criticism than there was. The Treasury Minute was a sort of sop to Cerberus, and we have had no opportunity for discussion until now. The company having been inaugurated, is, to a certain extent, connected with Her Majesty's Government, and they are responsible for it, because under the contract they nominate one member of the Board, and consequently have a right to all the information about the company. I ask

the Secretary to the Treasury to state what was the amount of capital subscribed to this company on the 12th of April; what was the date on which he agreed formally to transfer the contract to them, and what amount of capital was subscribed at that date, independently of the debentures on which they got the public to subscribe money on grossly false pretences. If the cable comes to grief, if the payment of the subsidy is suspended, the debenture holders have no security. The statements in the prospectus are grossly misleading. I do not think there is a Financial Minister of the Argentine Republic, I might almost say of Guatemala, that would not have come forward and warned the public against a proceeding in which the national honour is involved and the national credit may be damaged. It is not well for a Finance Minister to disregard the promptings of punctilious honour in this connection. The Treasury Minute was simply a means of blinding and bamboozling the House. As the House ratified the contract, so it should stand; and if it became necessary that it should be modified, then the Treasury should have come to the House with a modified form of contract to be sanctioned; the terms of the contract should not be set aside on the mere authority of the Treasury Solicitor. I have brought this matter forward for two reasons: In the first place, because it involves a gross infraction of the control of this House over contracts submitted to it for ratification; secondly, because of the peculiarities of the whole transaction from beginning to end. The cable which was to have been laid within five months of May last year was only laid the other day. It was provided under the contract that there should be direct communication with a cable landing in this country.

MR. JACKSON: Not here, but in Halifax.

DR. CAMERON: The strategic object, of course, was direct communication through our own territory with Bermuda. The company have made no arrangement yet, so far as I am aware, to carry out this condition. The cable was laid at the beginning of last month. We shall probably be told the cable is excellent, and that it was urgently demanded for strategic reasons. But

I want to know about this capital of £35 subscribed, and this £50,000 nominal capital, and why the Treasury have allowed the statements in the prospectus to go unchallenged.

Amendment proposed, to leave out "£28,375," in order to insert "£22,300."  
—(*Dr. Cameron.*)

Question proposed, "That '£28,375' stand part of the Question."

(7.44.) THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON, Leeds, N.): The hon. Member has brought forward this question not now for the first time; and I had the opportunity of explaining on a previous occasion what took place, I think, to the satisfaction of the House, and I had hoped to the satisfaction of the hon. Member. He has asked me many questions in reference to the Company which I am unable to answer. I decline any responsibility on behalf of the Government for any statement published in the prospectus. It appears to me to be no part of their duty; and as I stated the other day, I think the Government would be very unwise to undertake to protect those who have money to invest, against others who seek to obtain the investment.

Dr. CAMERON: I said there was a temptation to invest on the faith of a Government subsidy.

Mr. JACKSON: Yes, the hon. Member says that was the statement; but it was not made by the Government, nor have they any responsibility for it. The whole thing is in a nutshell. The hon. Gentleman has referred at great length to proceedings under this contract. He has pointed out that, in the first instance, the Government refused tenders because they were excessive. The tenders originally received ranged from £20,000 to £8,000; and while the advisers of the Treasury declared the highest tenders to be excessive, the Treasury did not regard the company which made the lowest tender as one whose power to carry out the contract might command complete and implicit confidence. The Government, therefore, hesitated about accepting the lowest tender, and were unwilling to agree to the terms of the highest tender. A year passed and we were again pressed, for reasons the hon. Gentleman has stated,

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to provide the cable. Fresh tenders were called for, and the hon. Member has described correctly what took place as regards the tenders sent in. We then took what certainly, I believe, was a new departure; we laid down a condition that would actually provide a security for the laying of the cable. Our object was to secure that the contract should be given only to somebody who had the power to carry it out. The security was provided, the capital was subscribed, and the cable was laid, and is now in working order. Therefore, the whole object of the Government in attaching the new condition has been fulfilled. We are to-day in the position of having what, according to all accounts, is a very good cable for our money, in working order. That is the whole story. By the effective competition secured by inviting fresh tenders we saved in the first place £4,000 a year.

Dr. CAMERON: The tender accepted was £8,100 as against £8,000 offered by the same company previously and considered excessive.

Mr. JACKSON: No; I do not accept that at all. The Treasury at the time the four tenders were sent in had regard to the conditions for securing the carrying out of the contract and the laying of the cable. The next highest tender was £12,000, and the highest of all was £20,000; therefore, I think I am justified in saying that we have saved £40,000 a year for 20 years by the contract. We have, at the same time, a satisfactory cable, and I should have thought that instead of seeming to sneer at what we have done the hon. Gentleman would have congratulated the Treasury on the economical and satisfactory result. That is the whole story, and I hope the House, by confirming the Vote, will agree that we have secured the object we set ourselves to obtain. The hon. Member referred to the connection with a Cable Company having a landing station at Halifax. This we are advised has been done.

Dr. CAMERON: An arrangement connecting with an Atlantic Cable Company?

Mr. JACKSON: I believe that has been done, that this condition has been fulfilled.

(7.57.) The House divided :—Ayes 73 ;  
Noes 37.—(Div. List, No. 253.)

Resolution agreed to.

Resolution 34 (see page 901), read a second time.

(8.6.) **SIR G. CAMPBELL**: I want to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer what decision he has come to in pursuance of his promise to consider the question of medical certificates before retiring allowances are granted. I have seen a paragraph in the papers that the rules which have governed these matters in the past have been modified, and that a medical certificate from a private practitioner is not to be accepted by itself. I desire to know what it is will be insisted upon in the future.

**MR. JACKSON**: The rule followed is this, that when one certificate is accepted it must be that of a medical officer of the Department, and if an individual forwards a certificate from his own doctor the Treasury require it, in case that doctor is not a medical officer of the Department, to be confirmed by the public medical officer.

Resolution agreed to.

Resolutions 35 to 39 agreed to.

Resolution 40 (see page 904) read a second time.

(8.11.) **MR. LLOYD-GEORGE** (Cardiff, &c.): I rise to raise a final protest against the burden which has been thrown upon the Exchequer in connection with the funeral of the Duchess of Cambridge. I also wish to comment on the contempt with which the offer of the hon. Member for Boston to defray this charge has been met by the Government. The hon. Member offered to pay the £180 out of his own pocket, but the Government have taken no notice of that offer. I venture to say that if the sum was accepted the £180 now proposed to be devoted to defraying the funeral expenses might be put to other and more beneficial purposes.

(8.13.) **MR. LABOUCHERE** (Northampton): I want some clear explanation, which I failed to get last night, as to the charge of £430 for fees payable on the installation of Prince Henry of Prussia as a Knight of the Garter. We know that there are ordinary and extraordinary

members of this Order of the Garter. The extraordinary members are limited in number, and consist of foreign princes, to whom Her Majesty grants the Order. I do not wish to protest against the Queen's granting this Order to any number of foreign princes, but it seems to me a strong measure that when Her Majesty confers this distinction we should be asked to pay a sum of £430 in the form of fees to the Garter King at Arms, who receives a salary, and who also receives fees from persons who want him to prove that they belong to ancient families. Now, why should he be paid additional fees when these honours are conferred? I have protested against this expenditure for several years past, and I am glad to say that my efforts have met with a certain amount of success. Formerly when a Knight was made he was given his robes, and if he happened to be a foreigner he also received his underclothing. For many years I have laboured in this vineyard, and I am happy to say that I have succeeded, by persistent efforts, in preventing English noblemen from receiving their robes at all, and I have also prevented Foreign Potentates from being supplied with their under clothing. I have to thank the Government sincerely for this concession. At present, when a Foreign Potentate is made a Knight of the Garter he receives his robes, but not his underclothing. These robes are only worn at Coronations, and I hope that in due time we shall abandon the practice of giving them, seeing that, in all probability, after they have been in the possession of a Knight of the Garter for a few months they are handed over to his *valet de chambre*. The robes, I believe, cost several hundreds of pounds. Of course, I admit it is absurd to expect a Foreign Prince who is made a Knight of the Garter to pay his own fees, but seeing that the robes are simply useless I think we might abandon the practice of supplying them. What I want to call the attention of this House to is the monstrous proposition that Her Majesty should be debarred from making Knights of the Garter simply because, whenever she does so, it throws a charge of £430 upon the nation. One of the Junior Lords of the Treasury opposite, the hon. Member for Wigton, when defending this, suggested that, as when anyone was

raised to the English Peerage a heavy fee was paid into the Exchequer, that was sufficient to counterbalance the outgoings in connection with the fees on making Knights of the Garter. But I think that is rather a false principle, because another Government might say that in a given year when there had been several Knights of the Garter made, and no English Peers, and when, consequently, there was a considerable loss, the only way to cover it was by creating a number of English Peers. Personally, so far as their legislative value is concerned I should not be unwilling to the making of anyone a Peer who was willing to pay a sum of £500 for the honour. I am not the first one to propose such a thing, for Count Cavour made a proposal to the same effect in Italy once, when the national funds were in a low condition, and offered to make anyone a Count who was willing to pay into the Exchequer 10,000frs. In saying this, therefore, I am only following the example of an eminent statesman.

\*(8.20.) CAPTAIN VERNEY (Bucks, N.): I wish to say a few words with reference to the charge for the funeral of the Duchess of Cambridge. I believe some heated feeling was manifested in this House on the subject last night. I regret I was not then present to record my vote. This is, on the face of it, a small thing, but in reality it is an important and serious question. I have been associated with men and women for some years past in endeavouring to set an example to the labouring people of the country to economise in the matter of funerals. Nothing could be more sad than the way in which some people allow their relatives to die in a workhouse, and then spend large sums of money on their funerals. A near relative of my own, a large landowner in Wales, who died not long since, directed that he should be conveyed to his grave on the parish hearse, in order to set an example to the people in this matter. I say it is not right to spend large sums of money in this way. I know cases of poor old people who hardly get enough to eat, and yet have £10 or £15 put away in order to cover the expense of their funeral. To labouring men, an outlay of £180 for a funeral is an enormous one, and I think we are setting a

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very bad example to the working classes by consenting to this Vote. I represent a working class constituency, and it will be my duty to explain my vote on this question to my constituents, and it will be very difficult for me to justify this Vote. The relatives of the late Duchess of Cambridge know what manner of men are to be found on this side of the House, and that the Vote would certainly be discussed and criticised. The charge is an outrage; it is injurious to the Throne; injurious to the Constitution of the country, and injurious to the aristocracy. I want to prevent this thing happening again. I regret it should be necessary to discuss this question here, but I feel it my duty to raise this protest on behalf of the labouring classes.

(8.26.) MR. BARTLEY: I notice in this Vote there is an item of a compassionate allowance for one Smythe, in respect of forfeited deposits in the Savings Banks. Under a rule which prevails, if a man has two accounts in the Post Office Savings Bank, he is liable to forfeit the whole of his savings. This rule is so unjust and unfair that whenever such a case occurs a compassionate allowance has to be asked for in Parliament to repay the depositor. I think the time has come when there should be some change in the law in this matter, and that an Act should be passed obviating this injustice.

(8.28.) MR. WALLACE (Edinburgh, E.): I should have thought it was the duty of the Executors of the Duchess of Cambridge to defray the cost of her funeral, and that that would be one of the first expenses that would be met out of the estate. I wish to ask whether the Government voluntarily went to the Executors and offered to pay these expenses, or if the Executors approached the Government and asked them to do so. I put this as a matter of business, because I am anxious to be informed exactly how this transaction stands.

(8.29.) MR. HOWELL (Bethnal Green, N.E.): I should like to know how it is that duplicate accounts are allowed to be opened in the Savings Banks. We know from the evidence given before the Select Committee that this practice is encouraged. Seeing that great injustice is often done under this provision, I wish to know who is responsible for it.

**Mr. JACKSON:** With regard to the point raised in reference to the Savings Banks in the particular case mentioned in this Vote, the person died, and it was discovered that he had two accounts. Under the existing law, his deposits were absolutely forfeited. Extremely hard cases, no doubt, occur from time to time, and, in order to meet them, the Government have to come to this House for the money. With regard to the question of the funeral expenses of the Duchess of Cambridge, £180 was the expenditure by the Office of Works in making preparations that were absolutely necessary. In answer to the hon. Member for Edinburgh I may say that we have simply followed what has been the practice for all time, and, with all deference to Members who have raised this question, I think it is a very small question to have raised. I mean to say that, so far as my knowledge of the working classes goes, hon. Members opposite have not expressed their view on this matter. In all cases it has been our invariable practice to ascertain if the expenses incurred by the Office of Works have been paid, and there has been no exception in this case. We have simply followed the invariable rule, and I hope that after what I have said the House will affirm this Resolution.

(8.31.) **A LORD OF THE TREASURY** (Sir H. MAXWELL, Wigton): With reference to the point which has been raised by the hon. Member for Northampton, I may state that the fees of the Herald's College are secured to it by Statute, and if the hon. Member objects to that he will at least know that what has been done has been done by the action of Parliament. At any rate we have no power over the fees.

(8.31.) **Mr. MORTON** (Peterborough): It has always been understood that the allowance made to Members of the Royal Family is a maximum amount, and inasmuch as this good lady had received altogether about a quarter of a million of public money since her husband's death, and was able to leave a large sum to her family, there is no reason why the public should be called upon to pay this funeral bill. Something has been said about objections taken to these payments by the working men. No doubt they do object, but there are others who object to such payments besides the working

men, and I find that those objections come as much from Tories (outside this House) as they do from the Liberals. I think it is time we put a stop to this sort of thing. We have been told that these payments have been going on for many years, but a good many other bad customs have also been going on. I do not suppose we shall stop this Vote to-night, but discussions such as this have stopped other Votes, and I remember reading that the Member for North Paddington put a stop to the payments of the same kind for the expenses of boats crossing the Channel. It is only by criticism in this House that we can hope to put a stop to these extraordinary and unfair payments, because they are frequently made before we have an opportunity of saying whether we desire to pay the money or not. These payments being forced through by an obedient majority, who come here in force at the bidding of the Government, whether the people like them or not. I hope my hon. Friend will go to a Division, in order to let the Government know that the people of this country are tired of this sort of thing, and that we are determined, as far as we can, although in a minority, to express our opinion upon expenditure such as this.

**Mr. A. O'CONNOR** (Donegal, E.): I trust that there will be no necessity for a Division, which, personally, I should deprecate, on so painful a matter. If this contribution has to be defrayed by the Executors I should feel myself compelled—

**Mr. JACKSON:** I said it was defrayed by the Office of Works.

**Mr. A. O'CONNOR:** I was trying to elicit from the hon. Gentleman whether instead of this sum being chargeable to the Executors it is in the nature of an expenditure which must necessarily fall on the Exchequer. I understand that on the burial of a certain lady there was a manifestation of respect in connection with a particular Department, and in that case the money could not properly be charged against the estate of the deceased lady. This was not previously explained, and if a Division had been taken upon it it would have been due to the want of that explanation.

Resolution agreed to.

Resolutions 41 to 48 agreed to.



## SUPPLY [8TH AUGUST]—REPORT.

Postponed Resolution further considered.

## Resolution 3.

"That a sum, not exceeding £1,300,700, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the expense of Contract Work for Shipbuilding, Repairs, and Maintenance, including the cost of Establishments of Dockyards and Naval Yards at Home and Abroad, which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1891."

Resolution agreed to.

## WAYS AND MEANS [13TH AUGUST].

Resolution reported,

"That, towards making good the Supply granted to Her Majesty for the service of the year ending on the 31st day of March 1891, the sum of £31,057,732 be granted out of the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom."

Resolution agreed to.

## MOTION.

## CONSOLIDATED FUND APPROPRIATION BILL.

MR. JACKSON: I beg to move for leave to introduce the Consolidated Fund (Appropriation) Bill.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That leave be given to bring in a Bill to apply a sum, out of the Consolidated Fund, to the Service of the year ending on the thirty-first day of March one thousand eight hundred and ninety-one, and to appropriate the Supplies granted in this Session of Parliament, and that Mr. Courtney, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Mr. Jackson do prepare and bring it in."

MR. SEXTON (Belfast, W.): I think it would be convenient if the right hon. Gentleman would say when he proposes to take the further stages of this Bill.

MR. JACKSON: The Second Reading of the Bill is fixed for to-morrow.

MR. SEXTON: I asked when the further stages would be taken.

MR. JACKSON: As far as I can judge at present the Second Reading will be taken to-morrow, the Committee Stage on Saturday, and there will be an early Sitting of the House on Monday to take the Third Reading, by which means I hope the hon. Members will be able to bring their labours to a close on that day.

MR. SEXTON: Are we to assume that at the Saturday Sitting nothing but Government business will be taken

MR. JACKSON: I presume that that will be so.

Question put, and agreed to.

Bill presented, and read the first time to be read a second time to-morrow.

## ORDERS OF THE DAY.

## EAST INDIA (REVENUE ACCOUNTS.)

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

\*(8.45.) THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Sir J. GORST, Chatham): I think I may congratulate the Committee of the House of Commons on being at last in a position to spare a few hours for the consideration of Indian Finance. I have noticed that there is a Motion in the name of the hon. Member for Northampton, regretting the late period of the Session at which the accounts relating to the Revenues of India have been presented. But I will not waste the precious time which we now have at our disposal in the expression of hypocritical regrets at the delay that has occurred. I am quite aware that the neglect of India by the House of Commons has its advantages as well as its disadvantages, but, whether it is good or no, it is one of the conditions under which India has to suffer. Those who are responsible for the affairs of India must make up their minds not only to indifference on the part of the House of Commons, but, also to the absolute inability on the part of this House to pass the most ordinary and necessary Departmental measures; a state of things that is varied now and then by a sort of fierce Parliamentary search-light which is thrown upon every detail of Indian administration, however insignificant. These being the conditions under which we are placed, now that I have the opportunity of addressing the Committee of this House on the subject of Indian Finance, I have nothing but a dull and prosaic tale of prosperity to unfold. The formal resolution which it is my duty to move in Committee to-night has reference only to the completed accounts of the year 1888-9. Those accounts began in March, 1888, with a deficiency of Rx698,000, and are now closed with a surplus of Rx37,000. That is not a bad result. The causes of

for the last two months past will continue to be maintained during the rest of the year. I said the improvement was entirely due to this rise in the exchange. Not only is it entirely due to the rise in the exchange, but if it had not been for this rise I should have had to tell the Committee to-night that the financial position of affairs was worse by no less than Rx560,000 than in March last. The advantage that accrues to the revenues of India from the alteration of the estimated value of the rupee from ls. 4½d. to ls. 6½d. is no less a sum than Rx2,160,000. This gain to the Revenue has not only increased the surplus to the sum I have mentioned, but it has wiped out a deficiency of Rx560,000, which would otherwise have had to be announced to the Committee to-night. This Rx560,000 is made up thus: In the first place, there is a loss of Rx40,000 on opium. The price has gone down below the low price estimated in March last; it has gone down so low as Rs1,040 per chest. The price of the Bengal opium has gone down, and the duty on the Malwa opium has been reduced; so, altogether, there has been a reduction in the estimated Revenue of Rx40,000. The railway receipts are worse by Rx320,000. Now that reduction in the estimated receipts from railways is, I believe, thought by many people to be due to the same cause that has induced a rise in the value of silver. Even bi-metallists think a rise in the value of silver will destroy a great deal of the Indian export trade; I do not myself share the gloomy, or, perhaps, joyous anticipations of the bi-metallists, but whether the trade will afterwards re-adjust itself or not, I do not think there is any doubt that the effect of the sudden rise in the value of the rupee is to check for the moment the export trade, and the reduction of the railway receipts is due to that check in the export trade of India. Some people say that check is permanent, others believe that the trade will adjust itself to any change that may arise, but, whichever theory is correct, there certainly is a temporary reduction. There is a further charge of Rx200,000 under interest. That is not in reality bad, because it arises from an offer the Government of India have made to convert the 4½ per cent. rupee loan which

matures in 1893 into a 4 per cent. debt. It is expected that about half the holders will convert, and if that is the case the Government will have to pay in advance ½ per cent. on the amount of their holdings for three years, which is represented by this extra charge of Rx200,000 for interest. That is a charge on the Revenue of the present year, as it is paying at once money that would otherwise be distributed over the next three years. The Committee will now see that, although there is at the present moment a prospect of a large surplus of Rx1,870,000, it is not a surplus that can be calculated on with anything like certainty. I thought it my duty to inquire what would be the effect of a rise or fall of a penny in the rupee above the rate taken in the Estimate. Of course the Committee will see that the amount of the rise or fall on the penny depends on the value of the rupee, but at the rate of ls. 6½d. per rupee the rise of a penny over the whole year, to ls. 7½d., would be a gain to the Revenue of Rx930,000, nearly a million per annum, and the result of a fall of a penny, if the rate realised were ls. 5½d. instead of ls. 6½d., would cause a loss to the Revenue of Rx1,050,000. With the value of the rupee fluctuating with the exchange it would be rash, to say the least of it, to declare with certainty that the surplus I am announcing to-night will actually in the end be realised. Now, Mr. Courtney, the Government being in possession of this surplus would have before it two possible courses. One would be the remission of taxation, and the other would be the restoration of that mode of disposing of the surplus, which goes by the name of the Famine Grant, or Famine Insurance Fund. Now, I should like to be allowed to say a word or two to the Committee about this Famine Fund, because there is nothing in the world so simple as the transaction in itself, but by the abuse of names, it has been made as mysterious and as unintelligible to the ordinary intellect as the terminable annuity at home. Now, first of all, this insurance is not a material insurance, but a financial insurance, and it is based on a rough calculation that the consequences of famine in India are to impose on the people of India a burden of Rx15,000,000 in every 10 years. That burden repre-



opium makes a difference to the Revenue of Rx570,000. The Committee will, therefore, understand how the hopes of Indian Finance Ministers go up and down with a small rise or fall in the value of opium per chest. Opium is the item in the net Revenue in which the greatest improvement has been shown, but if hon. Members will do me the honour to look at the Statement I have circulated they will see that every head of the Revenue has shown an increase, and the increase, in addition to the opium, has amounted to Rx1,637,400. Beyond this there is an increase in the Railway Receipts of Rx166,800, making a total improvement in the receipts of the Government of India of no less than Rx2,880,300, which, apart from the opium, is satisfactory. Nothing ought to encourage the hopes of Indian financiers more than the fact, which can be verified by reference to the accounts, that the Land Revenue of India shows a steady increase—an increase not caused by any over-renting of the lands. The Government of India is most careful never to perform that operation which is known elsewhere as rack-renting. The land is fairly rated to the Revenue, and the rating is seldom more than one-half the net value of the rent of the land. The Army charges have been reduced by Rx341,200. The defensive works by Rx410,900; interest by Rx229,800; and other expenditure by Rx367,900, making a total reduction of expenditure amounting to Rx1,349,800. I warned the Committee that the increase of receipts is not always a financial advantage. A great deal of this expenditure is not saved; it is only postponed. The whole of the sum will have to be spent, ~~not~~ not spent in the current year, but left over to swell this year's expenditure. So it is with the Army. A great deal of the saving in the Army charges is due to the fact that stores, guns, and other material supplied by this country, have not been purchased; therefore, the charge is saved in the year ending the 31st of March last, but only to re-appear as additional charge in this year. The total improvement has been Rx4,230,100, but of that part belongs not to the Imperial but to the Provincial Governments, because, as I explained at some length to the Committee last year, the receipts and expenditure of the Imperial and Pro-

vincial Governments are put together in these financial statements, and, in order to estimate what the real financial position of the Imperial Government of India is, it is necessary to detach the Provincial part, both of receipts and expenditure. Detaching the Provincial improvement, which amounts to Rx.735,900, the improvement in the Imperial finances is left at Rx3,494,200. When that is added to the original Budget surplus of Rx106,300 it makes the true surplus Rx3,600,500. Then, Sir, as I explained a short time ago, Rx923,500 has been given up by the postponement of the Provincial contributions to the following year, and by the allotment of a large sum to the reduction of the debt under the head of the famine grant, leaving the final surplus of 1889-90 Rx2,677,000. There we take leave of the year 1889-90, and now I come to the year which is now current, 1890-91. When Sir David Barbour brought in his statement, in March of the present year, he estimated the surplus of the year at Rx270,400. It has now grown, as is stated at page 8 of the Financial Memorandum which I have circulated, to Rx1,870,400, and that growth of the surplus of the present year is entirely due to the alteration in the rate of exchange. In the Budget estimate of Sir David Barbour the exchange was taken at ls. 4<sup>55</sup>/<sub>d.</sub>, or about ls. 4<sup>1</sup>/<sub>d.</sub>, and so far as the year has now proceeded—four months—the rate realised has been very nearly ls. 6d. In the Statement which I have circulated, I am taking the exchange value of the rupee for the year at ls. 6<sup>1</sup>/<sub>d.</sub>, and ls. 6<sup>1</sup>/<sub>d.</sub> throughout the year would give a surplus of Rx1,870,400. Now, the Committee must not be too certain that that estimate of ls. 6<sup>1</sup>/<sub>d.</sub> will be realised. In order to realise it, the Council bills during the remainder of the year will have to stand at an average of not less than ls. 7d. It is, no doubt, true that the rate of exchange to-day is considerably over ls. 7d., in fact it has touched ls. 8d., and is now about ls. 7<sup>3</sup>/<sub>d.</sub>, but with so doubtful, so uncertain a thing to deal with as the exchange value of the rupee, he would be a very hardy and bold financier who would venture to make quite sure that the advance in the rupee which has been maintained

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for the last two months past will continue to be maintained during the rest of the year. I said the improvement was entirely due to this rise in the exchange. Not only is it entirely due to the rise in the exchange, but if it had not been for this rise I should have had to tell the Committee to-night that the financial position of affairs was worse by no less than Rx560,000 than in March last. The advantage that accrues to the revenues of India from the alteration of the estimated value of the rupee from ls. 4½d. to ls. 6½d. is no less a sum than Rx2,160,000. This gain to the Revenue has not only increased the surplus to the sum I have mentioned, but it has wiped out a deficiency of Rx560,000, which would otherwise have had to be announced to the Committee to-night. This Rx560,000 is made up thus: In the first place, there is a loss of Rx40,000 on opium. The price has gone down below the low price estimated in March last; it has gone down so low as Rs1,040 per chest. The price of the Bengal opium has gone down, and the duty on the Malwa opium has been reduced; so, altogether, there has been a reduction in the estimated Revenue of Rx40,000. The railway receipts are worse by Rx320,000. Now that reduction in the estimated receipts from railways is, I believe, thought by many people to be due to the same cause that has induced a rise in the value of silver. Even bi-metallists think a rise in the value of silver will destroy a great deal of the Indian export trade; I do not myself share the gloomy, or, perhaps, joyous anticipations of the bi-metallists, but whether the trade will afterwards re-adjust itself or not, I do not think there is any doubt that the effect of the sudden rise in the value of the rupee is to check for the moment the export trade, and the reduction of the railway receipts is due to that check in the export trade of India. Some people say that check is permanent, others believe that the trade will adjust itself to any change that may arise, but, whichever theory is correct, there certainly is a temporary reduction. There is a further charge of Rx200,000 under interest. That is not in reality bad, because it arises from an offer the Government of India have made to convert the 4½ per cent. rupee loan which

matures in 1893 into a 4 per cent. debt. It is expected that about half the holders will convert, and if that is the case the Government will have to pay in advance ½ per cent. on the amount of their holdings for three years, which is represented by this extra charge of Rx200,000 for interest. That is a charge on the Revenue of the present year, as it is paying at once money that would otherwise be distributed over the next three years. The Committee will now see that, although there is at the present moment a prospect of a large surplus of Rx1,870,000, it is not a surplus that can be calculated on with anything like certainty. I thought it my duty to inquire what would be the effect of a rise or fall of a penny in the rupee above the rate taken in the Estimate. Of course the Committee will see that the amount of the rise or fall on the penny depends on the value of the rupee, but at the rate of ls. 6½d. per rupee the rise of a penny over the whole year, to ls. 7½d., would be a gain to the Revenue of Rx930,000, nearly a million per annum, and the result of a fall of a penny, if the rate realised were ls. 5½d. instead of ls. 6½d., would cause a loss to the Revenue of Rx1,050,000. With the value of the rupee fluctuating with the exchange it would be rash, to say the least of it, to declare with certainty that the surplus I am announcing to-night will actually in the end be realised. Now, Mr. Courtney, the Government being in possession of this surplus would have before it two possible courses. One would be the remission of taxation, and the other would be the restoration of that mode of disposing of the surplus, which goes by the name of the Famine Grant, or Famine Insurance Fund. Now, I should like to be allowed to say a word or two to the Committee about this Famine Fund, because there is nothing in the world so simple as the transaction in itself, but by the abuse of names, it has been made as mysterious and as unintelligible to the ordinary intellect as the terminable annuity at home. Now, first of all, this insurance is not a material insurance, but a financial insurance, and it is based on a rough calculation that the consequences of famine in India are to impose on the people of India a burden of Rx15,000,000 in every 10 years. That burden repre-

sents partly the debt incurred by reason of the necessity of spending enormous sums of money when a famine does occur, and partly the loss of Revenue which is caused in a famine year and for several years succeeding the famine. On the best estimate which the India financiers can make the burden is represented by Rs15,000,000 once in every 10 years. Now, instead of burdening the taxpayers of India with the sum of Rs15,000,000 every 10 years, it is thought more prudent and better to burden them with Rs1,500,000 every year; and, therefore, the Government of India many years ago resolved that it would create a special surplus of Rs1,500,000 a year; that is to say, it would take out of the pockets of the taxpayers Rs1,500,000 supplied for the service of the year, instead of imposing on them the burden of Rs15,000,000 once in every 10 years. The working of that plan will be seen in a moment. If the Rs1,500,000 were applied exclusively to the payment of debt, you would then reduce your Indian debt by Rs1,500,000 a year till you came to the end of the 10 years, and then you would have a burden of Rs15,000,000 all at once thrown on it; but, as the Government of India is a continual borrower for the purpose of making railways and irrigation works, the whole or part of that Rs1,500,000 special surplus has been applied to purposes for which money would otherwise have been borrowed, applied not in the reduction of debt, but in the avoidance of debt which would be incurred for productive works, and that has the effect of keeping down the debt exactly in the same way as if actually applied to the re-payment of debt. But this special surplus has never been hoarded; it has never been invested, it has never been kept as a sort of purse which could be drawn on in the event of a famine. It has always been spent year after year. Ever since I have been Under Secretary of State for India, the Government have never been able to calculate on this special surplus of Rs1,500,000 without putting on additional taxation, and they have never thought it right to put additional taxation upon the people for the purpose of raising this Rs1,500,000, to be applied to the reduction of the debt. But it

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would be a great mistake if the Committee were to suppose that during the last two years no sums have ever been applied out of Revenue to the extinction of debt, and to the construction of railways and irrigation works. I had a statement prepared by the Financial Secretary to the India Office, which is a continuation of the Return moved for by the hon. Member for Northampton, which was presented to the House of Commons at Midsummer last year, and I see from this Return that since the year 1886-87, when the so-called Famine Grant is supposed to have been first seized, the sums which have been paid out of the Revenues of India for famine relief, for the construction of protective railways and protective irrigation works, and for the reduction of debt—purposes to which the Famine Grant has always been applied—have been as follows:—In 1886-87 Rs461,000; in 1887-88 Rs376,000; in 1888-89 Rs508,000; in 1889-90 Rs1,066,000; and in 1890-91 Rs1,033,000: making in the five years a total spent, for the purposes to which the Famine Grant is applicable, of Rs3,444,000. The surplus of these five years applied in the avoidance of debt was Rs2,628,000, so that altogether there has been spent in the five years for the reduction of debt, and for the prevention of debt, no less a sum than Rs6,072,000, or an average of Rs1,214,000. I think that for five years, with the nominal Famine Grant suspended—according to the hon. Member for Northampton the Secretary of State for India had laid hold of the Famine Grant—that is not such a bad result. The Committee must remember also that in the two years about which I am talking—the years 1889-90 and 1890-91—besides these two sums of Rs1,066,000 and Rs1,033,000, the whole of the surplus, Rs2,677,000 and Rs1,870,000, will be applied to the avoidance of debt, and, therefore, in these two years there will be applied to the reduction of debt not merely a surplus of Rs1,500,000, but a surplus of considerably more than Rs3,000,000. Now, do I suppose that after this statement which I have made the character of this transaction will be better understood and more readily admitted? No, I am not so foolish. I believe that men's minds are so tied and

bound by the name "Famine Insurance Fund" or "Famine Insurance Grant" that they will still consider it to be a Fund. Mephistopheles remarked on the inveterate propensity of the human race when listening to mere words to believe that there was some real sense underlying them. I do not know that this House could have a more conspicuous example of that propensity to which Mephistopheles drew attention than the fact that the hon. Member for Northampton who is so sensible, and sees things so clearly, still talks about the Famine Insurance Fund having been seized upon by the Secretary of State and the Government of India as if they had robbed the people of it. I see that Sir David Barbour, in a speech which he made in India in March last, said he conceived the "only method of safeguarding our surplus is to call it a Famine Grant." So be it; but, if he saves the surplus by calling it the Famine Grant, he must not mind others saying it does not exist because it is called the Famine Grant. The Committee will observe that, in order to keep up the special surplus to the amount of one and a half millions, no less than Rx.957,200 more would have to be appropriated next year. You have nearly half a million to add to the appropriation for the present year, and you will lose besides a sum of nearly half a million from the provincial contributions, so that it will take nearly a million—Rx.957,200—of the present surplus to make up the Famine Grant to its normal condition, and leave only a surplus of Rx.913,200. It is quite clear, with the uncertainty of the surplus, that it would be impossible to apply it to the reduction of taxation. [An hon. MEMBER: The Salt Tax.] The Salt Tax—the increased Salt Tax—is an impost which the Secretary of State and the Government of India have pledged themselves to remove at the first opportunity. The cost of removing this extra half rupee on the Salt Tax is Rx.1,500,000—the exact amount of the Famine Insurance Grant. If the hon. Member for Northampton will give up the Famine Insurance Grant, and if the Government of India were willing to give up this surplus, then the extra Salt Tax might be at once removed, but they have thought, and I think rightly, that the first duty of the

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Government upon the return of this financial prosperity is to restore the special surplus, Famine Grant, or whatever you like to call it, and that the remission of the extra Salt Tax, important as it is, must wait until that is restored. I will inform the hon. Member who is anxious about the Salt Tax as to the result of the increased tax. The consumption, which had been slightly reduced in 1888-89, after the imposition of that extra half rupee, has now gone up again to more than the figure of 1886-87. Bengal is the only province in India in which there is a reduction, and that reduction is not attributable to the increased Salt Duty, because, if hon. Members will refer to page 21 of the East India Financial Statement, they will see a table of the prices of Liverpool salt in Bengal, which shows that it is the action of the Salt Syndicate and the freight rates which is accountable for a considerable part of the enhancement in the value of salt, and that an increase of price has taken place, exclusive of the duty, of about four or five annas per maund. While the extra tax is, no doubt, one which ought to be removed, and which shall be removed as soon as it is financially proper to do so, I think the figures to which I have referred hon. Members will encourage them and encourage the Government of India to look, in the first place, to the restoration of the Famine Insurance Grant.

MR. A. O'CONNOR (Donegal, E.): Is that to be the first reduction?

\*SIR J. GORST: I cannot here, in the House of Commons, pledge the Government of India. I can only say the Government of India have determined that the first use to be made of the surplus realised and counted upon shall be to restore the Famine Insurance Grant to its normal dimensions, and I can only refer the Committee to the declaration which I have, by the authority of the Secretary of State, made in the House, to the effect that the enhancement of the Salt Duties is only to be regarded as a temporary measure rendered necessary by financial exigencies, and that a reduction to the old Salt Duty of two rupees per maund will take place as soon as it is financially possible. I will not detain the Committee by any comment on the statement which I have made. I think the Committee will agree with me that



the state of the finances of India, as disclosed in the Papers which I have laid on the Table, is encouraging and satisfactory, and, though it would be extremely foolish to indulge in visions of enormous surpluses and great reductions of taxation, at all events we may contemplate the future of Indian finance with hope and cheerfulness. (9.37.)

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That it appears, by the Accounts laid before this House, that the Total Revenue of India for the year ending the 31st day of March 1889 was Rx.81,696,678; that the Total Expenditure in India and in England charged to Revenue was Rx.81,659,660; that there was a Surplus of Revenue over Expenditure of Rx.37,018; and that the Capital Outlay on Railways and Irrigation Works was Rx.1,638,001, besides a Capital Charge of £10,336,049 involved in the Redemption of Liabilities."—(Sir John Gorst.)

\* (9.53.) MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton): I think the statement of the Under Secretary for India was characterised by even more than his usual ability, and by even more than I expected of that charming kind of competence which, in a lesser orator, might be described as audacity. I feel flattered by the right hon. Gentleman's reference to what he was pleased to say I described as the Famine Fund, although I am sure the right hon. Gentleman's memory helped him as to the source from which I got that title. That source is the speeches and Despatches of the various Governors, and especially of those of the Viceroy, who initiated what is called the Famine Fund. The right hon. Gentleman said he would refrain from wasting the time of the Committee in hypocritical regrets at the lateness of this Debate. If I thought strong language would have any effect either upon the right hon. Gentleman or the Government which he so ably represents, I would be inclined to use it on this occasion, for I think it is disgraceful in the extreme that the Indian Budget Statement, which in 1873 was considered important enough to occupy three days of the time of the House, should be brought on after the Report of 48 Votes in Supply has been agreed to. I presume, however, it is the intention of the Government to shorten from year to year the time at the disposal of the House for the investigation of the affairs of 270,000,000 of people directly or indirectly subject to British rule. I do not wonder

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that the right hon. Gentleman thought that any expression of regret on his part would be hypocritical, for he must have well remembered that the leader of the House more than once distinctly promised that the Indian Budget should be taken this Session at an earlier date than before. But his Statement has been made to the House after the Appropriation Bill has been brought in and passed through its first stage. There was a remarkable absence from the speech of the right hon. Gentleman this year of any such specific allusions to legislation as helped to ornament his speech last year, for where then he audaciously put upon the House the blame for want of legislation, he must have well remembered that the whole of the blame rests this year upon the Government, and has been in breach of an absolute pledge, frequently admitted by the First Lord of the Treasury and held out to me as an inducement not to raise a discussion on Indian affairs at that stage of business when it would have been inconvenient to the Government—the Address at the beginning of the Session. There has been no attempt to submit to the House those legislative proposals to which the right hon. Gentleman so vaguely alluded. Now, I shall have the support of the hon. Baronet the Member for Evesham (Sir R. Temple), who takes as much interest in these matters as any Member of the House, and in the estimation of those who honour him in Bombay, much more interest than some, who was himself prevented from carrying out the intention he had formulated by the pledge given to introduce into the House a measure based on elective principles which if carried would obviate the necessity of discussing financial proposals here at all, for they would be discussed in elective, Viceregal, or other Councils in India by men understanding what was submitted to them. To discuss the affairs of 270,000,000 of people with such support given from the leaders of our Party as that Bench shows—[*the Front Opposition Bench was empty*]—and that strong array of the Conservative Party opposite is enough to warrant my Motion on the Paper that the late date of presentation of Accounts and Papers relating to the revenues of India renders it impossible to satisfactorily examine and discuss the Indian Financial State-



ment. Last year the explanatory statement of the right hon. Gentleman, to which he did so much injustice in one of his moments of forgetfulness as to describe it as simply his speech, was circulated two and a half months before it came on for discussion. Then anyone who paid attention to it had time to examine the matter; but I appeal to the Committee whether it is possible to deal with these millions of tens of rupees hurled at our heads this evening with anything like intelligent criticism. Last year a Statement, which is issued annually, and is by Statute required to be issued at a particular time of the year, was issued before this annual explanation, and enabled the House to check the matters submitted by the right hon. Gentleman and to correct errors into which he had fallen by following blindly the information submitted by permanent officials. This Statement, called a statement, exhibiting the moral and material progress and condition of India, is not even now in the hands of Members. And why not? I see by the Votes this morning—I think I must be mistaken—some record of a document having been laid on the Table last night, but I went into the Library and found nothing of it there except an endorsement and some blank sheets of paper. I ask, why is this Statement withheld? It should have been laid on the Table before. The Statute 21 & 22 Vict., cap. 106, sec. 53, says that the financial accounts are to be laid before Parliament during the first 14 days of May, and such accounts shall be accompanied by a statement prepared from detailed Reports from each Presidency and district in India in such form as shall best exhibit the moral and material progress and condition in each Presidency. Why has this Statute been disobeyed? The English Law Officers are not in their places. I do not know whether the Irish Attorney General can assist me, but clearly a misdemeanour has been committed by somebody. I do not say the Under Secretary is criminally responsible, but certainly somebody is, for having disobeyed an exact statutory command. Common decency requires that these matters, absolutely necessary to the understanding of the accounts of India, should be put into the hands of Members at least at such a time as will

enable them to examine and master them. If I did not know the thoroughly frank and confiding nature of the right hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary, I should imagine that he had withheld it for the purpose of preventing me from making the same use of it as I did last year; but I know that is impossible, and I know that his legal advisers at the India Office would not have permitted him to wilfully to break the Statute, even if his personal inclination tempted him to do so, which is a perfectly untenable position. I may ask the Committee, I think, to express disapproval; and if the offence is repeated next year, I shall have to ask the House to express disapproval of this absolute disregard of the law by the Indian Government entrusted with its enforcement and maintenance. It is true, as urged by the right hon. Gentleman, that this semblance of Parliamentary indifference to Indian affairs has arisen since the Imperial Government has been charged with the administration of Indian affairs. When the East India Company had its charter Parliament and the Government of the day were jealous in the extreme, and inquiry after inquiry was held—not a sham, but real inquiry—but to-day it is pretended—I will not say it of the right hon. Gentleman because he is not capable of any pretence that does not represent his real official feeling; but I have come to know that official knowledge and exact knowledge are not always the same; it is pretended now that Parliamentary inquiry would embarrass the Government and prevent the Viceroy and the Secretary of State doing what is wanted. But it was not so when the East India Company had its charter. Parliament then held inquiry, and the result was good to India and not harm. If the Government break their promises, at least they should abide by the law, as less important persons have to do. I do not know what excuse will be made for the delay in issuing the explanatory Memorandum, but the right hon. Gentleman must feel that it is simply absurd to present to the House on the very day upon which his statement is made a huge mass of figures from which he selects only a few to embellish as he does everything he touches with fine figures of speech and quotations from classical authors, such, for instance, as his reference to Mephis-

topheles. There is one thing which the Under Secretary has not dealt with in his Financial Statement. It is only a small matter, but I clear it away before I come to greater ones. We heard a reply to a question, and we gathered from what are called the usual sources of information that considerable pressure had been put on the Government from their own side of the House to render some pecuniary assistance to make some payment—I will not say to give some reward to Mr. Crawford. I asked the right hon. Gentleman to state the nature of the special payments mentioned on page 35 of the explanatory statement. I cannot suppose they have any reference to the matter.

\*SIR J. GORST: No.

\*MR. BRADLAUGH: That is what I expected; but I ask because we have an explanatory statement that does not explain what we want, and elucidates much that is already quite clear. But let me tell the right hon. Gentleman that a very strong feeling on this account exists in India against any attempt being made to divert any portion of the money raised by taxation of the Indian people to rewarding a man who, whatever you say of the case, has clearly been guilty of corrupting justice in the worst fashion, and in resentment of the action of the Government, in direct opposition to the wishes of Lord Reay, who, addressing the people on the eve of his departure, made use of words such as had never before been used by a man in his position. He said that in order to influence the Government to keep their promise he had even gone the length of tendering his resignation, or doing something equivalent to it. I will not enlarge on this, for I fear I may bring myself, Sir, under your displeasure. Now I come to a much less exciting topic, the announcement made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer early in the Session that he would abolish the Silver Plate Duty, and I come to that in connection with the trade and manufactures of India. To be effective in India it must be accompanied by some such measure as the abolition of hall-marking. On July 15 I put a question on the subject.

THE CHAIRMAN: I do not know how this concerns the finances of India.

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\*MR. BRADLAUGH: I will not attempt to trespass on your ruling, Sir; but may I suggest that the silver manufacturer in India is possibly connected with the Income Tax, and thus affecting income affects the finances of India? Judging from your gesture, I find you do not accept my construction. I will content myself with saying that if I had been in order, I would have read to the Under Secretary a letter from the Private Secretary of the Viceroy containing a statement of information which the right hon. Gentleman said he had not got on July 15, as having reached home in the month of May. But I pass on to railways, just asking, because the same query bears on other matters, is there any juggle in the use of the word "official"? Is it possible that information sent home does not always reach the right hon. Gentleman? Is it possible that information sent home does not always reach the right hon. Gentleman? Is it possible that either on railways, on hall-marking, or on anything else, letters could come from the Viceroy of India, that the substance of those letters could be communicated by the Viceroy to other people than the Members of the Government of India, and that yet the Under Secretary of State for India could stand up in that House and officially deny any knowledge of them?

\*SIR J. GORST: I have no knowledge of the private correspondence of the Viceroy.

\*MR. BRADLAUGH: I did not suppose the right hon. Gentleman would have knowledge of private correspondence of the kind. The question, however, is whether, when letters were written by the Viceroy to the Secretary of State in Council, the contents of which were communicated, by the direction of the Viceroy himself through his private secretary, to third parties, the contents of such documents were so little within the knowledge of the Under Secretary of State for India that he felt entitled to say that the Secretary of State knew nothing about them. If that is so, I submit that we discuss Indian affairs under considerable difficulty. When the right hon. Gentleman replies, I will ask him for some explanation of the policy of the Government in relation to railways. He has been reticent on this question, though I

have addressed searching questions to him. I will ask him whether the Secretary of State received from the Viceroy of India a Despatch dated November last which referred to the outlines of the terms on which the Secretary of State proposed that Railway Companies should, under the new policy, in future be established? (1.) A company is to be formed having an English domicile, whose share capital in sterling will amount to that proportion of the whole capital required that would, in the ordinary course, be expended on the purchase of stores and plant and on other charges in England. This proportion may, it is said, be taken approximately at one-third of the total cost of the railway. (2.) The remainder of the capital required would be supplied by the Government of India. (3.) Interest in sterling at such rate as may be agreed upon (we hardly suppose that a rate much less than 4 per cent. will be accepted) on the company's share capital would be a first charge of the net earnings. (4.) The remainder of the net earnings would be made over to Government to defray the charges of interest on the Government share of the capital until the interest charges at 4 per cent. (or at whatever rate of interest the capital is raised) on that capital are fully met. (5.) The surplus profits, after the payments indicated in (3) and (4) have been made, would be divided between the Government and the company in certain proportions. Were these proposals submitted to the Viceroy a year ago, and did the Government of India reply that the practical effect of this policy on the future expenditure on railways, interpreted in figures, would be something of this kind? Supposing that we raise in India a sum of, say, 2½ crores of rupees for railway construction—a sum equal to half that amount, or a little over one crore, equal to about two-thirds of a million sterling—would be added to meet English expenditure and would be raised in England, partly through the shares of the new company, partly as far as State railways are concerned) by loans raised by the Secretary of State. Did the Government of India say that it could not admit that in return for this diversion of State funds into the hands of others we shall obtain any of the real advantages which follow on the encouragement of private

enterprises? The assistance intended to be given to a company thus constructed is nothing less than a sterling guarantee of interests on the company's share capital in a new form, and it is a guarantee which is practically charged on the Revenues of India. It is hardly likely that the Government of India would propose, or that any company would accept, the construction of a line with such poor prospects of traffic that the net earnings would not produce more than 1 per cent. on the capital invested. It is, however, evident that if the company's shares are not to exceed 33 per cent. of the whole capital that net earnings amounting only to 1 1-3 per cent. on the whole capital would be sufficient to provide 4 per cent. on the share capital of the company, which would be virtually guaranteed interest at that risk. And did the Government of India go on to say—

"We should thus have repeated one of the chief evils of the old guaranteed system. From the time the undertaking paid 1 1-3 per cent. until it paid over 4 per cent., and this in the case of our secondary lines, would probably be the situation during the whole of the first period of the contract—there would not be the slightest inducement for the company to economise. They would be secure in the receipts of interest at 4 per cent. guaranteed on the net earnings, while there would be no hope of their receiving more until surplus profits were declared. From first to last the position of the shareholders would be the same as that of the shareholders of the Madras Railway Company."

And did the Indian Government add—

"We are far from wishing to discourage true private enterprises when it can be properly so called. By private enterprise we mean such companies as the Bengal and North Berber Railway Company or the Delhi Halka Company, which was created for the construction, not for the working, of the line. To these the only assistance given by Government was the free grant of land, and in their financial success the Government of India is as little directly concerned as in that of a tea or jute manufacturing company. To all companies raised on these terms, subject to the broad lines of policy we have before referred to, we consider that every possible encouragement should be given. While, however, these are our feelings with regard to the encouragement of genuine private enterprise, we do not extend to them proposals for the creation of companies which would have a very limited interest in the concern from which they take their name, which would contribute only a small portion of the capital at an unnecessarily high rate of interest, yet on what is really absolute security, and which for the rest of their capital would have to draw from the Government Treasury funds in the manage-

ment of which the State could thereafter have but little influence, and from which it probably would get a very poor return. Moreover, the creation of a new class of companies fostered by a new kind of guarantee will necessarily be inimical to the extension of real private enterprise, as no promoter will be willing to accept greater risk than is involved in the new terms."

I ask for categorical answers on these points. When I asked last year my questions were avoided; when I repeated specific questions this year I got no answer; and I can only tell the right hon. Gentleman that if the Government of India is conducted without laying upon the Table of this House the Papers which would really instruct the House as to what is happening, they cannot wonder that the air is full of rumours of jobbery, and that it is suggested that particular favourites get particular advantages; and no such rose-coloured speeches as we have heard to-night will be sufficient to hinder inquiry upon these points. This is a matter which we know has been discussed in the Viceregal Council of India; and in the East India Financial Statement laid upon the Table of this House in compliance with the Statute, we do get some references—not very many—which enable us to learn something about the matter. We find that the kind of questions which I have pressed upon the right hon. Gentleman to-night were, though not quite in the same distinct fashion I admit, pressed, as would be seen by page 89 of the Statement. The hon. Sir A. Wilson, a member of the Council, expressed his regret that no definite policy was put forward by the Government with regard to the future construction of railways. The hon. Charles Elliott in reply said, as will be found on pages 96 and 97, that—

"To answer the question put by Sir A. Wilson as to what the railway policy of this Government is would require a full exhaustive statement;"

which he was not prepared to give. But now I ask the attention of the Committee to the curious coincidence between the language used by Sir Charles Elliott and the passages about which I have challenged the right hon. Gentleman to say "Yes" or "No" to my allegation that they are part of a Government Despatch, either official or unofficial, or a Letter from the Viceroy of India to

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the Secretary of State in Council. I am unable to distinguish between documents which are official or unofficial when they end in burdening the country with heavy expenditure. Sir Charles Elliott says—

"It cannot be denied that it is not economical to raise money at 3½ per cent. through the agency of companies when it can be raised by the State at 3 per cent., as is the case now."

And I say this shows that it had been proposed to raise money through the agency of companies, if not in the express words (and I feel tolerably sure it was in the express words that I have given), at any rate to the effect that I have alleged to this Committee. Sir Charles Elliott goes on to say—

"Therefore it is not the policy of the Government to encourage the creation of any more companies on terms corresponding to those I have just mentioned;"

and I ask the Under Secretary for India to say whether the policy of the Secretary of State in Council is identical with the policy of the Viceroy in Council, or whether the policy of the Viceroy in Council is one thing and the policy of the Secretary of State in Council another. I ask the Secretary of State to say what railway proposals have been considered by him in Council in England which the Government of India at Simla have rejected, or with which they have disagreed; and I will ask him, also, what is the need of the Secretary of State in Council to meddle in the job of raising money in connection with railways by companies who are to be protected by the Government of India, but of which the taxpayer is to bear the burden and the loss. But I would also ask the right hon. Gentleman, before I pass to the other portion of the railway question, whether there is any part proposal, or any part proposals which the Secretary of State in Council has made to the Government of India which the Government of India have accepted, or whether there are any modifications transmitted by the Viceroy to the Secretary of State in Council which have been accepted here; and if he will state what they are. It is no use talking about secrecy in these matters. When they are sufficiently known to be the subject of discussion in all circles interested in them, and when I am able to challenge the Secretary of State in

a matter of this kind, perfectly sure that if a Committee of this House were granted to me I could put my hands upon the document giving the precise reference to it, so that there can be no doubt about it—it is perfect nonsense to talk about the matter being secret, and about the Secretary of State being hindered carrying out his duty effectively. The only thing hindered is the effectuation of any job. Now, in connection with the railways there is one point about which I ask an answer. General Trevor is reported to have said recently that—

"The idea in high Government circles in India is to discontinue metre gauge construction, with the intention, eventually, of again obtaining a uniform gauge throughout India by gradually changing the existing metre gauge lines into broad. This reversal of policy will,"

he says—

"Involve a tremendous waste of public money, probably about £20,000,000, as the change will cost about £3,500 a mile, and outside Burma there are over 6,000 miles of metre gauge road."

\*SIR J. GORST: Will the hon Gentleman say from what he is quoting?

\*MR. BRADLAUGH: I am quoting from a Report furnished to me of a speech made by General Trevor at a recent railway meeting. I will take, for the purpose of this Debate, the responsibility of using General Trevor's words as a question to the right hon. Gentleman, and I will ask him what is the policy of the Government.

\*SIR J. GORST: Will the hon. Gentleman kindly tell me whether that railway meeting was in London or in this country.

\*MR. BRADLAUGH: I fancy it was not. I fancy it has been twice reported, and from the source from which I take it, I think it was not in this country. I am not sure of that, but I am content to take it. The fact of whether it has been said at some railway meeting in this country or not is of no importance to the question I put, which is, whether the Government do intend this metre gauge change, and whether it is true that the expenditure will be an enormous expenditure bringing in no additional Revenue and giving no help to the unfortunate people of India who have to bear the cost? I now come to the Famine Fund. I listened to that portion of the speech of the right hon. Gentle-

man with considerable interest, as I had read with considerable interest the speech of Sir David Barbour, from which he has quoted; and there is this one advantage in the sudden interruption which occurred when I rose to address the Committee that I was able to refresh my memory by a reference to the eloquence of the right hon. Gentleman upon this subject last year. His view then upon the Famine Fund was not quite the view with which he has entertained, as he always does when he speaks to a Committee of this House, us this evening—the view that it is the paramount duty of the Government to restore this Famine Grant. I do not know whether there is any mysterious or miraculous advantage in the substitution of the word "grant" for "fund," or how that which is taken in taxation from the people of India becomes a grant to them if they do not get it; but that is a trifling matter. The right hon. Gentleman to-night is content to call it a Famine Insurance Grant, and it is so sacred a matter that there is to be no reduction in taxation, no remission of the Salt Tax until it is restored. But did this Famine Grant or Fund ever exist? Last year the right hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary of State assured us that it never existed. He said:—

"There was an intention on the part of the Indian Government to create such a fund, but that intention has never been carried out."

Now, what a monstrous farce it is one year to tell the Committee that the Member who seeks to describe, in the words of the Viceroy and Financial Minister for India, a fund in relation to famine as a Famine Fund, is so wrong that there never was a fund, but that there was only an intention to create it, which was never carried out; and then, this year, when they have got money in their pockets, to say, "It is our solemn and paramount duty to keep every farthing we have got because we are going to devote it to the restoration of that fund, which had been misapplied and misplaced!" I ask the right hon. Gentleman—I know his acuteness is sufficient for anything—to reconcile the Under Secretary for India to-night with the Under Secretary for India who addressed the Committee last August. I cannot help being gratified. I feel

sure that nothing I could say in any fashion influenced the conduct of the Viceroy in Council in India or the conduct of the Secretary of State in Council here. What has happened, though *post hoc* is not *propter hoc*; and what I said ought to have been done, and told the Committee last year had not been done, but ought still to be done, is now to be done, and I am quite sure that when the Viceroy in Council determined on doing it no report of a speech in *Hansard*, which may have got out to India, had been in any way helpful to them, and that it was only from their inner consciousness of what was right and just that they arrived at the conclusion which, however ineffectually, I had endeavoured to submit to this House. Now, in the statutory Financial Statement, Section 3, paragraph 17, it was admitted that there had been a slight departure from the original policy of the Government in relation to the famine surplus, and the course was decided upon which the Under Secretary of State has explained to the Committee this evening. It is a comfort to hear from him that the surplus which the Government has now at its disposal enables them even to be partially honest, and I do not want in any fashion to say any words other than those of real congratulation. I will not attempt to express any hypocritical regret that they have not been as honest as they should have been in the past; anything in the direction of honesty will be welcome. But I would suggest to the right hon. Gentleman there are two points of remission in taxation, and not one, as he said, to which the Government of India might give some attention, and I would suggest that one is in relation to the Income Tax. I pray the pardon of the Committee for detaining it so long; but, unfortunately, this is the only one occasion in the year when one has any opportunity of speaking on the subject. There is a very strong feeling in India that it would give great relief. I am not prepared to say how it would affect the figures—it must, therefore, be subject to that criticism that the minimum of the Income Tax might be raised, so that incomes less than 1,000 rupees should not be affected by that tax. It is alleged that in incomes less than 1,000 rupees there is oppression in the collection. On

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that there are Reports within the knowledge of the Under Secretary of State, and I will not dwell upon the matter longer than to bring it under the notice of the right hon. Gentleman. But I must press him upon the question of the Salt Tax. I intended to have referred to the reduction of the consumption of salt in Bengal, which is 355,000 maunds less in the closed year than in the year before, and 722,000 maunds less than in 1886-7. I wish to call the attention of the right hon. Gentleman to the fact that the falling off was attributable to two causes: One the increased Salt Duty, and the other the increased price created in India by the salt monopoly. I have called attention to that because it gives me an opportunity of denouncing the infamy that is perpetrated under cover of the law by registering companies for the purposes of a huge monopoly. As long as private capital is left in the contest, to the ordinary working of the laws which govern all matters of trade and agriculture may be left the fair levelling of cost of production without powerful combinations being allowed to associate together in a way which the law did not permit until the Joint Stock Companies' Act of 1865 was passed, and when Limited Liability Companies were formed for the first time. I say great care should be taken in registering such companies, and when they are registered they should be brought under the notice of the Law Officers of the Crown when it is found that they were registered for purposes avowedly illegal under the decisions of the High Courts in this Realm. By the decision in "*The King v. Norris*," reported in the second volume of Lord Kenyon's Reports—

THE CHAIRMAN: Surely the hon. Member will see that he is now travelling outside the scope of the subject before this Committee.

\*MR. BRADLAUGH: I respectfully submit not, Sir, because in page 21 of the East India Financial Statement, 1890-91, which was laid on the Table of this House by the Government, they deal with the increased duty, and the price of salt increased by the English syndicate, and I submit, with all respect now, Sir, I am entitled to criticise this statement, and the conduct of the Government in relation to it. On a point of order, I respectfully submit that to you, Sir.

**THE CHAIRMAN:** I cannot see how it is relevant to the subject before the Committee.

**\*MR. BRADLAUGH:** I will read the words of the Financial Statement, so as to make my point clear, because I am afraid I have not made it sufficiently clear, Sir; I am reading from paragraph 22, page 21, of the Statement which was laid on the Table—

"The only province in which consumption has not fully recovered is Bengal, and there the imposition of the increased duty has not been the only cause of the falling off, which is largely attributable to the increase in price resulting from the action of the English Salt Syndicate and the higher level of freights."

I respectfully submit to you now, Sir, I am entitled to see how the English Salt Syndicate has managed to increase the price, and I am entitled, if it be illegal, to show to the Government how it is illegal, and to press upon the Government that it is their duty to put an end to the illegality.

**THE CHAIRMAN:** That is clearly outside the scope of this discussion.

**\*MR. BRADLAUGH:** The moment you say that, Sir, it is, of course, my duty to accept, as I always do, with the most profound respect, the ruling you give, but it then becomes my duty to appeal to this Committee, when it is sitting as a House and not as a Committee, to give at least once a year, as by the old custom always was given, some opportunity during which a representative of the defenceless native may put before the Parliament of England his criticisms of the official statements of the Government, and to know if he cannot get some redress for the grievances which he pointed out. Now, Sir, passing from that, which I have not the right to allude to after the intimation from you, Sir, I come to the question of the Salt Duty. When Sir Evelyn Baring was Finance Minister in 1882, in his financial speech for the year he said that—

"The tax-paying community in India was exceedingly poor, to derive any very large increase of revenue from so poor a population would be unjustifiable."

Since then the Salt Tax has been increased, and I appeal to the Government, with their present surplus, to make some effort at its reduction. In 1886 the Finance Minister, in his speech on the Income Tax, described the mass of the people as—

"Men whose income, at the best, is barely sufficient to afford them the sustenance necessary to sustain life."

We all know the important part of consumption that salt plays in connection with vegetable foods by which the Indian does sustain life. The ominous words of the Under Secretary of State for India prepared the Committee for the statement that the reduction in the Army expenditure this year was a reduction to be equalled, or more than equalled, by increased expenditure, either in the year that is to come or at some near period; but what I say to the Government, have less arms and more full bellies. Let these unfortunate people, for whom the Under Secretary of State pleaded with an eloquence that would have moved anyone, have their wants supplied. He quoted them to show the desperate state of the Mussulman cultivator under a Hindu ruler. Let him quote, as I ask him to do, from the Reports of the Government officials—showing the conditions of Mussulman cultivators under English rule. Let the Secretary of State in Council consider this which he regarded as a sufficient justification for the depositions of an Indian Prince. The right hon. Gentleman delivered in his speech to the Committee an eulogium on the fairness of the English Land Revenue. He cannot have read the Reports made by an English official, Mr. Thorburn, who occupied a high position in the Punjab for the last 25 years, and who tells us that the effect of our Land Revenue system in the Punjab upon the Mussulman—those Mussulmen for whom, in the case of Kashmir, the Under Secretary of State for India was moved—is so bad that it has such an oppressive bearing upon the people, and that nothing but a complete change in the manner of the collection of the English Land Revenue can prevent an outbreak, in which blood must be shed, and which will take terrible bloodshed to quell. Last year the right hon. Gentleman used language totally dissimilar to what he has used this year about the Salt Tax. He then said that Lord Cross regarded it as not a desirable tax, and that he assented to it with reluctance, but to-night he says we must wait until the duty of the Government has been performed, and until he has achieved the



restoration of the Famine Fund of £1,500,000—

SIR J. GORST: I call it a special surplus.

\*MR. BRADLAUGH: The right hon. Gentleman is not the Indian lexicon. It was the officer who initiated this fund who called it a Famine Fund, and it was the officer who sent this message to the House of Commons who calls it a Famine Insurance Grant. I do not say all the names given by officials are not wrong. At any rate, I can only take choice amongst the official words, and to leave the Committee to criticise them. I regret if I said anything that made the right hon. Gentleman uneasy. I must call it a Famine Fund, which, according to the right hon. Gentleman, last year was never subscribed, and which he now practically admits has been made away with, and which is now to be restored, and then the Salt Tax shall be removed. I have already trespassed a long time on the Committee, but there is one matter to which I would wish to allude in connection with the Army expenditure. The right hon. Gentleman says that the Army expenditure has been lessened. I wish he could say the same with regard to human life which has been lost. With regard to this military expenditure, which includes the Chin Lushai expedition, I desire to draw the attention of the Committee to the terrible loss of life as to which I have put several questions during the Session. I select only one British Regiment, the King's Own Scottish Borderers, from which 14 officers and 500 men formed part of the expedition; of these, one officer and 122 men died from sickness, six officers and 120 men were invalided from sickness, leaving a remainder of seven officers and 163 men only to return, and of these one officer and 10 men have since died. I appeal to the Government to put a stop to this sacrifice of human life. I had intended to quote from the Report of Mr. Maconochie, upon the state of the agricultural population in the Punjab, so piteous in its details, and so shocking in its facts, that, putting it side by side with the speech made by the right hon. Gentleman himself as to the agricultural population in Cashmere, one naturally wonders how the mote was so easily seen, and the beam entirely unrecognised. I have no right to, and I should submit

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myself to your displeasure, if I made any allusion to the incapacity of the Government here to carry the smallest measure of legislative reform in this Session. I probably have no right to reproach them for their neglect of duty. I can only submit it to the Committee in this dry and poor statement.

THE CHAIRMAN: I understand that the hon. Member proposes to submit to the Committee an alternative to the Resolution formerly moved by the Under Secretary of State. There has been up to this time no example of an Amendment proposed in Committee to a Resolution of this kind, and, it has been said that no attempt has ever been made to submit such an Amendment, so that while there is no precedent in favour of the proceeding it may be said that there is no precedent against it. I cannot say that it is not a fair Parliamentary reply to say that this late period of the Session renders it difficult to examine the accounts, but I desire to safeguard the Committee against its being supposed to be in order to submit any abstract Amendment as an alternative.

\*MR. BRADLAUGH: I may say that, after your intimation, Sir, I will not submit my Amendment, so as not even to provoke a semblance of precedent.

\*(11.3.) SIR ROPER LETHBRIDGE (Kensington, N.): I think the Government may be congratulated on the admirably clear and lucid statement which has been submitted to us to-night by my right hon. Friend the Under Secretary for India—a statement which was not only interesting and instructive in itself, but which was satisfactory to the Committee, and will be satisfactory to the country from every possible point of view. Allow me to make one observation, following upon those which have been submitted to the Committee by the hon. Member for Northampton, with regard to the restriction that is placed now—by the ruling of the Chair, and also by the action of the House, in consequence of the alteration of the rules of procedure—upon this annual Debate. I entirely agree with the hon. Member for Northampton in feeling the utmost regret that the old system has been departed from which subsisted for so many years in this House whereby, on one night at least in the year, it was open to every Member interested

in India to bring forward and submit to this House, on the Motion that Mr. Speaker do leave the Chair, any questions connected with the interests of India which he might think ought to be discussed in this House. It is not generally known that that rule now no longer exists, and that there is not a single opportunity during the whole Parliamentary year when a Member of this House has a right to submit to the House questions of general Indian interest as apart from the finances of India. Turning to the Financial Statement, the first thought that will occur to most of us is the question whether the Government of India is really using its years of prosperity in such a way as will enable it to pass through what will undoubtedly come, namely, years of adversity—whether the fat kine of the present cycle will provide adequately for the lean kine that are to follow. I believe the answer to that question may be in the affirmative. I think this Committee will feel that the provision which is being made by the Government of India for the recurrence of famine, or the recurrence of pestilence, or the recurrence of war, is, on the whole, a sufficient one. The right hon. Gentleman has not alluded to many of the measures which have been taken during the past year with these various objects in view. He has not referred, for instance, to the expenditure that has been incurred, and that has been rightly incurred, in those sanitary provisions which do guard, to a great extent, our Empire in India from the recurrence of pestilence. The sanitation of India is year after year receiving more and more attention. It is not too much to say that the Medical Department of India is one of the very first of all scientific bodies in the world in this respect, that it does provide most efficiently against the recurrence of those pestilences which at one time devastated India. The past year has seen serious attempts made in India, and supported in the highest quarters in this country, to grapple with such a scourge of the country as leprosy. And that is a point which certainly deserves our congratulatory remarks. With regard to the provision that has been made by the Government of India for providing against the recurrence of famine, I do think some further remarks ought to be

made in reply to those that have fallen from the hon. Member for Northampton. The Report of the Famine Commission that was appointed some years ago, which will be in the remembrance of many Members of this House—a Commission which was adorned by the presence of Sir James Caird, one of the first authorities on such subjects—clearly taught the Government of India how it might best provide for the recurrence of famines. It pointed out to the Government of India, that by expenditure on such public undertakings as railways and irrigation works, it might make provision that would be valuable in times of famine. And the hon. Member for Northampton has been really, it seems to me, tilting at a windmill, when he talks about this Famine Fund as something which has been got at by the Government, merely because the Government has spent its famine surpluses upon railways or irrigation works, or other famine protection works of that kind. These are the very methods which Sir James Caird and the Famine Commissioners told us were the only possible methods by which the Government of India could possibly, in any way, provide against the recurrence of famine. That is prevention, and prevention is better than cure. I hope the Government of India and Her Majesty's Secretary of State will take full advantage of this present prosperity, that is so largely caused by the favourable rates of exchange, to push forward and carry out those Government works of public utility which alone can provide against the horrors of famine. The hon. Member for Northampton has spoken of a certain discussion which appears to have been carried on between the Secretary of State and the Government of India, and probably between various Members of the Government of India, and the advisers of the Secretary of State, as to the means by which railway enterprise and extension may best be carried out in India; and the hon. Member has spoken as if he had discovered some mysterious mare's nest. Why, the hon. Member may rest assured that this discussion, on which he has spoken with so much mystery, is nothing more than the discussion of the old, old question that has been debated over and over again in India and elsewhere,

and that will always be debated, namely, the question whether it is better to carry out such works by State control, by State monopoly, and by the purse of the nation, or by private enterprise. The same question, in its other aspects, may, as we all know, be discussed in the form of land nationalisation, and in every form of Socialism. In the Legislative Assembly of Calcutta Sir Alexander Wilson discussed the policy of the Government of India with regard to railway extension. He is President of the Chamber of Commerce of Calcutta and leader of the mercantile community in India, and he appears to have thought railway extension was best carried out by private enterprise and private capital. Sir Charles Elliott, being an official of Public Works and a Member of Council, was inclined to take the view that the Government should undertake those works, and that it would be cheaper and more economical for the Government to do so. And he pointed out what is very reasonable, namely, that whereas the Government would have to guarantee something like 4 per cent. to the Railway Companies, they could borrow money at 3 per cent., or even something less. Still it must be remembered that in the long run Government control and monopoly is apt to become an extravagant method of management. The cast iron method of a Government Department cannot be made so strictly economical as management by private mercantile firms. Therefore, it is arguable that private enterprise is more economical in the long run than State control, even if the State can obtain capital at a somewhat lower rate of interest. That, I maintain, is the whole story of the discussion between the Governments, of which so much has been made by the hon. Member for Northampton. I do hope, in spite of these discussions, in spite of the attempts to make it appear that the Government of India take one view and the Secretary of State another view in reference to railway extension, I hope they will not be deterred from taking advantage of the clear opportunity presented to them by the fortunate turn in exchange produced by the American silver legislation, to push forward these great works of public utility, whether it be by State construction or by encouragement to private

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enterprise, which will do so much for the country. I think we may fairly give credit to the Government of India for having prepared during this year's prosperity, and the prosperity of past years, not only for the possible recurrence of famine and pestilence, but also for that of war. Never since I can remember anything of India has there been more confidence felt, whether in this country or in India, in the administration of the military affairs of that country. And it is matter of congratulation on all sides that that distinguished soldier, who is now at the head of the Army in India, Sir Frederick Roberts, has been requested to remain some time longer at that post which he has adorned, in the discharge of those duties which he has carried out so efficiently. I foresee in India that there will be great possibilities to economise our military charges in this way, and I will explain to the Committee why I think so. We now spend large sums in maintaining great bodies of men in various cantonments, apparently doing little else than watching the armies of our feudatories. The ever increasing loyalty of the Feudatory States of India is a matter which ought to afford us the highest satisfaction. It has been proved beyond doubt by the loyal offers of those Feudatory Princes to provide for the Empire at large against any foreign foe, and also by their more recently expressed willingness to arrange their military affairs in such a way as to enable the Government of India to withdraw those troops in favour of feudatory troops, or at any rate no longer to regard them as simply a watch upon feudatory armies. Attention has been called, by a question in this House to-night, to the fact, recorded in a recent telegram in the *Times*, that a large sum of money will be saved in military expenses to the Empire at large in the dominions of the Maharajah of Mysore; and I was glad to hear the answer of my right hon. Friend to that question. I have no doubt the zeal of Mysore in this respect will be imitated in the various other Feudatory States. It should be a great matter of satisfaction that the rendition of Mysore to the ancient Royal Family of that State has been so successful that British capital and enterprise are going into Mysore as easily and as confidently as into any other

part of India. The Government is to be congratulated, not only on the favourable state of the finances in the past year, but also on the favourable prospects for the future. The prosperity of last year was perhaps largely owing to the advantage gained with regard to opium, which my right hon. Friend has described as of a gambling nature. But the prospect for the future is a far more secure one, founded, as it is, on the American silver legislation. It is, I think, a very remarkable coincidence that this change in the prospects of the Government of India, from the improved position which silver has taken in the markets of the world, has been exactly synchronous with the resolution come to by the Government of India, and expressed in this House by my right hon. Friend in March last, to consider favourably the hardship suffered by their Uncovenanted Civil Servants in consequence of the loss by exchange. While a few thousands of pounds were lost to the Government of India by their just action in this matter, the improvement in exchange has been rolling back, not merely thousands, or even hundreds of thousands, but millions into their coffers. Sir, before I sit down I desire emphatically to express my own gratitude, and the gratitude of those I represent in this matter, both to the Government and to the Select Committee—to the Government for the justice of their action, and to the Select Committee for the care they have taken in investigating the claims of these men. I believe it is the unanimous feeling of the whole of the so-called Uncovenanted Civil Servants of India, that the Government had acted in this matter, not indeed generously—that would not perhaps have been right—but certainly justly throughout. It is a great gratification to them that the Select Committee specially laid it down for the guidance of the Government, that no distinction in the way of pay and pension should be made between Indian-born and English-born servants of Her Majesty; both when domiciled in England would draw their pensions in the currency of this country. Mr. Courtney, I am confident that in the increased and extended co-operation of Indians and Englishmen in India will be found to be the truest solution of all our difficulties there, and

the surest foundation of the continued greatness, prosperity, and happiness of the British Empire in India.

(11.28.) MR. MAC NEILL (Donegal, S.): I heartily sympathise with the observations made by the hon. Gentleman who has just sat down in reference to the Uncovenanted Civil Servants of India. For the most part these Indian Civil Servants were more tax consumers than tax producers. My remaining observation will be on the condition of the people and their sufferings from the malady of irresponsible officialism. The hon. Member opposite justly gave the Government of India credit for doing everything in their power to stamp out this evil malady in Eastern lands, but there are many others which every friend of India will try to stamp out. Here we have in this statement millions on millions of money levied from people who have no voice whatever in its control. My right hon. Friend said I was anxious for a revolution in India. I wish nothing of the kind; but if I were, I think I should have my right hon. Friend as an unconscious collaborateur with me, for he has stated that in this matter he regards the House of Commons, the ultimate Court of Appeal, with general indifference. I am sorry to think that is the case. An hon. Friend of mine told me he only a few days ago refused to obtain a ticket of admission for an Indian gentleman who wished to hear the Indian Budget discussion, because he was ashamed of the way Indian matters were conducted in the House of Commons. This document is very instructive, and at the same time very sad. My contention is, that from generation to generation the Indians have been odiously, mercilessly, and villainously robbed. The persons who are subjected to this extortion are no fewer than 270,000,000, and they inhabit a country seven times larger than Great Britain—a country which is as large as Europe, with the sole exception of Russia, and the mention of Russia reminds me of the statement of Mr. John Bright, that the Government of India was a pure and simple despotism. Out of these 270,000,000 there are no fewer than 40,000,000 who have never known what it is to have a satisfying

meal, and from these people this money is ground, more especially in the shape of the Salt Tax. These 40,000,000 of people live on one meal a day, and the effect of the increase of the Salt Tax by eight annas deprived these people of any food for an average of eight days during the year. That is a very scandalous, a very villainous, and a very horrible state of circumstances. Let us see what is the poverty of the people, viewed with reference to their taxable ability. Our exports to Australia average £14 or £15 a head of the population of the colony, while our exports to India only reach 1s. 6d. a head, and it has been computed that the average income of the Indian native, including the few highly paid native officials, is 1½d. per diem. There is a very interesting statement in the Finance Report issued by the Supreme Council in March, 1889. There is some increase in the Indian Railways—about 600 miles; but in the United States the increase was 12,000 miles. If the Government only took up this matter of railway enterprise with energy, there would be an enormous increase. However, I will say it is not, in my humble judgment, the most productive of the works in India. It has been computed that out of every shilling spent in railway enterprise, 8d. makes its way to England. In my view, preference should be given to works of irrigation, which would be more permanent and of greater advantage for the cultivation of the land. Railways may come afterwards. The right hon. Gentleman took a somewhat airy view of the Famine Fund, and he preferred to call it an emergency fund. Lord Lytton instituted it. Did he apply it to the wants of the starving poor? He did nothing of the kind. He pinched it and applied it to the Burmese Expedition.

SIR R. TEMPLE (Worcestershire, Evesham): Lord Lytton had nothing to do with the Burmese Expedition.

MR. MAC NEILL: I beg pardon. It was the Afghan War. It was applied to the war in Afghanistan. Let me show the Under Secretary how the Salt Tax is regarded in the Legislative Council. Two Members of that Council protested warmly against the Salt Tax and the Income Tax. I am bound to say the two gentlemen were not European Mem-

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bers, but natives, who, in spite of the officialism and the manner in which natives are socially corrupted, had some regard for the suffering of their people. One of these gentlemen, Mr. Nulkar, said—

“As regards the Salt Tax, I wish to draw the attention of your Lordships' Government to the extreme hardship and privation from which the great bulk of the Indian population suffers in consequence of the enhancement of the Salt Duty, which was sanctioned two years ago.”

It was sanctioned on January 19, 1888, and was the direct Act of Lord Cross.

\*SIR J. GORST: It was passed like all other taxes by the Legislature of India. No doubt it was approved by the Secretary of State.

MR. MAC NEILL: If I may talk so of the Indian Legislature, the more shame to them for passing it. I wish they had a Plan of Campaign out in India. Mr. Nulkar continued—

“I am no believer in statistical conclusions either way, when they are based solely on a comparison between issues or exports and imports of salt within short corresponding periods. A better and more trustworthy proof of the privations to which the poor are reduced in parts of India is furnished by the new laws which have had to be passed, preventing the use of salt earth and similar substance for edible salt, because men do not resort to such extreme devices unless they are hard pressed to do so by the high rate which the Salt Tax has now reached.”

That reminds me of the Irish peasants collecting lettuce during the famine, only they were allowed to collect lettuce and were not put in prison for it. I may remind the House that in 1882 Mr. Kynaston Cross stated that the reduction in the Salt Tax was equal in its effect to the repeal of the Corn Laws in England. I would like to see the person who would attempt to re-enact the Corn Laws, and yet we are preying on the vitals of the starving poor of India. I come to the Income Tax. The poorest man who pays Income Tax in this country has at least £150 a year. In India they pay Income Tax on £34, and the cost of its collection from the people, who are utterly unable to pay it, is at least 25 per cent. Mr. Hossein, another member of the Legislative Council, says—

“In the full belief in the justice of the cause I have undertaken to advocate, and in the moderation of my request, I earnestly implore that Your Excellency's Government will be pleased to grant the relief I have asked for

by taking an early opportunity to exempt all annual income below 1,000 rupees from the operation of the Income Tax Law."

That is, that Income Tax should in future be charged on £68, instead of £34; and the Viceroy and Sir David Barbour were much affected by the request. Sir David said he would consider it, and also the circumstances as regards the difficulty of collecting the tax. I wish, again, to direct the attention of the House to the contemptuous disregard of promises made by the British Government, again and again, to give the natives a fair chance of the official appointments of their own land. They have been deliberately excluded from all those appointments, and that exclusion necessitates a vast increase of expenditure because the appointments are given to Europeans, when they could be equally well, possibly better, filled by natives, at at least one-third of the expense. Of course, I do not say the natives could fill every appointment. A Departmental Committee of the India Office, in 1860, reported that—

"The difficulties offered to a native living in India, and residing in England for a time, are so great that as a general rule it is almost impossible for a native successfully to compete at the periodical examinations held in England. Were this irregularity removed, we should no longer be exposed to the charge of keeping promises to the ear and breaking it to the hope."

The hon. Member for Northampton read a letter of Lord Lytton's three years ago, stating that the British Government, having had their choice between forcing the natives out of employment and cheating them, deliberately determined to cheat them. Here are the statistics of natives in high Government offices. Out of 2,357 appointments in the higher Uncovenanted Service, natives of India hold 189. The effect of a thing like that on the revenues of India is simply enormous, having regard to the fact that natives can do the work at one-third of the cost for which Europeans, however economically the Service may be conducted, can discharge the duties. The right hon. Gentleman is correct in stating that five natives passed the last examination, but, according to this memorandum I have got, although five natives passed the Civil Service Examination this year, only 12 have succeeded in doing so during the past decade. I would direct the attention of the right

hon. Gentleman to page 6 of this financial statement, paragraph 6, because it is there that Sir David Barbour speaks in animated language of what the right hon. Gentleman calls the financial and moral considerations, placing the financial considerations first. Sir David Barbour there says:—

"The chief improvement in the current year appears under the head of Opium. There is an increase of Rx.286,400 in Opium Revenue: there is a decrease of Rx.708,800 in Opium Expenditure. The total improvement under Opium is consequently Rx.995,200. In the Budget Estimate the price of Bengal opium was taken at Rs.1,070 a chest. It has proved to be Rs.1,136."

I will not speak of the effects of the opium on China, though I believe I should be technically right in doing so upon this Budget, as a portion of the revenue is obtained through forcing opium down the throats of the Chinese at the point of the bayonet. This is what our moral Government has done. I would say this, that the English Government are the first dominators and rulers of India who have derived, as we do now, a solid monetary gain from the vice of the people. Opium was drunk and smoked before our time, but it was in contradiction of the religious rights of the people, and was put down in one State, Burma, though it now flourishes under our rule. In that State to sell, drink, or smoke opium was punished by death. Perhaps it may be asked, in reference to this opium traffic in India, what difference there is between that and the alcoholic traffic here. There is a very considerable difference, because our Government in India are the proprietors of the traffic, whereas in the other traffic or trade a man carries it on at his own expense; and in India the Government, by purchasing the crop, put an artificial value upon the production of opium for revenue purposes. It has been stated, and will possibly be stated by the hon. Baronet the Member for Evesham (Sir R. Temple), who knows a great deal about the subject, that this Indian tax on opium is simply a device to restrict the indiscriminate use of opium. I say that is not so. The best lands have been taken out of cultivation for the purpose of producing this opium, and the Government are directly engaged in trafficking in the sin and sufferings of the people of India

for the purposes of raising revenue. By this traffic the people of India are demoralised. The lands under cultivation of the poppy are no fewer in British India than 500,000 acres, and, strange to say, for the successful cultivation of opium nothing but the best land is used. I will take the hon. Baronet the Member for Evesham as a witness. In 1869, in reply to a question, he stated that we should extend the cultivation and ensure a plentiful supply, because if we did not the Chinese would do it themselves, and they had better have our good opium rather than their own indifferent opium. What is the meaning of good opium? It means strong opium, and indifferent opium means weak opium. Out of 300,000,000 of Chinese, only 1,000,000 use our opium, and that because it is forced upon them. The increase in the consumption of opium of late years is very great, and Canon Wilberforce, in a great speech on his return from India, declared that the opium was prepared in double strength in order to poison our Indian fellow subjects. There is something perfectly horrible in throwing temptation in another man's way for gross and filthy gain. I can understand a man being influenced by passion, but when men deliberately traffic, as the Government of these people have done, upon the sins and sufferings of those under their charge, then such conduct appears to me to be too infamous to characterise. Yet this is the conduct of the Government of India in the present day. You know yourselves what opium is, because you refuse to allow opium cultivation in Bengal on account of its disastrous effects. Just for one moment let me refer to the famines. We know that India is the land of famines. The hon. Member for Evesham knows that, for he headed a relief fund on the occasion of one famine in which no fewer than a population as large as the City of London succumbed. Statisticians have computed the loss of life from war from 1793 to 1887 in Europe was 4,500,000; the loss of life from famine in India from 1802 to 1879 was no fewer than 14,000,000. The charge I make against the Government is that of diverting 500,000 of acres of the best land in India from the growth of cereals to the growth of opium for the mere purpose

*Mr. Mac Neill*

of revenue. I wish to say something about opium in Burma. As I have said, under the old Burmese Government, the man who sold, drank, or smoked opium was sentenced to death; and, in regard to Burma, you are now demoralising these people for the sake of gross metallic gain. The opium dens are increasing in numbers every year, because they mean a source of revenue to the Government. In British India these dens number no fewer than 10,000, and Mr. Caine, who was in India the year before last, has given a terrific blow to the traffic by the harrowing picture of the scenes he had witnessed in these dens. I have witness after witness — missionaries, medical men, travellers, and English clergymen, like Canon Wilberforce—who say the people of India would give anything to be rid of the traffic. I want to show what effect financially the opium has on the revenue, and that we cannot rely upon it. We have got the authority of the greatest financier of the time that the opium traffic in India is undoubtedly precarious. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian ten years ago, on the Indian Budget, said, speaking of the opium trade in India—

“None of us, I hope, in this House view this matter with indifference. I am certainly of opinion that opium revenue, instead of being a sound foundation, is a slippery and dangerous part of our Indian revenue.”

Last year a Motion was brought forward in reference to compulsorily forcing it upon China, and the Under Secretary of State for India then got up in his place and said that the opium trade in India was necessary, because Persia was growing very good opium. In the time of the noble Lord the Member for Rosendale (the Marquess of Hartington), it was said that if the opium revenue failed India would be in a state of bankruptcy. If that be so, if you are corrupting them, and guaranteeing there should be certain famines at certain specified times for the depopulation of the country, I cannot congratulate you upon your Indian rule. In listening to the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary of State for India, and then to that of my hon. Friend, I was forcibly reminded of what a great Indian citizen said to me. He said that I am the best person to defend the cause of India. If they could not have an English Member then they



should have an Irish Member, for he had seen in his own country the evils under which the people of India suffered, injustice promoted by malice or by class hatreds. But the mean arts of the past will no longer avail. You gained India by what I would call successful Pigottism. You got it by murder and by fraud. Are you going to keep it by demoralisation and starvation? You may do so for some time, but the people of India will soon become alive to their own interests, and will seek to govern themselves according to their own principles and for their own land.

(12.10.) SIR R. TEMPLE: I shall not detain the Committee long at this late hour, but I must offer a few remarks upon the speech which has just been delivered by the hon. Member for Dunegal. I do not doubt his good intentions, but I am sure the Committee knows the exuberance of eloquence in which he has just indulged. I wondered whether the hon. Gentleman, as he resumed his seat, reflected that he is a citizen of the British Empire, and that he was addressing his countrymen regarding an Empire founded by them. Before I proceed to answer some of the hon. Member's points, I feel bound to offer some words of explanation as to my own part in the famines of India. The hon. Member has got hold of the wrong end of the story. I have been concerned in three famines. The first was in Bengal, and there I really commanded, and practically no lives were lost. The second was in Bombay, and there, too, I had the command. On that occasion, despite much success, there was some loss of life. But the causes were mainly pestilence and scourge, over which we had no control. In the third case, at Madras, would the hon. Member be surprised to know that I never commanded there at all? I certainly was employed as a counsellor and adviser during the early stages of that famine, but I had no administrative authority. I stayed but a short time, and during that time the famine had made but little progress. Afterwards, the famine became intensified, and I cannot undertake to answer for what occurred, though the authorities struggled bravely against a distress prolonged over two years. But I look back with thankfulness to the

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success which, under Providence, was vouchsafed to us in the saving of life on the two previous occasions. Blessed results were obtained by enormous efforts and sacrifices on the part of the Government, of myself, and of my officers. As my time is short, I will deal for one moment with the allegations of the hon. Member regarding the opium traffic. I understand him to raise no particular objection to the Bombay system, because there the opium goes straight to the port of exportation. His objection is against the Bengal system. Now, Sir, this subject has been debated four times in this House of Commons, and four times it has been answered *terque quaterque*, and now, though I answer it for the fifth time, it is like slaying of the slain. The pictures which the hon. Member has painted for Bengal simply represent parts of the fiscal system. Nothing would be easier than by a stroke of the pen to assimilate the system to that of Bombay. But the results would be two-fold. First, there would be a loss of revenue; and, secondly, there would be a great deal of smuggling and illicit consumption among our own Indian people. Now, to avoid those two objections or evils this Bengal system has been devised. If mis-represented unintentionally, or if described under radical misconception, the system can be construed as having a bad appearance. But to any person who understands the case, and who looks into the administrative particulars, its real merits will be apparent. Now as regards the Chinese trade, I entirely adhere to the passage of my writing which he has quoted. As for our encouraging the taste for opium among the Chinese, the House may recollect that the Chinese themselves are the main producers. They produce about five times the amount that India produces, and the Indian production bears the same proportion to that of China that the champagne of France bears to all the other wines of France and Spain put together. And as to the allegation that we are converting good lands, that could be sown with grain, for the purposes of opium, does the hon. Member remember that the Chinese are determined to have this drug, and that they are prepared to pay very highly for it, and that its

cultivation and production is very profitable to the Bengal peasant.

MR. MAC NEILL: Profitable?

\*SIR R. TEMPLE: Yes, most profitable; and if our system were swept away to-morrow, still there would be this cultivation, still the poppy fields in the spring would bloom with the flowers white, pink, and purple. And as it would be untaxed, probably it would be extended. In the absence of our preventive system it would be also impossible to prevent our Indian people consuming the drug. Still the traffic would continue; still there would be the opium clippers or steamers plying between Calcutta and the Chinese ports. Then, Sir, there are one or two other points in the hon. Member's speech that I ought to answer. Does the House recollect that touching, that moving piece of statistics which he detailed to the House about 40,000,000 people in the Indian continent being insufficiently nourished? Well, 40,000,000 sounds a large number, but, after all, that is only one-eighth of the Indian population, so that, even if that figure was correct—and I deny its correctness—it would amount to one person out of eight who was insufficiently nourished. I venture to say that in the Metropolitan area more than that proportion would be found of persons insufficiently nourished. But where does he get that 40,000,000? About 10 years ago, in the famine times, that figure was mentioned in a statistical estimate by Sir William Hunter. But that was a general statement of his opinion. He was a highly qualified officer. He was in this case a statistician mainly. I do not disparage him, but that was only his individual opinion, based on no particular details or any special data, and it was never accepted by any authority in India, and was never admitted by the Government. Thus it was an estimate to be taken as such, and not a known fact to be quoted against the Indian Government in this House. Then the hon. Member quoted from a Report in regard to salt earth, as if that were a proof of misery. But that was in the nature of smuggling. Those who got that salt out of the salt earth have it free of taxation. It is only a proof of their sagacity. Again, Sir, the hon. Member told us that the minimum of income for Income Tax assessment in

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India was £34, and he contrasted that with £150, the minimum in this country. But, Sir, inasmuch as the value of labour is four times greater in this country than it is in India, a man who really had £34 of income annually would be better off in India than the Englishman on £150 is in England. But how does the hon. Member get that £34? He gets it, I see, by taking the Indian minimum of rupees—500—and reducing it to the pound at the rate of 1s. 4d. exchange. But really the minimum income was more like £50 when the Income Tax was fixed. I remember very well that 500 rupees was taken as £50, and it was £50 then according to the exchange, and it will soon be £50 again. But, Sir, that comparison, I submit, is insufficient, because the income is not in pounds at all. The man knows nothing about pounds. He subsists upon the rupees, and upon that standard his income is more like £50 than £34. I say, therefore, that, according to this comparison, the minimum in India is really more favourable to the Indian people than the minimum in England is to the English people. So much for that. Then there are one or two points in the very interesting speech of the hon. Member for Northampton. I am much obliged to him for the kind expressions he used towards me personally. But, subject to your good ruling, Mr. Courtney, I shall hardly be able to say a word about one matter regarding which he indirectly challenged me, namely, the elective principle for the natives in the Legislative Councils. I am prepared to avow and adhere to, both inside and outside Parliament, every word that I have ever uttered or written on that subject, and I hope that some day in this House I may have an opportunity of explaining the rough and ready plans which I had formed for carrying out that object. But may I remark on what the hon. Member said about the salt in Bengal? He pointed to a reduction in two successive years of the quantity of salt consumed in Bengal, but that was in the quantity of the English salt.

\*MR. BRADLAUGH: On the total salt.

\*SIR R. TEMPLE: On the English salt, Sir.

\***MR. BRADLAUGH**: I was careful to say the total salt.

\***SIR R. TEMPLE**: The explanation is this. The hon. Member has got hold of the consumption of salt as given in the Calcutta Returns. And what has happened is this, that, owing to certain commercial speculations, the price of English salt in Calcutta had risen, and consequently there was a diminution of the consumption. But, at the same time, the supply was kept up by salt which came down to Bengal from Northern India. So that the result is not so much a variation on the total amount of salt consumed, but a variation in the source of supply. The people of Bengal have consumed much the same as they formerly consumed, but instead of getting it wholly from England, they got it only in the main from England and partly from other sources. The House has heard the moving description given from a certain book by Mr. Thorburn regarding the Moslem peasantry in the Punjab. The hon. Member seemed to consider the conditions described in that book as worse than those of Kashmir, which were described in this House as justifying the deposition of the Native Prince. But what was the case? The book only showed that certain sections of the Punjab population are deeply in debt; that they are constantly renewing their bonds to the money-lenders, and that at each renewal they had to submit to terms more and more usurious. That is regrettable, and I trust that it will be the subject of special and remedial legislation, just as similar evils which were experienced under my rule in Bombay were remedied by legislation. But these evils are very hard for Kings, or Governments, or Parliaments, to cure. What is the real cause? It is just this: The Moslem peasants under British rule have been invested with proprietary rights in land—rights which they had never possessed before. That land had risen in selling value from year to year; and the consequence was that its owners, finding that they had real security to offer, ran into debt for the sake of marriage festivities and other social extravagances. This is one of those evils which bring no shame whatever to the British Government. Much is said by the hon. Mem-

ber about Mr. Maconochie. He was an excellent officer, and his Report is said to have revealed destitution among the people. I do not find anything of the kind, and I do not know to what Report the hon. Member was alluding.

\***MR. BRADLAUGH**: I referred to page 3 of the Report, which was laid upon the Table last year. I did not read it, being anxious not to take up time, but it contained matter much stronger than any given in my summary.

\***SIR R. TEMPLE**: I have just been looking into the Reports of Mr. Maconochie, and they seem satisfactory, on the whole, regarding the condition of the people. There are other officers who have reported, and I find they generally say that, on the whole, the people are fairly well nourished. May I add one word about the Famine Insurance Fund to which the hon. Member has again adverted? This Famine Insurance Fund is a highly technical and curious expression which, in my opinion, ought never to have been invented, and I am quite sure that those Indian Authorities who invented it would never have done so if they had foreseen that it would be turned to such purposes of argument as it has been on previous occasions in this House. It was merely a Resolution on the part of the Government of India that they would provide such a sum as might be applied to the reduction of debt and the construction of works to prevent famine, to the extent of about £15,000,000 in each decade. That was a large undertaking, and I contend that successive Viceroy's did really endeavour to act up to it, though some years have been so full of requirements for Imperial defence that in these years they have not been able to carry out their intentions. But in the course of these 10 years they will be found to have very nearly fulfilled every intention, and to have set aside a sum not much less than £15,000,000 for these purposes; and I say that, on the whole, they have done very well. And now, Sir, before resuming my seat, let me congratulate my right hon. Friend the Under Secretary of State upon the Statement he has been able to make to us. He has shown to us that India, despite the depreciation of the rupee, and despite

the vast expenditure incurred out of revenue for military operations and for famine relief, is incurring year after year a capital outlay from State resources by money borrowed partly in India and partly in England, under circumstances which combine in one hand State administration with private enterprise. It shows, also, that much has been done for Imperial defence. The hon. Member said it was better for the people that they should be saved the cost of keeping up a large Army. Supposing we did not keep Armies in India, and British rule were upset, what would become of the people then? Why, they would be pillaged and devastated by fire and sword. The Statement showed, further, that, despite all that may be said by hon. Members opposite, the people of India bear the lightest taxation, perhaps, of any people in the world—far lighter than they ever knew under their own Native dynasties. As to the Salt Tax, it is absolutely the only tax paid by the masses of the people, and per head it is so small that it is hardly possible to represent the incidence in figures. The people themselves have a resourcefulness in famine which is wonderful, and which would hardly be shown by any European nation in similar circumstances. Then they evince an aptitude to strike in with enterprise whenever they have a chance. Look at the way they filled up the gap in the Cotton Trade during the American Civil War. Look, also, at the way they have seized the chance of assisting in the food supply of the United Kingdom. Year by year they are advancing in education. I may call the hon. Member for Northampton to bear witness of that. He has been to Bombay, at all events, and he has seen a grand scene of progress and education and enlightenment. I have no doubt the pious Hindoos in the Congress there almost worshipped him. They believe in the transmigration of souls, and I almost think they must have imagined that the souls of some of the mythological heroes had migrated into the stately form of the hon. Member for Northampton. I shall resume my seat with much gratitude to the House for the attention with which they have listened to me, but I might have done better if I had had more arguments to

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answer—if the hon. Member had only started a few more hares for me to hunt. As it is, I feel like the old lion perishing for lack of prey.

\*(12.38.) **MR. SEYMOUR KEAY** (Elgin and Nairn): I am glad the hon. Baronet is going to remain in his place, because I think I shall be able to start one or two more hares than he expects. I do not wish to make the slightest semblance of an attack upon the hon. Baronet, because I have always known him, both in India and in this House, as a first-class official optimist. I am, therefore, not surprised at the character of the speech he has just delivered. He stated, truly, that he left Madras before any great number of deaths had occurred through the Madras Famine of 1877-78. But I feel it my duty to tell the Committee that the hon. Member, when he made the recommendations, to which he himself has alluded, before he left Madras, unfortunately made among these recommendations one, namely, that the allowance to be paid to the famishing creatures who came to the relief stations should be restricted to one pound of grain per day, and the enormous number of deaths which subsequently occurred were traced to the smallness of the famine ration that the hon. Baronet had prescribed. Public opinion placed on the shoulders of the hon. Baronet a great share of the responsibility for the disasters that occurred after he left Madras. I would not have alluded to this point had he not alluded to it himself. Then there was a remark which fell from the hon. Member for North Kensington (Sir Roper Lethbridge) on a different subject altogether, but it is one to which I think it is very necessary to allude. It is this: In counselling the Government of India and the Secretary of State to make what he considered to be a fair use of the Army in India, he said that there were large forces of British troops at present locked up in the Native States, which had been placed in these States for the purpose of watching the Native Princes. He even alluded to the largest of all these forces, which is stationed in the cantonment of Secunderabad, a place in the neighbourhood of which I have spent the best part of 28 years. The hon. Member himself has had a long Anglo-Indian career, and I am rather surprised that he should have brought

so little knowledge to bear on the subject as to have made the statement which he did. In the first place, the statement he has made is a decidedly unfounded reflection upon these Native States. It is a gross reflection upon them to say that they need, or that the British Government think they need, large forces of British troops to be kept at their capitals for the purpose of watching them.

\*SIR ROPER LETHBRIDGE: I am sure the hon. Member does not wish to mis-represent me. I said nothing of the kind, and I certainly intended to imply the very opposite of what the hon. Member has now imputed to me. What I did say was that in the bad past there had been times when large bodies of our troops were locked up in the utterly useless occupation of watching with hostile intent the armies of our feudatories, but I put it that now the loyalty of the feudatory States—I specially mentioned Mysore, but I might also have mentioned Hyderabad—that the loyalty of these feudatories was so recognised that the forces which were formerly locked up in this useless allocation will now be set free to be occupied in a different way.

\*MR. SEYMOUR KEAY: The hon. Gentleman has substantially repeated the statement I made. The hon. Gentleman admits that he had suggested that in past days there were certain large British forces placed in their capitals and elsewhere for the purpose of watching the native States. The hon. Gentleman ought to know that all these large British forces kept in native States were originally placed there under special Treaties, that the Native Princes not only sought, but paid for them, in most cases by capitalised sums, for the purpose of securing their protection against their own domestic enemies. Now, I do not know how the hon. Member can possibly assert that when a native State made a payment like that, and when the British Government were in consequence bound to place a body of well disciplined troops in that State for the purpose of protecting it from its internal and domestic enemies, I do not know how he can assert that at any time the British troops were set to watch the Native Princes and their armies. Moreover, it is perfectly clear that the forces in question are absolutely locked up in the places in which they are located,

because we have in our pockets at this moment the whole capitalised sum which has been paid for the providing of these forces for all time. It is quite clear that if these troops were removed, the first thing to be done would necessarily be to restore to the Native Princes the capitalised amount which we now hold belonging to them, and in virtue of which we keep these troops at their disposal. But, at the risk of detaining the Committee, I think it will be positively my duty to call the attention of the Under Secretary to a few points to which I think it is desirable that the attention of the Committee should be directed, as I believe, for the first time. The right hon. Gentleman began his speech by telling us that it would not be very long or very difficult of understanding, because it dealt with what he called a kind of general level of prosperity. I wish, for my part, that I could at all endorse the views of the right hon. Gentleman on this matter. But I think, by anyone who knows India, this will be taken to be the most important point of all on which the right hon. Gentleman himself rests the principal part of his case. I warn him that in what I am about to say I shall call on him to travel far outside the brief which has been furnished to him by the India Office. He told us that the Land Revenue is so mild in its incidence that it only amounts to one-half of the net produce of the soil.

\*SIR J. GORST: I said net rent.

\*MR. SEYMOUR KEAY: It is just the same.

\*SIR J. GORST: No; I specially corrected that. I meant the net value of the rent.

\*MR. SEYMOUR KEAY: I had not the good fortune to be in the House when the right hon. Gentleman used the words, and I am indebted to an hon. Member for telling me what the words were. Now, I take it that he means net rent or net produce in the same sense as is used in all Indian Revenue Reports. An attempt is made to discover, in the first place, what is the gross produce of the land. There is, then, an attempt made to deduct from this gross produce the expenses which the cultivator has had to pay, and then the Revenue Departments consider that a certain amount is left in his pocket out of which they desire to take a

half, leaving the other half in his possession. Now, what I want to bring specially before the attention of the right hon. Gentleman is this. I want to say—if there were time, I could easily prove—that instead of the Land Tax at present enforced being only one-half of the net rent, it is immensely more; I hold that sometimes it oversteps it so much that in many parts of India the cultivators are at present living on the little capital that they possess, and are gradually getting more and more into the hands of the usurer. I want to explain to the right hon. Gentleman how he is deceived in this matter by the official documents. First of all, there is an absurd attempt made to find out the gross produce of a holding or of a district. There is what is called a crop experiment made by the district officer. The officer goes down and he looks at a holding. He picks out a field which, in his judgment, appears to be an average field, with growing corn upon it. Then he picks out a few square yards of what he thinks an average kind of growing corn, and he then orders that the corn on these square yards should be cut and threshed out and measured. The result, of course, is obvious. They thresh out the corn which is cut from these few yards, and they multiply the result by the whole extent of the field. That is the absurd way in which they get at the gross value of the holding. But they have now got to deduct some reasonable amount for the sustenance of the family, in order to find what is the net rent. This, again, is done in the most grossly unjust manner. I can point the right hon. Gentleman to proofs that, in nine cases out of ten, instead of allowing to the Indian cultivator a deduction for produce that he and his family would reasonably eat, they make him an allowance which is little more than one-seventh of the true cost of cultivation. On an average holding of 10 acres they allow for the sustenance of half a man and one bullock during nine months, instead of allowing for the sustenance of one man, one woman, with, on an average, three children, and two bullocks during the 12 months of the year. By deducting this mock sum from the supposed gross rent the net rent is arrived at, and all I can say is that the calculation is as absurd

*Mr. Seymour Keay*

as that which the Chief Secretary for Ireland made in regard to the Irish Land Purchase Bill. He said the net rent was the gross rent after the deduction of the local rates only without any other outgoings, and the Indian Government, through their officials, have made as absurd a definition as between gross rent and net rent. The third way in which the Indian cultivator is mulcted is in regard to the prices at which he is supposed to be able to dispose of his produce. How do our Revenue Departments fix these supposed prices? They take the whole of the villages, small and great, throughout the whole district, some of which villages only consist of a few houses, some of which have no corn growing at all, and they take the price which obtains at these up-country rural villages, where there is no corn growing, and where the price of grain is, therefore, very high. They then take the price of grain in the large markets, where there is a plethora of it, where it naturally, therefore, sells cheap, and where, in point of fact, the mass of the crops are disposed of at low prices. They then take the united prices of the whole of these villages and districts, small and great, and add them together, and if there are, say, 30, they simply divide by 30, and say that they have got the average price of corn. These are statements which, if I may venture to say so, have never been made in the House before, and I trust the importance of the subject will be my excuse for having ventured for so long a time as I have done to trespass upon the patience of the Committee.

\*(1.0.) MR. PROVAND: India, Sir, has, it must be remembered, no representatives in this House; and, therefore, it becomes the business of all the Members to give attention to Indian interests. India has a Budget in which the Revenue and Expenditure approximate to the Revenue and the Expenditure of the United Kingdom, and is brought in during the last days of the Session, when the strength of the House is probably not a quarter of its ordinary strength, and when only a few hours of the night can be given to its discussion. There are in this House at least two or three score Members who take an interest in India, either from past or

present connection with that country. There are Members who belong, or formerly belonged, to the Civil and Military Establishments, and Members who are, or have been, connected with India through commerce. Perhaps I should most strongly object to the fact that this Return we have had to consider before coming here to-night has only been issued to-day, and the statement of the right hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary for India, although remarkably clear, does not make up for the opportunity which has been denied to us of going over the figures in this elaborate explanatory statement before we came to the House to listen to the discussion. I would say a word or two of congratulation to the Indian Government on the position in which they find themselves this year, especially as that position is different from the experience of many past years. Since 1873, I may say, the normal Indian Budget has shown a deficit from one cause or another, but chiefly by loss from exchange; whereas the improved position on the present occasion is due to a profit on exchange. The Famine Fund, of which we have heard something, but not as much as is necessary, is very largely a question of book-keeping. We have heard from several speakers comments on the Salt Tax, which presses severely on the poorest people. The Revenue from this source has increased 7 per cent. in a single year, as a consequence of the increased duty, and to this we have to add the increased price the people of India have now to pay in consequence of the cost of the salt itself being raised by the combination of salt mine-owners in Cheshire, and by the increased rates of freight which have had to be paid during the last year or two. Therefore, we hope that the advisers of the Indian Government will give their attention to doing something in their improved financial position to lessening the Salt Tax rather than to promise that they will provide for the Famine Fund which has never, so far as we have heard, been anything more than a question of book-keeping. I would make one remark as to what fell from the hon. Gentleman, the Member for Donegal, who made a terrible statement as to the circumstances attending the connection

of India with this country. There is no doubt that the early wars in India—the wars of Clive and others—tell many a story which it would be better could not now be told against us. There was a great deal of ruthless and bad behaviour on our part at the time, but there is no man who reads the modern history of India, and compares it with what it was before our subjugation of the country, who can come to any other conclusion than that the position of the populations of India has been immensely improved in every respect since we have taken charge of it. Before that time the population was kept down chiefly by two causes—famines and wars. And, indeed, the wars were not wars in the sense in which we understand the term in Europe now; they were simply butcheries of entire populations by some ruthless conqueror who found enough troops to follow him. Another remark fell from the hon. Gentleman with reference to our connection with China as regards the opium traffic. He stated that the traffic was forced upon China by us. Well, the only foundation for that statement is that we undertook, in 1842, what is known as the Opium War; but since then there has been no compulsion of any kind, and the Chinese Authorities could stop the importation of opium at any moment. The matter has been one of open negotiation, and the cultivation of opium has increased enormously in China, notwithstanding the importation of the Indian article, and although the Chinese Government passes all sorts of laws against it. The Mandarins themselves post up large yellow notices, saying that this or that must not be done with opium, but, nevertheless, it is cultivated year after year in exactly the same way. If we did not send an ounce of opium to China it would merely increase the planting of poppies in China; and the Chinaman, instead of getting fine opium from India, would have to put up with the inferior quality which he cultivates himself. I would add to my remarks one protest. We are going to meet in three months—we are going to change our habits—and I trust the Under Secretary for India will see that the Indian Budget is brought on at an earlier period of the next Session. The explanatory statement we have had



to-day should, I understand, have been circulated three or four months ago, and I have no doubt it was made up in India early enough to have permitted that we should have it in this House in plenty of time for this Debate. Therefore, I hope that next Session the same state of things will not occur again, and that we shall not have to wait until the end of the Session for the discussion of this important subject.

(1.20.) **SIR W. PLOWDEN**: I do not intend to discuss this matter at any great length. I have risen for a particular purpose. The hon. Member for Northampton, in the course of the speech which he delivered, spoke about the necessity for reducing our armed forces in India in order to fill the bellies of the unfortunate natives, but the hon. Baronet the Member for Evesham retorted where would the bellies be if our Armies were reduced? While the Government are attentive enough in some respects, I say they are not paying due regard to the proper arming of the country. We understand the Viceroy and his Council requested four years ago that the batteries of artillery in India should be re-armed. The present nine-pounder muzzle-loading gun is entirely inferior to the guns that could be brought to bear against it in any campaign by any European Power. This inferiority might have a most disastrous effect upon the Indian Army. It is essential that they should be supplied with more powerful guns. It was stated on a previous occasion that 96 guns of the new pattern would be furnished, but I should like to ask how many batteries have been furnished with the new gun? I do not believe all the batteries of the country are armed with it, and it is a matter of the greatest importance to the country. I believe that the gentleman who is in charge of the forces in India will be one of the first to appeal to the Government of this country to carry out this absolutely necessary proceeding. I believe it is very much to the discredit of the War Office in this country that such a state of things should exist, but I hope the matter will be remedied as soon as possible.

(1.25.) **SIR J. GORST**: With regard to the remarks of the hon. Member who has just spoken, I desire to say that the Government of India have been in communication with the Government of this

*Mr. Provand*

country on the subject of procuring the guns to which the hon. Member has referred, but it has been found impossible by the War Department to supply them as rapidly as the interests of India would appear to demand. I will not detain the House at this hour of the night by making another speech. There are one or two questions to which I think I ought to reply. In the first place, it was not my fault, nor was it the fault of the leader of the House (Mr. W. H. Smith), or of Her Majesty's Government, that this Debate did not occur at an earlier period of the Session. What would the House say if, a month or two ago, the exciting business that was then occupying the time of the House had been interrupted in order that the Indian Budget might come on? With regard to the complaints made as to the delay in getting documents ready, I wish to say that last year I made a great effort to have all Papers connected with Indian finance ready as soon as possible. The documents were laid on the Table very early, but what was the consequence?—the Debate was delayed, the figures were corrected, and they did not prove to be of as great advantage as was anticipated. This year I did not press the authorities in India or in the India Office to hasten the production of the Papers. With regard to the particular Report referred to by the hon. Member for Northampton, I have to say that every effort was made to produce that Report as early as possible, and it was actually in the hands of the printer early in June; and if it was not produced in time it was not my fault, or the fault of any of my officials, but of the printer, over whom we have no control whatever.

\***MR. BRADLAUGH**: It was only laid on the Table in dummy last night.

\***SIR J. GORST**: Yes, formally, but it was in the printers' hands. The other document referred to is the explanatory Memorandum. That Memorandum is simply a printed statement, made in accordance with what has lately been the custom of the India Office for the purpose of saving a good deal of the time of the House. It has been laid on the Table of the House by myself, in pursuance of the practice recently adopted by the First Lord of the Admiralty and of the Secretary of State for War, so that

they should not have to make a long statement, such as was the custom in the introduction of the Army and Navy Estimates. I may be asked why I did not lay it on the Table of the House last June. The Committee will remember that what happened last year was this. We had three sets of figures to consider—first, with reference to the Financial Statement in reference to India in March last year; then the figures of my explanatory Memorandum, which were laid on the Table of the House early in June; and then the figures which were brought forward on the day that we were discussing the Bill; and hence, with regard to my Memorandum, I believe that, so far from it being explanatory, it was confusing. There are one or two questions which the hon. Member for Northampton has put to me with regard to the case of Mr. Crawford. He has asked to be compensated in regard to some part of the costs to which he was subjected, and the matter is now under the consideration of the Government of India. No decision has as yet been arrived at. I am also asked about the expression on page 12 of this Statement, namely:—

“Including capital expenditure on steamboat service and suspense account, but excluding other indirect charges,”

which refers to furlough and pension charges not taken into account in the railway estimates. The hon. Member for Northampton has read to me what purports to be an extract from a Despatch from the Government of India to the Secretary of State, and he challenges me to say categorically whether such a Despatch has been delivered or not. To that challenge I say I decline to reply, and I decline for this reason: If what the hon. Member has quoted is an official Despatch, the possession and knowledge of it can only have been obtained by the commission of an act which is a criminal offence under the laws of India, and, therefore, I decline to say whether what purports to be an extract from a Despatch is or is not authentic. With regard to the question of the extension of the Indian railways, I may say that a correspondence is at present going on between the Secretary of State and the Government of India on the subject. No conclusion has as yet been arrived at, but when the correspondence is brought to a conclusion,

if the hon. Member will move that the documents be laid on the Table of the House I shall be happy to produce them. The same remark applies to the question of the broad and narrow gauge. I understand that what the hon. Member (Mr. Bradlaugh) quoted to the House was the excited language of the chairman of a narrow gauge railway, in a speech which he delivered in the City of London. This gentleman drew a most alarming picture of the dreadful results that would follow any interference with the narrow gauge railways. There, again, there is a correspondence going on between the Secretary of State and the Government of India with reference to the question of the gauge, and it is not the first correspondence of the kind. As many years ago there was a battle of gauges in this country, so now there is the same thing in India. As you may readily suppose, there are questions raised as to which is the best gauge. That correspondence is also going on, and when it is brought to a conclusion I shall be happy to produce it. I protest against the practice, which is followed very largely in discussions in this House on the affairs of the Government of India, of communicating the contents of confidential documents, as has been done in this discussion. I do not think I ought to delay the House by answering any of the more general observations of the hon. Member for Northampton. As regards the statements about the distress of the people of India, it is the easiest thing in the world to pick out one or two isolated cases of poverty and distress, but I think it is most unfair to represent that as the general condition of the people of India. No one knows better than the hon. Member for Northampton, so conversant with the affairs of India as he is, that the general condition of the people of India, as the hon. Member for Glasgow (Mr. Provand) has stated, has greatly improved under English rule; and anybody who represents the results of English rule as disastrous to the people of India must be very ignorant of the actual state of matters. Now, I think I have answered everything which has been put forward by the hon. Member for Northampton, and I do not think there are any other statements I should take notice of except those of the hon.

Member for Elgin. The hon. Member has given us an interesting account of the disgracefully incompetent manner in which the revenue and survey officers discharge their duties. I cannot answer that now by replying to all the details he brings forward, but I should be very much astonished if the body of English, Irish, and Scotchmen who constitute the Civil Service of Bombay was so incompetent as he represents. He says that the method of taxation is based on a miscalculation, and that the rents are shamefully over-valued by the erroneous and ridiculous manner of arriving at the basis of taxation. I can only say that such accusations as that, if they are to be made at all, should be made in the Council of the Government of Bombay. There are independent members of that Council, and if there is any gentleman in Bombay who would wish to take up this subject the Governor of Bombay would place him upon the Council, where he could point out anything so melancholy, if it existed, as that which has been pointed out by the hon. Member. As to the hon. Member for South Donegal, I do not think he has such a bad opinion of this House as one would naturally gather from some of the things he says, and I do not think that the Member for Elgin has such a bad opinion of the House either, but I believe that these stock speeches have been made rather too often in the interests of an Association which is trying to carp at and criticise anything the Government of India does. I hope that such extremely violent charges as these gentlemen have made will not be received with credulity, but will be valued according to their real worth.

\*(145.) MR. SEYMOUR KEAY: I have avoided rising to interrupt the right Gentleman, but with regard to his last remark, I do not think anybody in this House who knows my past career will say that I speak in the interests of any Association or any body except the people of India, for whom I have suffered, and willingly suffered, a great deal, without seeking or receiving a shadow of remuneration in the slightest degree. The right hon. Gentleman has stated very candidly, and just as I expected he would, that it would be impossible for him on the spur of the moment to go into the details which I have endeavoured

*Sir J. Gorst*

to give to the Committee with reference to the revenue and survey officers, but he expresses surprise that I should lay such charges against a body of men who constitute the Civil Service of India. I have not brought charges against them; I have only given a faithful description of the false arithmetical methods under which they perform their duties. It is not their fault; they are bound to perform their duties in the way I have described. But I want to ask the right hon. Gentleman one question, and I think I have a right to press for a reply. Let it be granted that he rejects my data on which I have based my conclusion that the ryot has to pay the whole—aye, and more than the whole—of his net rent to the Government. I now ask: how does he himself arrive at the conclusion which formed the key-note of his speech, and on the correctness of which, I hold, the whole welfare and the very existence of our Empire hangs—that the land revenue of India at present consists of only one-half of the net rent of the soil? The right hon. Gentleman has given no vestige of information as to how he arrives at this result, and he will surely see the imperative need of his placing the Committee in possession of whatever reasons he has for adhering to his view, as against all the counter arguments which I have adduced.

\*(148.) MR. MORTON (Peterborough): I rise as a new Member to complain of the late period at which we receive these Accounts. I do not consider that the right hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary for India has made a very good excuse as to why we have not been asked to consider these matters earlier. He has said that we were so excited earlier in the Session that we were not in a fit humour to consider the welfare of 250,000,000 of Her Majesty's subjects, and in another matter he has blamed the printers, and says that he is not responsible for them. But surely it was possible in a great city like London to have these documents printed much sooner than he says it was. Then the right hon. Gentleman who brings this important subject before us at a late hour of the Session has even avoided detailed answers to the arguments on this side. He did not answer to the criticism on the opium question. It

was a trade which is a disgrace to this country, and we should be ashamed that we are making money out of the degradation of the people of another country. And he might also have told us whether in the near future the Government are going to consider whether they should reduce the tax upon salt. Again, no reply was made to the statements about the employment of natives in connection with the Government Offices in India. I understand that though natives come at great expense to this country and pass examinations, yet they do not get employed in the Government of their country.

\*SIR J. GORST: No, no.

\*MR. MORTON: I understand there are a few exceptions.

\*SIR J. GORST: If the hon. Member would read the Report of the Public Service Commission, he would see that they are largely employed.

\*MR. MORTON: I understood there were about 150 employed out of 2,000. That is a very small number. From information which I have from outside, I gather that the natives are not employed in the service of the country, as they ought to be, and not at all unless they come to this country and pass examinations.

\*SIR J. GORST: No, no.

\*MR. MORTON: I have looked over these Accounts, but it is impossible, with them only a few hours in our hands, to consider the statement carefully. I wish, however, to call attention to the net revenue and the gross revenue. The gross revenue is stated at £85,000,000, and the net revenue at under £50,000,000. Then there is £15,000,000 or £16,000,000 unaccounted for, which appears to be the cost of collection. That may explain why the Government should employ Indian labour. The employment of Europeans is very expensive, and this accounts for where these £15,000,000 or £16,000,000 go. Nor is that the whole of the expense, for besides this there is £12,000,000 for the Civil Departments. Why was the cost of collection so great in India? Why, by employing Europeans. I am satisfied that in the near future you will have to consider the whole Government of India. As soon as we get rid of the Irish diffi-

culty the question of India will have to be taken up. The great Empire of India will never be properly governed until the people of India have a voice in the Government of their country.

\*(152.) THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (SIR J. FERGUSSON, Manchester, N.E.): I have gone very closely into this question while in India, and nothing can be more surprising—not to use a stronger expression—to anyone who knows about assessment—particularly the assessment of Western India—than the statement that it is over-assessed, as the hon. Member for Elgin says. He questions the accuracy of the statement that the assessment of India is on the basis of half the net rental. But that is precisely what it is in North-Western India, where land is generally sub-let. I take the case of Bombay, which I know best, but I know that it is so in other parts of India too. The assessment there is much less than half the value of the land; for when sub-let it yields twice, thrice, and even five times the amount. Then the hon. Member who has just spoken (Mr. Morton) talked about natives not being employed in the Government Service. Why, there are many thousands of natives so employed.

\*MR. MORTON: As Civil Servants?

\*SIR J. FERGUSSON: Particularly in Revenue Departments. Natives are chiefly employed in the Revenue Survey, and in the other Services they are also extensively employed. It is only in the highest ranks of superintendents that Europeans are employed. For general purposes the appointments of revenue officers, and all those officials that come in contact with the natives, are held by natives.

\*(155.) MR. SEYMOUR KEAY: I do not think that any hon. Gentlemen on either side of the House need imagine I shall detain them long. But I wish to call attention to the supposed reply given to me by the Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs. I thought I had misunderstood him at first when he said he had risen to tell me that the Government demand was half of the rent. I suggested to him net rent, which I fancied was what he meant, and I had hoped that he had accepted the correction. It would, at all events, have represented what the Government meant,

although very far from what the actual figures bring out. I have offered to put in the right hon. Gentleman's possession proofs of what I said. But the right hon. Gentleman has shown no desire for proofs. I may, however, mention the name of Sir W. Wedderburn, who was a distinguished officer of the Bombay Government. Hon. Gentlemen representing the purely official element in India may laugh, but Sir William Wedderburn has put his case in print. He has proved his part of the case down to the ground, and no one has ventured to contradict him. I am surprised that the right hon. Gentleman should instance the North West Provinces of India—in other words, the provinces where there are landlords, and where the land is let to tenants, which is a very different thing. He speaks of a country 1,000 miles north of Bombay. And he says that we know what the net rent is, because it is half what the land lets for. This is evidently worse and worse, for land, unfortunately too often, lets at its gross rent; and the right hon. Gentleman thinks he has answered me by telling us what the Government of India themselves would never allege for a moment, and all because he appears ignorant of the fact that the mass of the ryots of India, including those of Bombay, whom the right hon. Gentleman governed for five years, are peasant proprietors under Government, and that therefore, as there is no tenancy, there can be no letting value, as alleged by the right hon. Gentleman. I now fervently hope that the right hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary for India, to whom we have a right to look for a substantiation of the leading statement of his Budget Speech, will give the Committee some explicit statement as to how the Government arrived at the calculation that the land revenue incidence is light, that it takes the half of the net rent merely and leaves the other half to the cultivators. To know how he arrives at this calculation will not only be interesting to the Committee, but infinitely more interesting to the scores of millions of cultivators of the soil who now stagger under the burdens which I have described.

Question put, and agreed to.

Resolution to be reported to-morrow.

*Mr. Seymour Keay*

STATUTE LAW REVISION (No. 2) BILL.  
[LORDS].—(No. 405.)

As amended, considered.

Motion made, and Question proposed,  
"That the Bill be now read the third time."

MR. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne): I beg to move that the Debate be now adjourned.

MR. SPEAKER: Does any hon. Member second the Motion?

MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.): I will second it. Perhaps the Chancellor of the Exchequer will say what will be done on Saturday?

Motion made, and Question proposed,  
"That the Debate be now adjourned."  
—(*Mr. Conybeare*.)

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. Goschen, St. George's, Hanover Square): No private Members' Bills will be taken on Saturday. The Directors' Liability Bill will be taken on Friday.

Motion, by leave, withdrawn.

Original Question put, and agreed to.

Bill read the third time, and passed,  
with Amendments.

RAILWAYS (IRELAND) BILL.  
(No. 417.)

COMMITTEE.

Bill considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clause 1.

(20.) MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.): We have not had an opportunity of examining this Bill. It was only delivered to Members last evening, and the House will excuse us if we have been unable to put Amendments on the Paper. The object of the measure is to expedite the construction of light railways in Ireland. Now, I desire that the construction of these railways should be expedited, and I, therefore, propose that the notices which the Government wish to have handed about amongst landlords should be dispensed with. My Motion will test the sincerity and *bona fides* of the Government. The Government passed a Light Railways Bill last year, for 12 months they have slept upon it doing absolutely nothing, and now an expedi-

tion rash has broken out upon them. They desire to dispense with the dates in the original Act, and substitute those in the Schedule of the Bill. Well, I think it would be fair on their part to throw the cards down on the table. At present they have given us little or no information. I have just been reading the speech of the Secretary to the Treasury, and I see that he has succeeded, practically, in keeping us uninformed on a great many vital points. It is said that the Bill is to meet impending distress in Ireland, but I deny that, and believe that it will do no more to avert impending distress than the Anglo-German or the Anglo-French Treaty. I therefore propose to leave out the last four lines of the clause, or all the words after the word "Acts." The landlords can have no interest in the sales under the Bill. What interest have they so long as they get their rent? Formerly they had a reversionary interest, but now they have not, and, seeing that the rents will run on as of yore, what compensation are they entitled to? The tenants, however, will be entitled to compensation, as their land will be taken from them. The country has run wild on the question of compensating the owners of land in regard to the construction of these railways, but, as a matter of fact, except in the towns, the land is worth extremely little. According to statements we see in this morning's papers, a tax of £30,000 will be levied on the people of Galway—the people whom the Government declare themselves anxious to save from distress. A large part of this money will go to Mr. Berridge, who, as a matter of fact, is entitled to nothing, as his land is worth nothing, and who, so long as he gets his rents, cannot be injured in any way. I admit that where a railway goes through a gentleman's demesne, the owner ought to get compensation, just as a peasant should get it if his hut is to be taken away, but I submit that no demesne land should be touched. We know that the railways are constructed so as to dodge ruins which it is desired to preserve for reasons of sentiment, therefore it is all nonsense to say that it is necessary to go through demesne lands. When we consented to the Second Reading of this Bill we did not know that a charge of £30,000 would fall on the County of Galway. The Go-

vernment have £1,000,000 to give away. They say that the people are starving, and yet they declare that these starving people should pay £30,000. Why do they not give the whole amount, or, at any rate, why do they not require the landlords to find half? I should prefer that the poor tenants should have the chance of selling their land. The more of bog and mountain land is bought from the tenants the more will the tenants be pleased. The Irish people do not care anything about legislation on what are called British principles, and therefore I move the omission of that part of the clause which provides for the giving of notices to landowners.

Amendment proposed, in page 1, line 11, to leave out from the word "Acts," to the end of the clause, in order to add the words "are hereby dispensed with."  
—(Mr. T. M. Healy.)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

(2.10.) COLONEL NOLAN (Galway, N.): I would say only one word on this Amendment. Our great desire is to get the Bill through. I should like to see the Amendment of my hon. and learned Friend accepted, for I do not think these notices are necessary, certainly between Galway and Clifden. I do not know whether the Chief Secretary is willing to accept the Amendment. I should be glad if an agreement can be come to with regard to it, but under any circumstances I think both sides should remember that the real object is to pass the Bill through.

(2.11.) THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.): I earnestly trust the Bill will not be discussed, I will not say in the spirit the hon. and learned Gentleman has shown, but in the spirit which I fear is portended by the speech he has delivered. As the hon. and gallant Gentleman opposite (Colonel Nolan) says, this Bill has been brought in in the last days of the Session, with a view of giving much needed relief to the people of the West of Ireland. It will be in the power of hon. Members opposite to defeat the measure if they desire to do so; but I hope they will not desire to do

so. Because the Government are anxious to pass a Bill, which I believe nearly all the Members from Ireland regard as a great boon, I hope no attempt will be made to compel them to introduce principles into it which ought not to be introduced into it, and which could not be accepted without discussion here and in another place. The hon. and learned Member for Longford asks that power shall be given to take land compulsorily, without giving notice to the owners and occupiers. I think the House will see that that is an unreasonable request. The hon. Gentleman says he and his friends do not care at all for British principles, but I think that when the hon. Gentleman considers that they are to be applied to the use of British money, some consideration should be given to them. It is clear that if all the Amendments are discussed they will take some time, and as the House has already been sitting about 12 hours, it would be impossible to ask Members or the officials of the House to continue sitting. The Government have done their best to bring in a Bill which will meet the views of Irish Members, and it seems to me that it would be turning the anticipated distress to very bad ends to attempt to make it a lever to induce the House to carry out the principle suggested by the hon. Member for Longford.

\*(2.15.) MR. MURPHY (Dublin, St. Patrick's): The right hon. Gentleman says he has done his best to introduce a Bill which will be acceptable to Members on this side of the House. I would ask whom he has consulted on this side of the House with regard to its form or details? It would be well that the country should know that the companies which are supposed to be aided by the Treasury under the Bill are in a position to carry out the works in a short space of time if the Treasury will only act within their existing powers. The Bill in its present shape is more calculated to delay than expedite, if not the whole, certainly some of these schemes. The right hon. Gentleman, in introducing the measure last night, did not vouchsafe any reasons as to why it was brought in so late. I have put down some Amendments, but I may say that their object is not to embarrass the Bill or hinder its progress, but to help the Government

*Mr. A. J. Balfour*

to pass it as a workable measure. The right hon. Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland was good enough to say that I gave him help in carrying the Bill of last year, and I am ready and willing to assist him in carrying this, but I must point out to him that the measure in its present shape will not produce any results for months to come—probably not before next summer. I think we ought to have from the Financial Secretary to the Treasury a statement as to what is going to be done with regard to all these railways. The estimated amount of expenditure required to complete them is well known, and the amount of money at the disposal of the Treasury under the Act of last year will be enough to enable them to carry out the whole of the undertakings which were passed by the Grand Juries last March.

(2.20.) MR. LABOUCHERE (Northampton): I was rather surprised when it was agreed across the Table one evening that this Bill, involving a large expenditure, would be brought in at the close of the Session. I then understood, however, that there was a great deal of distress actually existing in certain parts of Ireland, and that this measure was to be brought in immediately in order to meet that distress. It certainly appeared to me that the most sensible mode of meeting the distress would be to vote a certain sum of money to be spent in charity. So strongly did I feel that, that I intimated to the hon. Member for Longford that I intended to oppose the Bill. I saw that, as I understood, if there was any opposition to the Bill it would not be pressed. I ventured to constitute myself that opposition. The hon. and learned Gentleman expressed a hope that I would not do that, and said that even if the Bill was not a good one it might be improved by the Amendments by the Irish Members. Well, we hear to-night that the Bill will impose a tax of £30,000 on the County of Galway, and it, therefore, seems to me doubtful whether we ought to go on with it, especially as the Chief Secretary says he must decline to receive any Amendments. The right hon. Gentleman says that unless the Bill can be passed in a few minutes it cannot pass the House of Lords. We know who is master in the



House of Lords, and the right hon. Gentleman comes down here and says, if you do not pass the Bill at once I have a very powerful uncle who has a majority at his back—

**THE CHAIRMAN:** Order, order! A great deal of latitude has been allowed in the discussion of the Amendment, but I think the hon. Member is going too far.

**MR. LABOUCHERE:** I was about to conclude with a Motion. I beg to move that you do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Mr. Labouchere.*)

(2.23.) **COLONEL NOLAN:** I hope the hon. Member will withdraw the Motion. ["No, no!"] The Government are acting for the best. They may have been to blame for putting off the Bill to such a late period, but it is clear that if we do not pass the measure now we shall get no light railways, even in Galway, out of this fund. Indeed, it is possible that we may not get them at all. I am not sure that we shall have distress, or that the potatoes will fail, but if there should be distress this measure will form a means of alleviating it without demoralising the people.

(2.25.) **MR. FOLEY** (Galway, Connemara): As a Member representing one of the districts which will be affected by the Bill, I would appeal to the hon. Member for Northampton to withdraw his Motion. Though we may disagree with the Government who have introduced the measure in some of their proceedings, still I think it would be wrong to prevent the Bill passing, particularly as there are signs of distress in parts of Ireland.

(2.26.) **MR. A. J. BALFOUR:** The hon. Member for St. Patrick's Division of Dublin is mistaken as to the time at which relief will be given under the Bill. I can assure the Committee that if the Bill passes works will be undertaken in Mayo and Galway in time to meet any distress likely to occur, and if it is not passed there is no chance of a sod being turned till next summer. Therefore, those who obstruct the Bill take upon themselves a great responsibility.

(2.27.) **MR. T. W. RUSSELL** (Tyrone, S.): I doubt whether the Bill will be of much use by next spring, when the pinch will come. I doubt if there is a chance of many sods being turned in November or December, but if the Chief Secretary is of a contrary opinion I should be sorry to oppose the Bill.

(2.28.) **MR. A. J. BALFOUR:** I have taken every pains to acquaint myself with the facts, and I believe that if there be a pinch it will come in the early spring, and I believe that by that time work will be in full swing. This has been described as a Midland Great Western Railway Bill, and no doubt we have come to an arrangement with those who govern that line. However, I hope that, by this Bill, we shall be able to carry out our present intention, and that of the original Act.

(2.29.) **MR. T. M. HEALY:** I would test the sincerity of the Government in this matter. I do not complain of the Midland Great Western Railway Company having this money for the construction of railways. I would rather that they should have it than the ordinary gang who promote these light railways. Will it be believed that until they got the *Freeman's Journal* this morning the Irish Members had no idea it was proposed to go in the country for this money.

(2.31.) **THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY** (Mr. JACKSON, Leeds, N.): The Grand Jury passed a resolution to the effect that they would prefer to have an arrangement made with the Midland Great Western, and they were quite prepared to make a grant of £30,000.

**MR. T. M. HEALY:** It is surprising the right hon. Gentleman should make that statement, considering what Sir R. Cusack has stated. From his statement we are to assume that the Government would insist on the Grand Jury of Galway taxing the ratepayers to the tune of £30,000. It is said the people of Galway are starving.

**THE CHAIRMAN:** The Question is, that I report Progress.

(2.33.) **MR. T. M. HEALY:** I may be some time, but I am coming to that. I would recommend the hon. Member for Northampton to withdraw his Motion if the Government will say, "We will not make two bites at a cherry. We give

away £250,000; let us give away the £30,000 too." If you will not do that, make the landlords do something.

(2.34.) MR. J. O'CONNOR (Tipperary, S.): On the Motion to report Progress, let me say it appears to me there are two matters in dispute: first of all there is the question of delay, and, secondly, the question of the £30,000. The hon. Member for South Tyrone (Mr. T. W. Russell) asked a very pertinent question, namely, as to when the pinch of hunger will arrive. The Chief Secretary says he believes that the pinch will not arrive until late in the year, or perhaps in the early spring. That might be quite correct if we were dealing with districts where the ordinary conditions of agriculture prevail, where the small farmers have their agricultural produce from which to obtain subsistence, but it is a well-known fact that the people in the districts we are now speaking of live on potatoes from one season to another, and that the old stock is generally used up when the new stock comes in. Therefore, the pinch will arrive long before the Chief Secretary seems to anticipate. I, therefore, hold there is absolute necessity for the immediate setting on foot of these works. Why should the Government make two bites at the cherry? Why not throw in this £30,000? I maintain that it is the duty of the Government to expedite these works, and to give the £30,000 as well as the rest. At the same time, as an Irish Representative, I am not willing to take upon myself the responsibility of supporting the hon. Member for Northampton in his Motion to report Progress.

\*(2.40.) MR. BARTLEY (Islington, N.): I think that we on this side of the House are long-suffering people. This Bill was brought in at the express request of hon. Members opposite. We have to sit here night after night to debate Irish Bills while our Bills concerning England, such as the Savings Banks Bill, are thrown over because they are opposed by Gentlemen opposite. We are compelled to sit here—[An hon. MEMBER: Serve you right]—to pass such Bills as this, though obstructed by the very people for whom they are brought in. If hon. Members opposite will not accept the Bill at once the Government would do well to report Progress, and to drop the Bill.

*Mr. T. M. Healy*

(2.41.) MR. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne): It is not often I find myself in harmony with an hon. Member opposite, but on this occasion I do. I quite agree with the hon. Member for North Islington in condemning the action of the Government.

\*MR. BARTLEY: I do not condemn the action of the Government.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Question is, that I report Progress: I hope hon. Members will remember that.

MR. CONYBEARE: Yes, Mr. Courtney.

THE CHAIRMAN: Order, order!

MR. CONYBEARE: I was about to answer the remarks of the hon. Member opposite, but I will postpone that, and give the reasons why I think we should report Progress. The Government must see that this Bill is not regarded as a particularly useful measure, even by those it is intended to benefit, and I sympathise greatly with hon. Members opposite in being kept out of bed to hear it discussed. I sincerely trust the Government will not press the matter. It must be evident to them that to do so will not lead to any fruitful result so far as their business is concerned. Indeed, the sooner they retire gracefully from the scene, and withdraw to the congenial presence of their constituents, the better it will be for their constituents.

(2.45.) MR. T. M. HEALY: The hon. Member for North Islington has complained that he and his friends have to sit here night after night. He has only to take a shilling hansom to get to his house, but we have to travel 300 miles to get home. Under these circumstances, we treat his suggestions with absolute contempt. I was very glad to support this Bill on the assumption that it was a Bill to quicken procedure, but I now find it is a Bill to enable rates to be thrown on our people. All we asked is, that you should add to your £250,000 the £30,000 you say is necessary. You might, if you choose, split the rate between the rich and the poor. If you do that, you can have your Bill without further ado. I shall cordially support the Motion to report Progress.

(2.47.) MR. SEXTON (Belfast, W.): I hope the hon. Member for Northampton will withdraw his Motion to report Progress, because if Progress

is reported, I do not think we shall hear of the Bill again this year. It is notorious there is great danger of famine in Ireland, and the Chief Secretary has stated upon authority that the Bill, if passed, will enable him to meet the pinch of hunger. On the other hand, if the Bill is delayed, and the delay can be attributed to any action of ours, we shall be told we have prevented relief being given. I, for one, would not accept that responsibility. I would rather throw on the Chief Secretary the responsibility of passing a faulty Bill. My hon. and learned Friend (Mr. T. M. Healy) has made two suggestions. With regard to one of them, namely, the proposal to divide the rate between owner and occupier, I admit there is great force. I allow that the Chief Secretary is confronted with difficulty, but I urge him to do what is within his power, and the jurisdiction of the Treasury, and that is to make the whole amount a grant on the part of the Treasury.

(2.51.) MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The total amount at the disposal of the Government is restricted by the Act of last year, and Galway cannot be relieved except at the expense of some other county, such as Kerry, which has arranged to expend the amount apportioned to it.

(2.55.) MR. LABOUCHERE: I can quite understand the position of hon. Members from Ireland. They are told by the Chief Secretary that if famine takes place it is impossible that any aid can be given unless this Bill is passed, but I ask them to consider how much of the money will be spent in labour. If there be famine, it will not take place until January. The Government tell us they intend to meet in November, and if a famine is threatened in November, they could easily bring in a small Bill by which a sum of money could be distributed in actual charity. [Colonel NOLAN: No!] It is perfectly ridiculous that we should be called upon now to pass a Bill agreeing to spend a large sum of money, only 40 per cent. of which will go in labour. In view of the fact that the Chief Secretary absolutely declines

to accept the view of the Irish Members in regard to this Bill—

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I never laid down any principle like it.

MR. LABOUCHERE: That is not the opinion of the Representatives of Ireland. The right hon. Gentleman not only says he objects to these Amendments, but objects to any discussion of them. Under these circumstances, I shall certainly persevere in my Motion, and I am sure the Irish Members will divide with me.

(2.59.) MR. SEXTON: I think that if my hon. Friend will look at the Irish papers he will see that the Board of Governors in the distressed districts are of opinion that if only a small proportion of the money is spent in labour the expenditure will be invaluable.

(3.0.) The Committee divided:—  
Ayes 14; Noes 76.—(Div. List, No. 254.)

Original Question put.

(3.9.) The Committee divided:—  
Ayes 64; Noes 28.—(Div. List, No. 255.)

Question proposed, "That Clause 1 stand part of the Bill."

Motion made, and Question put, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(Mr. T. M. Healy.)

(3.15.) The Committee divided:—  
Ayes 14; Noes 77.—(Div. List, No. 256.)

Question again proposed, "That Clause 1 stand part of the Bill."

(3.22.) MR. CONYBEARE: Before we decide upon this clause I think, late as the hour is, we might have a little explanation from the Government, and make some reasonable attempt to understand what we are voting about, and not simply vote nonsense. It appears to me that the clause as it stands is unmitigated nonsense. We are entitled to some explanation, considering the importance of the interest of the British taxpayer involved—

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Not a sixpence in this clause.

MR. CONYBEARE: It is intended to expedite the expenditure of the money already voted, which is practically the same thing. The clause is loosely, carelessly drafted, and it is an outrage on our intelligence to ask us to vote it. We have unsuccessfully attempted to amend it, but it appears to be no use expostulating with the Government, and perhaps the best thing we can do is to pass the Bill *en bloc*. I am content with the protest we have made.

\*(3.24.) CAPTAIN VERNEY: I understand the Bill to contain a proposal to take money from the poor ratepayers and not from the rich. That is the statement made, and I have heard no answer to it.

THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member must not discuss the Bill upon this special clause.

\*CAPTAIN VERNEY: I understand the right hon. Gentleman has stated it is in the power of any hon. Member to wreck the Bill, and there are a good many Members who understand the Bill better than I do, who do not shrink from that responsibility. Does the right hon. Gentleman intend to press the Bill through by the strength of his majority in the face of the assertions made?

(3.25.) MR. DALTON (Donegal, W.): I wish to ask why in the list of schemes in the 1st Schedule—

THE CHAIRMAN: The Committee is not now concerned with the 1st Schedule; the Question is that the 1st Clause be agreed to.

MR. T. M. HEALY: On a point of order, Sir. Is it not in order to ask a question in reference to the Schedule, considering the relation of the Schedule and the clause?

THE CHAIRMAN: I reminded the hon. Member of the Question before the Committee. If the hon. Member will put his question, I shall know if it is in order.

MR. DALTON: I was not quite sure if I should be in order in saying a few words upon this clause, or whether I should adopt the course of moving an Amendment to the Schedule. I would refer to the Stranorlar and Glenties

line. There is no question that it connects with a congested district of Donegal, and the merits of the scheme are unanswerable.

THE CHAIRMAN: It is a question for the hon. Member to discuss on the Schedule.

(3.28.) DR. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid): It is not my desire to trespass on the time of the Committee to any extent, and it is not my intention to wreck the Bill. My intention is something very different. In relation to this Bill the Government have assumed their usual stubborn, dogmatic attitude—

\*MR. KIMBER (Wandsworth): I rise to order, Sir. I ask you whether the observations of the hon. Member are in any way pertinent to Clause 1?

THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member has not yet spoken to the clause. I hope he will do so immediately if he has the intention.

DR. TANNER: The hon. Member's impatience interrupted the usual respectful prelude to the observations I am about to make. The hon. Gentleman's idea of order—

THE CHAIRMAN: I beg the hon. Member will not comment upon the ruling upon a point of order. The Question he should confine himself to is, that Clause 1 stand part of the Bill.

DR. TANNER: I will refrain from commenting on the ruling from the Chair, and have no idea of making it matter of controversy. I am going first to deal with the matter of public advertisements under the clause. I really should like to have some sort of answer to my question.

THE CHAIRMAN: Order, order! The hon. Member's remarks are quite irrelevant to this clause. The advertisements spoken of are those by the promoters, and the Government have nothing to do with issuing them.

DR. TANNER: But the country—

THE CHAIRMAN: Order, order! I must warn the hon. Member against this trifling with the Committee.

DR. TANNER: I shall divide the Committee when we come to the clause

to which my remarks do properly apply. I object to these dogmatic assertions by the Government. I think it will be a great mistake to pass this Bill, and as I am precluded from offering observations which I think are pertinent, I shall vote steadily against every clause of the measure.

\*(3.32.) MR. MURPHY: Before we pass this clause I hope the Government will say why they have fixed on these particular dates; also, why certain lines are included in this provision, and others excluded? Again, why cannot they accept the suggestion of the hon. and learned Member for North Longford, and dispense with the notices altogether?

(3.33.) MR. T. M. HEALY: The Government show no disposition to answer my hon. Friend, although they admit that he is most competent to discuss these questions.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: We have not replied, because we think the question should properly be raised on the Schedule, and not on the 1st clause.

(3.34.) MR. SEXTON: The question is one which ought to be answered, for my hon. Friend asserts that there are lines which could be begun in two or three months, whereas if the Bill is passed in its present form the work cannot be commenced for at least nine months. Is that the case?

(3.35.) MR. JACKSON: It places the Government in rather an awkward position to discuss the details of negotiations which are pending, and to call upon them to state their reasons for adopting a course which they are taking, as they believe, in the interests of the counties concerned. With regard to the lines referred to by the hon. Member, I suppose it is open to the Government to negotiate with the Great Southern and Western Railway Company for the construction of one or other of these lines, as they have already done with the Midland Great Western Railway Company. All the Bill does is to provide that, if satisfactory terms can be concluded for the construction of these lines, they shall be approved. But it leaves the hands of the Government free, while strengthening our position in the nego-

tiations. As to the notices, I may remind the hon. Member that no step can be taken in regard to these lines until the Grand Juries have made the proper presentments, and this Bill will enable the Grand Juries to be called together earlier than usual.

MR. T. M. HEALY: How about the Belmullet line?

MR. JACKSON: It has been represented to us it may be desirable, and that it would answer the purposes of the locality, if a steam tramway or light railway were made, instead of a broad gauge line. All we want is liberty to make the best arrangements we can.

\*(3.39.) MR. MURPHY: Does the right hon. Gentleman think, with regard to the time for serving the notices, that this Bill will really expedite matters? As a matter of fact, the Grand Juries will not meet till nearly Christmas, and we know that the negotiations between the Treasury and the Railway Companies are not likely to be very rapid.

THE CHAIRMAN: It is obvious this discussion should take place on the Schedule.

\*(3.40.) MR. T. M. HEALY: I do not believe it will be possible to get the Grand Juries together much before Christmas if the Bill is passed as it stands. Cannot the right hon. Gentleman expedite the meeting of the Grand Juries?

MR. KIMBER: I rise to order. Is this discussion in order on Clause 1?

(3.42.) The Committee divided:—  
Ayes 76; Noes 17.—(Div. List, 257.)

#### Clause 2.

\*(3.49.) MR. KNOX (Cavan, W.): I beg to propose, in page 1, line 17, to substitute October for November. Of course, if I am assured that in no case is it possible to call the Grand Juries together earlier than the date named in the Bill, I will not press this Amendment, for I did not move it with the view to obstruction. But if, as I understand from the hon. and gallant Member for Galway, sufficient surveys have already been made, I do not see why the Grand Juries should not meet in October.

Amendment proposed, in page 1, line 17, to leave out the word "November,"

and insert the word "October."—(*Mr. Knox.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'November' stand part of the Clause."

(3.50.) THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (*Mr. MADDEN*, Dublin University): Of course we desire to expedite matters as much as possible, but I fear the necessary steps cannot be taken before the date named in the Bill.

\*(3.51.) MR. KNOX: But by the Bill nothing will be done till October. Surely it is not necessary that between now and October everything shall be at a standstill.

\*(3.51.) MR. MURPHY: In my opinion, this Bill if it is passed will delay the commencement of these railways instead of expediting it, as it will only give an excuse for requiring steps to be gone all over again which have been already done in regard to several of the lines scheduled to the Bill. I do not think, however, that much importance attaches to these dates, as certain preliminary steps must be taken if the Government insist upon all those notices being served and plans being lodged. If the lines are promoted by Railway Companies, they will probably consider that fresh surveys will have to be made; and as all this work would take a considerable time, I do not think the alteration from November to October would be desirable, as, in the case of the Clifden line, 50 miles long, it may not be possible to complete all the preliminaries at earlier dates than those named in the Bill.

\*(3.52.) CAPTAIN VERNEY (*Bucks, N.*): The hon. Member who has just spoken has been alluded to as a high authority on this question. He says that the Bill will delay rather than accelerate the works. I, therefore, beg to move to report Progress.

THE CHAIRMAN: I decline altogether to put that Motion. Does the hon. Member for West Cavan persist in his Amendment?

\*(3.53.) MR. KNOX: The only reply I have received is that from the hon. Member for Dublin, St. Patrick's, and I think I am entitled to an answer from

the Government. On this point right hon. Gentlemen opposite are anxious to accept my hon. Friend's opinion, but on all other questions in connection with this Bill they have repudiated his authority and advice.

(3.54.) THE CHAIRMAN: Order, order! That is not relevant to the hon. Member's Amendment.

\*MR. T. M. HEALY: This Bill has practically been in hand 12 months. It will be Christmas before the Grand Juries can be called together, so that 18 months will have elapsed before a single one of these light railways can be commenced. Yet when we propose to expedite matters by one month only, we are met with a refusal. The Treasury in this are simply acting in the interests of Messrs. Barton & Price. I, for one, have been misled into assenting to this Bill on the understanding that there was a real intention on the part of the Government to press these railways forward in the interests of the people of Ireland, but their refusal at the beginning of August to call the Grand Juries together before December shows that they have no genuine desire to get on with these works. If you insist upon this proposal it will be Christmas Day before you get a Grand Jury together, and I cannot too strongly deprecate the action of the Government in pressing a Bill forward of this kind at this hour of the morning and at this period of the Session, especially when we have been told by the First Lord of the Treasury that only non-contentious business was to be taken. The conduct of the Government, under these circumstances, is certainly unusual. They say they want this Bill to avert the consequences of the threatened famine. For my part, I do not believe it. I certainly, although against the advice of my deceased Friend Mr. Biggar and some other Members of the Irish Party, supported this Bill. I ask why, in pressing forward this measure, you cannot omit the dates? Why put in any date at all? Why not call the Grand Jury together whenever most convenient? This proposal shows that the Treasury are not in earnest in the matter. Why should you not provide that it should be left to the

Lord Lieutenant, with the advice of his counsel, to direct the summoning of the Grand Jury! I think the action of the Government all through has been unsatisfactory, and I suggest that their present attitude is unfair to this Committee. If they meant to be fair in this matter they would consent to some other arrangement.

(4.3.) MR. LABOUCHERE: The Government seem to be unable to accept a single Amendment. If they did accept Amendments that would involve the Report stage to-morrow and the Third Reading on Saturday, so that the House of Lords would not have time to pass the measure.

COLONEL NOLAN: I think there is something in what has just been said by the hon. Member for Northampton, there being only Friday, Saturday, and Monday to get the Bill through. But it does not matter how we get it through so long as we do get it through. I would, however, put it to my hon. Friend whether it is desirable to risk the postponement of the Bill for another eight months, especially after we have been waiting a whole year for it to be brought in.

MR. J. O'CONNOR: In matters of this kind as affecting Ireland we frequently suffer, not only from the "law's delays," but also from "the insolence of office." To-night, for example, we have suffered the "insolence of office," and been placed in a very cold corner by the statement of the Chief Secretary, that we had only a few minutes in which to pass the Bill, and some of us have been placed in the unfortunate position that we have been obliged to go into the same Lobby with the Government, which, to say the least of it, is a painful operation for many of us to undergo. They are now about to impose upon us in addition to this "insolence of office" —

THE CHAIRMAN: I would remind the hon. Gentleman that he is going beyond the Amendment.

MR. J. O'CONNOR: I was only saying that we in Ireland are suffering from the law's delay, and the Amendment of my hon. Friend goes to obviate this necessity. He proposes that the Grand Juries

should meet in October instead of November, and it is an Amendment which we can conscientiously support, because, first, we want the Bill and, secondly, we want to amend it. Not only am I anxious to get the Bill, but I am anxious to get it as soon as possible. As my hon. Friend proposes to put the measure into operation a month sooner than is proposed by the Government, I give my hearty support to his Amendment.

\*(4.12.) MR. KNOX: I wish to point out that the effect of my Amendment would be to hasten the proceedings under the Bill by a month. I should not wish to persist if I thought it clearly impossible to do this; but, at any rate, I may ask the Government whether it would be impossible to make the Bill workable by another Amendment, giving power to the Lord Lieutenant to omit the inquiry by the Board of Works in certain cases. That would save more than a month. The Government are trusting the Midland Great Western Railway in many things; they might as well trust them a little more. It is they who must work the line, and their engineers will be responsible. Considering the relations existing between Sir Ralph Cusack and the Board of Works, the inquiry may cause considerable delay. Why should not the Government dispense with the inquiry?

MR. T. M. HEALY: I would ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether it is not a fact that, in the case of the Galway and Clifton line, the Government held inquiries into four different schemes? Is there an Inspector under the Board of Works who does not know every stone on that railway, and have not Grand Juries pocketed some 50 guineas on each of the four different schemes? Why should this inquiry be made when it will delay action for another month?

(4.15.) The Committee divided:—  
Ayes 66; Noes 26.—(Div. List, No. 258.)

(4.22.) MR. CONYBEARE: I think, as it is now 20 minutes past 4 o'clock, you, Sir, ought to report Progress. I am anxious to get on with business, but there are limits to human endurance. We have been going on from the early part of the week in a manner



wholly unprecedented. I do not think that in the whole of my recollection we have had a week like it, or at any rate when we have sat until 11 o'clock on Wednesday night and till 4 o'clock on the Tuesday and Wednesday mornings. If the Government are not inclined to consider the convenience of Members, they ought, at least, to consider that of the officials of this House. I, therefore, move, Sir, that you do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again.

THE CHAIRMAN: I put that Question at once. The Question is that I report Progress, and ask leave to sit again. Hon. Members supporting this Motion will please to rise in their places. The clerks will take the names of hon. Members supporting the Motion, and hon. Members will please to keep their places standing while the names are taken.

MR. T. M. HEALY: Are we to be subject to insult? Are we to be impounded? This is supposed to be a non-contentious Bill. You will find that you will not get it through.

DR. TANNER: This does not appear to save much time, Mr. Courtney.

MR. T. M. HEALY: It is intended to insult us.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Noes have it.

MR. CONYBEARE: May I ask that the names may be read, otherwise how are we to ascertain whether the names have been correctly taken?

THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member is at liberty to inspect the Minutes.\*

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Clause 2 stand part of the Bill."

\* The following is the entry in the Votes:—

Mr. Conybeare moved, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again;" but the Chairman, being of opinion that the Motion was an abuse of the Rules of the House, put the Question thereupon forthwith.

The Committee proceeded to a Division, and the Chairman stated that he thought the Noes had it, but his decision was challenged; and, it appearing to the Chairman that the Division was vexatiously claimed, he directed the Ayes to stand up in their places, and Sixteen Members having stood up, the Chairman declared the Noes had it.

*Mr. Conybeare*

MR. T. M. HEALY: Last night, when this Bill came under our notice, we were informed by the First Lord of the Treasury that no non-contentious business would be proceeded with. The suggestion of the Government that they are promoting this Bill for the benefit of Ireland I reject with contempt. They never accept a suggestion which we make in the interests of our countrymen; and now, at half-past 4 in the morning, we are compelled to continue the discussion of this Bill of nine clauses, in addition to which there are a great many new clauses. Let me inform the Government that a great number of Amendments have yet to be moved and considered.

THE CHAIRMAN: Is the hon. and learned Gentleman going to move an Amendment? If so, he must speak to that Amendment.

(4.28.) MR. T. M. HEALY: I propose to amend the clause by omitting the words "20th of December." I renew my protest against the farce the Government are carrying on in pretending that this is a Bill to expedite arrangements for the mitigation of threatened distress. It is evident from the suggestions we have already heard that the Government might have completely turned our flank by omitting the dates in the Bill, and leaving it to the Lord Lieutenant to call Grand Juries at such times as might be most fitting; the Government did not think it desirable to do this, because they had come here in the same spirit evinced by Mr. Forster in his Coercion Bill, namely, not to receive an Amendment because it would necessitate the Report stage. They will not alter a single comma, in order to evade that stage. This is certainly singular, when I recollect that only yesterday the Secretary to the Treasury invited suggestions and Amendments from this side of the House. The Amendment I propose would simply leave the matter in the hands of the Lord Lieutenant, who might select any date he chose. Why, I ask, should the Government bind the Lord Lieutenant to give a date? As far as my knowledge goes, there is nothing in the world to prevent

the Grand Jury being assembled immediately. By your arrangement, you are absolutely putting a fetter on His Excellency which you have no right and no duty to impose. I say to the Government, "omit these words altogether." The omission will do no harm, and it will be a proof that you are open in the future to accept suggestions from this side of the House. If only to test the spirit of Her Majesty's Government on this point, I beg to move the omission of the words "or later than the twentieth day of December."

Amendment proposed, in page 1, lines 22 and 23, to leave out the words "or later than the twentieth day of December."—(*Mr. T. M. Healy.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

(4.32.) *MR. SEXTON*: I would call attention to the fact that, in the earlier part of the clause, power is given to the Lord Lieutenant to direct the Sheriff on or before the 18th of November. If the Lord Lieutenant is given discretion to issue his order any time before November, why should not the discretion of the Grand Jury be exercised before a certain day? I think it would be wise if you were to amend the clause, so as to provide that the meeting of the Grand Jury should be "not later" than a certain day.

(4.33.) *MR. A. J. BALFOUR*: I think the Committee will feel that the Amendment we are now discussing has nothing to do with the observation made by the hon. Member who has just sat down. I would point out that if the Amendment is carried, the result will be to postpone and not to accelerate the action of the juries. I certainly can most sincerely say that I approached the consideration of this Bill with the desire to meet the views of hon. Gentlemen opposite, but it has been made perfectly obvious within the last few hours that the intention of hon. Gentlemen opposite is not to amend but to kill the Bill. I am not going to lend my hand to that work of murder by admitting Amendments which, as the hon. Member for Northampton has said,

would have the result of killing the Bill. Under these circumstances, I would earnestly urge every Member who desires the Bill to pass to let it go through in its present shape.

(4.35.) *SIR W. LAWSON* (Cumberland, Cockermouth): The right hon. Gentleman's speech amounts to this: that rather than spend another day on the business of the Motion he declines to listen to the wishes of the Irish Members.

\**(4.36.) MR. KNOX*: I think we Members from Ireland have just reason to complain of the conduct of the Chief Secretary. If it is impossible for any Amendment to be assented to, why were we not told that two hours and a half ago? We thought we could put forward some reasonable Amendments which would improve the Bill.

*MR. A. J. BALFOUR*: Two hours and a half ago I thought so.

\**MR. KNOX*: But I understood the right hon. Gentleman to say it will be impossible to accept an Amendment, because it is necessary to take the Report stage to-morrow.

(4.37.) *MR. A. J. BALFOUR*: If this Bill had been met in a reasonable spirit, an Amendment might have been accepted. The Report stage would have been taken to-morrow, and the Third Reading at the same time, by consent. It is quite clear now that Members opposite intend to discuss the Committee stage as long as they can; they will have ample opportunity to put down Amendments on the Report stage, and the result will be, if any hon. Member objects to the Third Reading on the same day, the Bill cannot pass this Session.

\**MR. KNOX*: I admit that the Debate has been marked by some asperity, but we have been met by taunts and sneers. I never heard the right hon. Gentleman make a speech in this House during my short experience of it without making use of taunts. The Bill is barely intelligible in its present form, but the Government must take the responsibility of its failure.

(4.39.) *MR. MURPHY* (who was indistinctly heard): There was no desire on my part to unduly oppose this Bill. I do not think, however, in its present

shape it will be effective, and the Amendments I have moved and any remarks that I have made have certainly been *ad rem*. With reference to the Amendment of my hon. Friend the Member for Longford (Mr. T. M. Healy), I do not see why there should be any objection to it.

(4.40.) MR. CONYBEARE: I would point out that it would be better not only to leave out "not later than 20th December," but to substitute an earlier date than December. The object we have in view is to expedite matters, and it seems to me that to leave a month for the summoning of the Grand Jury by the Sheriff is a very long period. I cannot conceive that there would be any difficulty in the Sheriff summoning the Grand Jury on a much earlier day than December. If we were to make the period within which the summoning of the Grand Jury is to be made shorter, we should be acting strictly on the lines of this Bill. I would suggest, that instead of moving to leave out 20th December, we should substitute an earlier day—say the 1st November. I do not see that it is consistent with the dignity of the House or any useful purpose that we should continue to consider this Bill at all, as we are told that whatever Amendments we propose will not be considered by the Government, the intention being to force the Bill through without amendment. I think, however, we should be guilty of a gross dereliction of our duty if we yielded to those tactics. We are presented with the Bill one day, and—

MR. TOMLINSON (Preston): I rise to order. I wish to know if the argument of the hon. Member is relevant to the Amendment under discussion?

The CHAIRMAN declined to notice the interruption.

MR. CONYBEARE: The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland says we must either take the Bill as it is or leave it, and I say that that is not treating the House of Commons with proper respect. The Committee stage of the Bill is the one on which we have a right to bring Amendments forward, and to discuss them, and if we are told by the Government "there is a Bill which you may take or leave, but in

*Mr. Murphy*

which we cannot accept a single Amendment," I say that to such tactics we must refuse to lend ourselves. I say that it reduces the discussion of the Bill to a perfect farce.

(4.46.) The Committee divided:—  
Ayes 65; Noes 22.—(Div. List, No. 260.)

(4.56.) MR. T. M. HEALY: The sub-section provides that the Sheriff shall call the Grand Jury together. The Irish Secretary says he is unable to split the rate between the owner and occupier, as it would be too great a change in the law, but there is no reason why, on the Grand Jury, the people should not have some representation, and I cannot see why the Sheriff of a county should select entirely from persons of the landlord class. The people have to pay the rates, and the landlords hitherto have had the privilege of voting them. Well, with regard to the Special Grand Jury which will have to be called for the purposes of this Bill, it seems to me that the Government can have no objection to giving the body a shadow or a show of a representative character. The right hon. Gentleman may say that at this hour of the morning he is unable to decide in what way the Grand Jury should be constituted. I would suggest a simple mode in an Amendment. The Sheriff may select for the Grand Jury 23 of the worst rack-renters of the county. I would suggest that there is no necessity for landlords to be summoned on the Grand Jury, and as Catholics have to pay the rates, I would suggest that there is no necessity for the Sheriff to call on 23 Protestants, as he is likely to do, seeing that he is almost always a Tory. The people will have to pay this £30,000 odd, and I think they should have a voice in the method of allocating the money. I would, therefore, move to add the following:—

"Provided that the Grand Jury, for the purposes of this section, shall consist of 10 persons to be elected by the Sheriff and 13 persons to be nominated by the Boards of Guardians in such Unions in the county, and in such proportions and in such manner as the Local Government Board shall determine."

I do not think that is an unreasonable Amendment, if the Government are disposed to meet us in any way. I would make them this offer: If

they will accept the Amendment I will withdraw my opposition to the Bill. So far as we are concerned, we can give no greater proof of *bona fides* than that. There need be no fear of delaying the Bill, as both Report stage and Third Reading could be taken to-morrow.

**THE CHAIRMAN:** I cannot allow the hon. Member to proceed any further on this Amendment. I must point out to him that it is not one which could be received in Committee without an Instruction.

**MR. T. M. HEALY:** The section provides that the Sheriff may summon the Grand Jury of the county. The clause says that the expression "The Grand Jury Acts" means the Acts of King William IV., and all the other words are defined by the Tramways Acts. Consequently, it seems that, either now or when we come to the amending Schedule, it will be competent to omit the definition in the 6th clause, and move other words. Would it not be competent to insert in this measure different words to those in the Tramways Act?

**THE CHAIRMAN:** It is clear that this could not be done, either in the present clauses or in the 6th clause.

**MR. T. M. HEALY:** If that is your view, Sir, I must accept it; but I would ask you to say whether it would not be possible, without defining the Grand Jury, to provide that persons should be added to it, or associated with it, for the purposes of the Act?

**THE CHAIRMAN:** I do not think that could be done without an Instruction.

**\*MR. T. M. HEALY:** Under the circumstances, and considering that we have not had an opportunity of considering how best to amend the Bill, I would at this stage ask leave to move that the Chairman report Progress, and ask leave to sit again. Of course, I quite follow the ruling of the Chair, that it might be irregular without an Instruction, to alter this Bill, but it is reasonable we should have an opportunity of making some change with regard to the body that has to set this measure in force. It is utterly unfair to expect us to go on with a Bill of this

kind. We learnt for the first time from the papers this morning what Sir Ralph Cusack had said. The Government had concealed from us the fact he revealed, and it is most unfair and unreasonable of the Government at this stage of the Session to expect us to go on. If the Government insist on going on, I will go on as long as my physical endurance lasts. I beg, Sir, to move that you report Progress and ask leave to sit again.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Mr. T. M. Healy.*)

(5.2.) **MR. A. J. BALFOUR:** I hope the hon. Gentleman will neither persist in his Motion, nor carry out his threat.

**MR. T. M. HEALY:** It is no threat.

**MR. A. J. BALFOUR:** I referred to the announcement he made that he means to oppose the Bill as long as his physical strength endures. The hon. Member appears to speak under a sense of grievance, for which, I assure him, there is no foundation. All Sir Ralph Cusack said was that in order to carry out the Bill a charge of £30,000 would be required. That will be borrowed at 4 per cent., and the total interest will be £1,200 a year, of which about £600 a year will be paid by the Treasury under the Tramways Act. The net result will be that the inhabitants of Galway will have to pay a rate of a  $\frac{1}{4}$ d. in the £1. For this  $\frac{1}{4}$ d. in the £1 the people will get a railway 50 miles long, which they have been most anxious for for years; they will get the expenditure of some £30,000 or £40,000 and a free grant, without paying 6d. for it, of a portion of the £1,000,000.

(5.6.) **COLONEL NOLAN:** I would point out to my hon. Friend (Mr. T. M. Healy) that really these terms are very good. I did not know they were so good. The rate can only be  $\frac{1}{4}$ d. in the £1, because the valuation is only £600,000 for the whole county. The fact that there will be a  $\frac{1}{4}$ d. in the £1 to pay is really owing to my hon. Friend (Mr. T. M. Healy) himself. I was always content with the proposed narrow gauge line, but the hon. Member for Longford insisted on having a broad gauge line,

and it is the broad gauge that has cost the extra  $\frac{1}{2}$ d. I earnestly hope my hon. Friend will now allow the Bill to pass.

\*(5.8.) MR. MURPHY: The right hon. Gentleman seems to think my hon. and learned Friend is labouring under some sense of grievance. Whether he is or not, I am labouring under some anxiety to amend and improve the Bill. I submit that 5 o'clock in the morning is not a proper time to discuss a measure of this kind, and that we ought now to report Progress.

\*(5.9.) MR. T. M. HEALY: I cannot fail to be struck with the observation of my hon. and gallant Friend (Colonel Nolan). I conceived that the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury dealt unfairly with the House when Sir Ralph Cusack was allowed to make the statement he did about throwing £30,000 on the county, when the Secretary to the Treasury stated previously that no charge would come on the localities. It may be that when he so promised that it was then not intended to give a heavy broad gauge to the county. It may be that it is the difference between light broad and heavy broad gauge which has thrown the charge on the county. If that be so, I feel I shall not be justified in taking the course I proposed to take, and I will not persist in it.

\*(5.10.) MR. MURPHY: I hope that Progress will be reported, in order that the Bill will be properly discussed.

(5.11.) DR. TANNER: I hope we shall have some expression of opinion from the Secretary to the Treasury as to the works of the Great Southern and Western Railway. In Cork we have suffered greatly from the incompetence of that Railway Company.

(5.12.) MR. JACKSON made some observations which did not reach the Reporters' Gallery.

(5.13.) MR. SEXTON: There is no chance whatever of carrying any Amendment to this Bill, and I think there must be a general agreement. The measure cannot do any harm, and I hope it may do some good. I hope my hon. Friend (Mr. Murphy) will conceive it to be his duty to support my hon. and learned Friend (Mr. T. M. Healy).

*Colonel Nolan*

(5.14.) MR. CONYBEARE: I desire it to be distinctly understood that in waiving our right to insist on Progress we are not going back upon our observations as to the highly unconstitutional conduct of the Government in refusing to consider or accept any Amendments. Such a course simply destroys the whole usefulness of the Committee stage.

(5.15.) DR. TANNER: I would point out that in Cork the line of the Great Southern and Western Railway Company is a complete failure, whilst another line, which is worked independently, is a great success. The reason is that the Great Southern and Western Company want to get the line they are working into their own hands. However, if hon. Members on this side think that this philanthropic measure—I cannot help laughing at the idea of anything philanthropic coming from the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary—is worth having I will not stand in the way of its acceptance.

\*(5.18.) MR. T. M. HEALY: It is only fair to myself to say that I think I was right in opposing this Bill as long as I conceived that an unfair obligation was being thrown on the people. I adhere to the opinion that the Bill in the absence of our Amendments will not work. Inasmuch, however, as the Government are giving the Galway people a better line than I supposed—that is to say, a heavy broad-gauge line—I shall not persist in my opposition, but will leave the Government the responsibility of rejecting our advice.

Motion, by leave, withdrawn.

Clause agreed to.

Clauses 3 and 4 agreed to.

Clause 5.

\*(5.20.) MR. MURPHY (who was indistinctly heard): I have an Amendment to move to this clause. The clause was evidently intended to remove the restriction imposed by the Light Railways Act limiting the weight which can be placed on any pair of wheels to eight tons, no matter how substantially the railway may have been built. I would point out, however, that the clause in the Bill only applies where a Railway Company makes an agreement directly with the Treasury, and I would remind

the Financial Secretary of the case of the Baltimore Railway now in negotiation with him, where the agreement to work the line by the Cork and Bandon Railway Company is made not directly with the Treasury, but with a Constructing Company who in turn agree with the Treasury. My Amendment is intended to meet this and similar cases.

Amendment proposed, in Clause 5, page 2, line 38, after "railway" to insert—

"Or where the promoters have made an agreement approved by the Treasury for the maintenance and working of the light railway by such a railway company."—(*Mr. Murphy.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

(5.23.) MR. JACKSON: The clause is intended to meet the case the hon. Member puts. There would be an agreement, to which the Treasury must be a party, for the working of the line.

(5.24.) MR. SEXTON: Surely the effect of inserting the Amendment would only be to make the clause more clear. We will be prepared to give every facility for the passage of the Bill.

MR. JACKSON: In that case we will consider the Amendment before the Report.

An hon. MEMBER: There will be no Report stage if no Amendments are carried.

(5.25.) MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I am afraid there are some Members who are not as favourably disposed to the Bill as are the Representatives of Ireland, and I think it will be safer not to press the Amendment.

Question put, and negatived.

Remaining clauses added to the Bill.

(5.27.) MR. COURTNEY withdrew from the House, and was succeeded in the Chair by Mr. J. W. LOWTHER.

\*MR. MURPHY: I beg to move the omission of the words "Westport to Mulraney," in line 2 of the Schedule. I submit there is no necessity for scheduling this line. It has already passed the Grand Jury, and can be proceeded with at once if the Treasury wish.

Amendment proposed, Schedule, line 2, to omit "Westport to Mulraney."—(*Mr. Murphy.*)

Question proposed, "That those words stand part of the Schedule."

(5.28.) MR. JACKSON: I would point out that the inclusion of these words with the Schedule does not tie the hands of the Treasury, and force them to adopt either one course or the other. I cannot accept the Amendment.

\*(5.29.) MR. MURPHY: I feel disposed to press the Amendment.

(5.30.) DR. TANNER: I do not think the people will make these payments, nor do I see why they should. If I have the opportunity, I shall tell the ratepayers as much. Let the Chief Secretary be responsible for the loss that will fall upon the British taxpayers. We have offered every remonstrance, we have done our duty, and may be content to let the English people—

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member is rather wandering from the Amendment, which is, that Westport to Mulraney stand part of the Schedule.

DR. TANNER: I had finished, Sir; I was about to add that we may accept the Bill, for we have done our duty to our constituents.

(5.32.) MR. LABOUCHERE: The hon. Member has the satisfaction of thinking he has done his duty to his constituents, but there is a duty also incumbent upon us to English taxpayers. There has been a remarkable expression of Irish opinion, and the reason why I oppose the Bill—

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member must not go into his reasons for opposing the Bill. The Question is that Westport to Mulraney stand part of the Schedule.

(5.34.) MR. LABOUCHERE: I want it to be clearly understood what our position is. The Chief Secretary has stated with pleasing candour—"Unpleasing"—no, pleasing candour—

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member must not go back upon past discussion. The Question is that Westport to Mulraney stand part of the Schedule.

MR. LABOUCHERE: Really, I think we might have some information about these places, and perhaps the right hon. Gentleman will tell us something about them.

(5.34.) MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I believe information has already been given, but we are ready to answer any specific question.

(5.35.) MR. CONYBEARE made some remarks, which were inaudible.

(5.36.) DR. TANNER: In relation to this particular point—this Mulraney line—I should like to have some assurance from the right hon. Gentleman opposite that the Government will consider the expediency of continuing the line, so that it may serve the Island of Achill—one of the most congested districts on the West Coast, and where the population, unlike the population in other districts, is increasing. The men eke out their existence by harvesting in England, and in harvest time they emigrate in large numbers. The line would be most useful, and its continuation to Achill Sound would lead to other works, which would tend to encourage the industry of the district. I hope the right hon. Gentleman will encourage the hope that the line may be continued.

(5.38.) MR. MURPHY spoke, but was inaudible.

(5.39.) MR. JACKSON: In answer to the hon. Member for Cork I can only say that I am inclined to think that at some future time it may be possible to carry on the line to Achill.

Question put, and negatived.

Schedules agreed to.

(5.48.) Bill reported without Amendment.

(5.48.) COLONEL NOLAN: I think the House will agree that we might finish the Bill now, and read it a third time. [*Cries of "No."*]

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read the third time."

(5.49.) MR. J. O'CONNOR: I would support the suggestion of my hon. and gallant Friend, and I would remind my hon. Friends who have carried on a useful Debate for some time that this is not a Coercion Bill, although it is promoted by the Government, and that it is designed for the benefit of the most distressed districts in Ireland.

(5.50.) SIR W. LAWSON: Is it not sufficient to prevent the Third Reading being taken now if objection is made?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: It is not a case in which a single objection is sufficient to prevent the Motion. If there is a general desire the Third Reading may be taken.

(5.50.) MR. CONYBEARE: Considering the opposition the Bill has met with I think there is obviously an objection to the unusual course of taking the two stages of the Bill at one sitting.

(5.50.) MR. ROWNTREE (Scarborough): As the Bill makes no demand upon the English taxpayer, and the details concern Ireland solely, I trust English Members will not interpose, but that the wish of the bulk of the Irish Members will be accepted.

(5.50.) SIR W. LAWSON: When reference is made to the general opinion, I may observe that in the last Division the minority was considerable. I think it is a most extraordinary step, after the Bill has been so hotly opposed, to propose to take the Third Reading at once.

(5.51.) MR. T. M. HEALY: Our Amendments were refused by the Government on the ground that the Bill must be lost because two stages of the Bill could not be taken on the same day. To read the Bill a third time now will show the insincerity of the Government excuse. So far as I am concerned, I offer no objection to the Third Reading.

(5.51.) DR. TANNER: If the British taxpayer is to be robbed, it need not be done violently; let matters proceed decently and in order. Undoubtedly there is a strong objection to the Third Reading stage being taken now.

(5.52.) SIR W. LAWSON: Can we put our objection into the form of proposing an Amendment to the Motion for the Third Reading?

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: An hon. Member, if so inclined, can move as Amendment.

SIR W. LAWSON: I will do so.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: The hon. Baronet has already spoken to the Motion.



(5.55.) The House divided:—Ayes 73; Noes 12.—(Div. List, No. 261.)

Bill passed.

# COMPANIES WINDING-UP BILL.

(No. 411.)

Order read for consideration of Lords Amendments.

(6.8.) MR. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne): On a point of order, Sir, is it competent to bring this Bill on now if it is objected to?

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Yes.

\*MR. KIMBER (Wandsworth): Before the Amendments are taken I wish to draw attention to a point arising on Clause 14, and to ask whether it will be possible to move an Amendment with a view of getting rid of a blot in the Bill as it left the House of Commons. Clause 14 directs that in the case of the winding-up of companies certain Returns shall be made. One of these Returns is to show the amount of dividends unclaimed and assets undistributed, and that money is to be swept into the Bank of England to the account of the Board of Trade. Now, I feel satisfied the House never intended that that should be done—

THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE (Sir M. HICKS BEACH, Bristol, W.): I rise to order. This is a point which, as the hon. Member knows perfectly well, comes up when Clause 14 is being discussed, and then I shall be prepared to state my views. But I object to a discussion being raised on it now.

\*MR. KIMBER: I submit that on the Motion that the Lords Amendments be considered I am entitled to ask for your opinion on a point which I have not yet been able to state. I was about to describe the sub-section, which directs that the money shall be paid into the Bank of England to the Board of Trade account. An Amendment which has been introduced has altered that to the Companies Liquidation account, and I want to ask whether it is competent for me to move another Amendment in that sub-section, not of those words, but of other words?

SIR M. HICKS BEACH: On a point of order, I should like to say that the Amendment which the hon. Member desires to make has no reference whatever to these words.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: What is the Amendment?

\*MR. KIMBER: I ask leave to propose the insertion of words to the effect that when it appears from any such statement or otherwise that the liquidator of a company has in hand any such unclaimed or undistributed assets, the payment thereof, as directed, into the Bank of England shall be limited to cases in which the companies are wound up by order of the Court.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: The hon. Member cannot go back on the original work of this House. No Amendment can be made now unless it relates to an Amendment made by the Lords.

Lords Amendments considered; several agreed to; one disagreed to.

Committee appointed, "To draw up Reasons to be assigned to the Lords for disagreeing to one of the Amendments:"—To withdraw immediately.

Ordered, That Three be the Quorum.

## COMPANIES (MEMORANDUM OF ASSOCIATION) BILL.—(No. 407.)

Lords Amendments considered, and agreed to.

## ALLOTMENTS ACT (1887) AMENDMENT BILL.—(No. 166.)

Lords Amendments considered.

\*(6.15.) MR. COBB (Warwick, S.E., Rugby): When this Bill was in Committee of this House, the Government agreed that the rooms of schools receiving a Government grant might be used for the purpose of holding public meetings in connection with the allotments question. That was considered to be a very important concession. It was held to be a privilege which would be valued very highly by villagers. It is a privilege, or rather a right, for which we have been striving for many years. But when this Bill came before the House of Lords, the Prime Minister thought it right to modify it by saying that the schools should be used for such meetings only by the consent of any two managers. What does that mean? With regard to a Board school it does not much matter, as the use of such a school is not so likely to be refused, but in the case of voluntary schools the Go-

vernment concession is deprived of the whole of its value. As everyone knows, practically the manager of such a school is the incumbent of the parish, and had incumbents of parishes been in favour of allowing the schools to be used for meetings on allotments questions it would not have been necessary to insert this clause in the Bill at all. But the Secretary to the Local Government Board knows perfectly well that there are numbers of instances in which permission to use voluntary schoolrooms for public meetings has been refused by the incumbent. We were very much pleased when the Government re-committed this Bill for the purpose of putting in this clause. The right hon. Gentleman will remember that we willingly consented to allow this Bill to be read a third time without debate, in consequence of the concessions that had been made. I will now ask the right hon. Gentleman not to agree to this Amendment. We want the villagers to have the right to the use of these schoolrooms by Act of Parliament, and not that they should have to ask the incumbent and others for it as a privilege. I beg to move that the House disagree with the Lords in the Amendment to line 32.

Page 3, line 32, after "or," insert "with the consent of any two managers," the first Amendment.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House doth agree with the Lords in the said Amendment."

\*(6.20.) THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. RITCHIE, Tower Hamlets, St. George's): The hon. Gentleman is quite right in his view that the action of the hon. Members interested in this Bill on the Third Reading was greatly influenced by the concessions which the Government had made. But I should very much like to draw attention to the position at that time. The hon. Gentleman will remember that the point then raised was the allowing the meetings of Committees of the County Councils to be held in the schoolrooms, and then suddenly the question of allowing the parishioners to hold meetings on the question of adopting the Allotments Act was raised. The

*Mr. Cobb*

point was but briefly discussed, and that will account for the somewhat imperfect wording of the clause. It is obvious that some arrangement must be made in order to prevent the ordinary work of the schools being interfered with by these meetings, and, therefore, it is considered that the consent of two of the managers should be given before any meeting was held. The hon. Gentleman must admit that the principle for which he has been contending has been recognised by giving a right of appeal against refusal to a popularly elected body having special charge of the allotments question. My own view is that no difficulty at all is likely to arise; that the managers will understand from the words of the section that it is their duty to grant the use of the schoolroom, and that they will do so without demur. We are extremely desirous that there should be a friendly spirit between the managers of schools and those who desire to hold the meeting, and we think that friction would be created if the consent of the managers were not asked. Surely, under these circumstances, the hon. Member will rest satisfied that he has really attained his object. If this is not assented to, the Bill will run great danger of not passing into law, and I am sure the hon. Member would not desire that.

(6.24.) MR. SEALE-HAYNE (Devon, Ashburton): I, too, regret that the Government did not see their way to carry out the understanding with regard to this Bill. But I was greatly astonished to hear that this Amendment was introduced by the Prime Minister, and I trust my hon. Friend will divide against it. We have been told that there is a right of appeal to the Allotments Committee of the County Council against any refusal to grant the use of the schoolroom, but of what good will that appeal be to the half-dozen or ten labourers who require the allotments? The only place in which these men could meet is the parish school, and yet in order to get the use of the building it might be necessary for them to travel many miles to the county town simply to appeal against the decision of the local landlord or parson refusing them the use of the school. It is an absurdity to tell poor men to travel thirty or

forty miles to do that. I regret that the right hon. Gentleman cannot see his way to strike out this Amendment. He says that by doing so the Bill would be endangered. I, for one, accepted the Bill from the Government as evidencing their good intentions, but as it has now been altered it is worth nothing for all practical purposes, as those who are conversant with the allotments question know perfectly well.

\*(6.28.) CAPTAIN VERNEY: I am sorry that the President of the Local Government Board runs away from the distinct pledge he gave us when the Bill was under consideration in Committee of this House. He says that the modification of the clause will, in his opinion, create no friction, and that the managers will not object to the use of voluntary schools for these meetings. Why, Sir, he has no idea of the bitterness which exists in villages on the allotments question. The hon. Member for Rugby has told the House that the manager is usually the clergyman of the parish, and we know that the most bitter opponents of all movements for the improvement of the working classes are to be found among the clergy. I know nothing to equal the tyranny of some of these men. Again, I would like to point out that the Bill contains no definition of the word "manager." Anybody may be a manager, and the clergyman may, if he chooses, appoint 40 or 50 managers. If a clergyman likes he can appoint one or two managers, his own wife and daughter, or else none at all, as there is no definition of what a manager is. If a clergyman wants to prevent people having the use of the school he will cancel, if necessary, the appointments of all his managers, and put in some strong Tory who will assist him in carrying out his views. I am satisfied that the clergy will move heaven and earth in some parishes to prevent the poor men having the use of the school for any public purpose. The matter is one of some importance. As it is, under the Act of Parliament anybody may be a manager. In the district where I reside there is an Association of School Managers, and I wanted to join it. But I was not a manager; however I was made a manager in order to qualify

me to join the Association, although I have never entered the school since my appointment.

(6.33.) The House divided:—Ayes 55; Noes 23.—(Div. List, No. 262.)

\*(6.40.) CAPTAIN VERNEY: I now move, after the words "manager of the school," to insert the words "resident in a parish." I have already explained the difficulty we may be involved in, and if my words were inserted I think they will only carry out the spirit of the Lords Amendment.

Line 37, after "meeting," insert—

"Nothing in this section shall give any right to hold a public meeting in a schoolroom (a) unless not less than six days before the meeting a notice of the intention to hold the meeting on the day and at the time specified in the notice, signed by the persons calling the meeting, being not less than six in number, and being persons qualified to make a representation to the Local Authority under the principal Act, has been given, if the school is under a School Board, to the clerk of the Board, and in any other case to one of the managers of the school; nor (b) if the use of the schoolroom on the said day and at the said time has previously to the receipt of the notice of the meeting been granted for some other purpose; but in that case the clerk or manager, or someone on his behalf, shall forthwith, after the receipt of the notice, inform in writing one of the persons signing it that the use of the school has been so granted for some other purpose, and name some other day on which the schoolroom can be used for the meeting.

"If the persons calling the meeting fail to obtain the use of a schoolroom under this section, they may appeal to the Standing Committee under this Act, and the Committee shall forthwith decide the appeal, and make such order respecting the use of the room as seems just."

the next Amendment, read a second time.

Amendment proposed, in line 9 of the Lords Amendment, after the word "school," to insert the words "resident in the parish."—(Captain Verney.)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

\*MR. RITCHIE: I do not think it would be desirable to limit the appointment of a manager to persons resident in the parish, and I hope the hon. Member will not think fit to press this Amendment.

\*CAPTAIN VERNEY: I do not want to press it.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

\*CAPTAIN VERNEY: I beg to move the addition of these words to the Lords Amendment, "a Copy of such Order shall be sent to the Education Department." If the persons calling a meeting fail to obtain the use of a schoolroom they would apply to the Standing Committee, who would make such Order as to them might seem just, and I think the Educational Department ought to be informed whether or no they have granted the use of a schoolroom.

Amendment proposed, at the end of the Lords Amendment, to add the words "a copy of such order shall be sent to the Education Department."—(*Captain Verney.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

THE VICE PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL (Sir W. HART DYKE, Kent, Dartford): I think the hon. Member will see that it will be impossible for the Education Department to undertake a duty of this kind, which is entirely outside the scope of that Department.

Motion, by leave, withdrawn.

Lords Amendments agreed to.

#### SOLICITORS (MAGISTRACY) BILL. (No. 99.)

Order for Committee read, and discharged.

Bill withdrawn.

#### SETTLED LAND BILL [LORDS]. (No. 406.) COMMITTEE.

Bill considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clause 2.

\*MR. SYDNEY GEDGE (Stockport): I beg to move that the Chairman report Progress. This Bill contains powers which ought not to be exercised, and under which you might even sell the mansion. But I will ask the opinion of the Attorney General.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Mr. Sydney Gedge.*)

\*THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir R. WEBSTER, Isle of Wight): I think it very desirable that this Bill should be passed, and I think also that if my hon. Friend were to look at this clause he would find it would only enable the mansion house to be sold under certain limitations.

\*CAPTAIN VERNEY: I should say that it would be specially important to retain the power of selling the mansion, because that would seem to be an economical way of providing Lunatic Asylums in country districts.

\*MR. SYDNEY GEDGE: I ask leave to withdraw my Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Bill reported without Amendment; read the third time, and passed, without Amendment.

#### RAILWAY SHAREHOLDERS (LICENSING SESSIONS) BILL.—(No. 72.)

Order for Second Reading read, and discharged.

Bill withdrawn.

#### COMPANIES (WINDING-UP) BILL. (No. 411.)

Reason for disagreeing to one of the Amendments made by the Lords to which this House hath disagreed, reported, and agreed to.

To be communicated to the Lords.

#### KITCHEN AND REFRESHMENT COMMITTEE.

Leave given to the Select Committee on the Kitchen and Refreshment Rooms (House of Commons) to report their Observations to the House.—(*Mr. Sidney Herbert.*)

Report, with Observations, brought up, and read; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. (No. 390.)

It being after One of the clock, Mr. Deputy Speaker adjourned the House without Question put.

House adjourned at Seven o'clock in the morning.

## HOUSE OF LORDS,

*Friday, 15th August, 1890.*

## SETTLED LAND BILL.—(No. 185.)

Returned from the Commons agreed to.

CENSUS (ENGLAND AND WALES) BILL.  
(No. 226.)

Returned from the Commons with the Amendment agreed to.

ALLOTMENTS ACT (1887) AMENDMENT  
BILL.—(No. 243.)COMPANIES (MEMORANDUM OF  
ASSOCIATION) BILL.—(No. 110.)  
HOUSING OF THE WORKING CLASSES  
BILL.—(No. 253.)LOCAL TAXATION (CUSTOMS AND EX-  
CISE) DUTIES BILL.—(No. 261.)POLICE (SCOTLAND) BILL.—(No. 263.)  
PUBLIC LIBRARIES ACTS AMEND-  
MENT BILL.—(No. 205.)

Returned from the Commons with the Amendments agreed to.

STATUTE LAW REVISION (No. 2.) BILL.  
(No. 230.)

Returned from the Commons agreed to, with Amendments: The said Amendments considered (on Motion), and agreed to.

LONDON STREETS (REMOVAL OF  
GATES) BILL.

Returned from the Commons with the Amendments agreed to, with an Amendment: The said Amendment considered and agreed to.

COMPANIES (WINDING-UP) BILL.  
(No. 229.)

Returned from the Commons with several of the Amendments agreed to, and one disagreed to, together with a reason for such disagreement.

## DUBLIN CORPORATION BILL.

Returned from the Commons with the Amendment made by the Lords to the Consequential Amendments made by the Commons agreed to.

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CUSTOMS CONSOLIDATION ACT, 1876,  
AMENDMENT BILL.—(No. 152.)PARLIAMENTARY REGISTRATION EX-  
PENSES (IRELAND) BILL.—(No. 249.)

Returned from the Commons with the Amendment to each Bill agreed to.

PUBLIC HEALTH ACTS AMENDMENT  
BILL.—(No. 260.)TENANTS' COMPENSATION BILL.  
(No. 254.)

Returned from the Commons with the Amendments agreed to.

## BILLS OF SALE BILL.—(No. 268.)

Returned from the Commons with the Amendment to which the Lords have disagreed not insisted on, and with the Amendments made by the Lords to the Amendments made by the Commons agreed to.

## HOP INDUSTRY.—(No. 270.)

## TOWN HOLDINGS.—(No. 271.)

INFANT LIFE PROTECTION BILL.  
(No. 272.)

Reports, &amp;c., from the Select Committees of the House of Commons: Communicated (pursuant to messages of Monday last), and to be printed.

## RAILWAYS (IRELAND) BILL.

Brought from the Commons, and read 1<sup>a</sup>.

\*THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Lord KNUTSFORD): I have to ask your Lordships, as the Standing Orders have been suspended, to pass this measure through its different stages. It is a Bill that is very simple in its character, but at the same time is very important, inasmuch as there is considerable fear lest the potato blight should be more extensive than was expected, and this trouble would, of course, materially affect several of the poorer districts. If the construction of the four railways that are contemplated by this Bill is commenced, it is clear that very great assistance will be given in the way of providing work for the poorer people in those districts. The Bill was read a third time in the House of Commons this morning at 7 o'clock without any Amendment; and the object of it is to enable certain railways

which are mentioned in the first Schedule, some of which, as I have informed your Lordships, are in districts which are likely to be affected by this serious blight, to be commenced at periods much earlier than would be possible if the Spring Assizes had to be waited for to pass the necessary steps and presentments for the lines. This object is effected by shortening and accelerating the times for taking the preliminary steps required by the Tramways Act, and by enabling the Grand Juries to be summoned specially to consider these presentments between the 20th November and the 20th December, instead of at the Assizes in March. It is very important, as I have said, that this Bill should pass rapidly through your Lordships' House. I move that the Bill be read a second time.

(Standing Orders Nos. XXXIX. and XLV. having been dispensed with), moved that the Bill be now read 2<sup>a</sup> (The Lord Knutsford); agreed to; Bill read 2<sup>a</sup> accordingly; Committee negatived; Bill read 3<sup>a</sup>, and passed.

COMPANIES (WINDING-UP) BILL.  
(No. 229.)

Commons reason for disagreeing to one of the Lords Amendments considered (on Motion): The Amendment to which the Commons have disagreed not insisted on.

House adjourned during pleasure.

House resumed.

The Lord Foxford (*E. Limerick*) chosen Speaker.

DIRECTORS' LIABILITY BILL.—(No. 257.)  
METROPOLIS MANAGEMENT ACTS  
AMENDMENT BILL.—(No. 252.)

Returned from the Commons with the Amendments agreed to, with Amendments: The said Amendments considered (on Motion) and agreed to.

House adjourned at ten minutes past Eleven o'clock, to Monday next, half past Eleven o'clock.

*Lord Knutsford*

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

*Friday, 15th August, 1890.*

CUSTOMS DEPARTMENT (CASES OF  
MESSRS. HEATH AND E. SMITH).

Return ordered—

"Correspondence between the Treasury and the Board of Customs relating to the cases of Messrs. Heath and E. Smith, two officers of the Customs Department."—(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.*)

Return presented accordingly; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 408.]

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE (DAYS  
OCCUPIED BY GOVERNMENT AND BY  
PRIVATE MEMBERS).

Return ordered—

"Showing, with reference to Session 1889 (1) the number of Sittings on Tuesdays, Wednesdays, and Fridays at which Government Business had precedence; (2) the number of Sittings on Tuesdays, Wednesdays, and Fridays at which Private Members had precedence; (3) the number of other Sittings at which, in accordance with the Standing Orders of the House, Government Business had precedence; (4) the number of Sittings at which Government Business had precedence under a Special Order of the House; (5) the number of Saturday Sittings; (6) the total number of Sittings at which Government Business had precedence; (7) the total number of days at which the House sat; (8) the total number of Motions for Adjournment of the House on a matter of urgent public importance; and (9) the number of Days in Supply.

"And similar Return for Session 1890."  
—(*Mr. Jackson.*)

Return presented accordingly; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 409.]

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

TENANTS' COMPENSATION BILL.  
(No. 259.)

Lords Amendments to be considered forthwith; considered, and agreed to.

CUSTOMS CONSOLIDATION ACT (1876)  
AMENDMENT BILL.—(No. 247.)

Lords Amendment to be considered forthwith; considered, and agreed to.

**PUBLIC HEALTH ACTS AMENDMENT  
BILL.—(No. 290.)**

Lords Amendments to be considered forthwith; considered, and agreed to.

**PARLIAMENTARY REGISTRATION  
EXPENSES (IRELAND) BILL.—(No. 401.)**

Lords Amendment to be considered forthwith; considered, and agreed to.

**QUESTIONS.**

**IRELAND—LICENCES.**

**MR. PATRICK O'BRIEN** (Monaghan, N.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether the Lord Lieutenant made any inquiry, and, if so, of whom, to satisfy himself that Charles Mitchell, of Shantonagh, County Monaghan, was a person of good character, before he caused the Board of Inland Revenue to grant Mitchell a temporary licence; whether it was represented to the Lord Lieutenant that any convictions were recorded against Mitchell in the Petty Sessions or Quarter Sessions Courts of County Monaghan; and, if so, what were the offences; and whether these convictions, if any, were before the Lord Lieutenant when he recommended Mitchell as a proper person to conduct a licensed house?

**THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND** (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.): The Lord Lieutenant had before him a Report from the Local Constabulary officer that Mr. Mitchell's character was good and his premises suitable. No mention was made of convictions having been recorded against the applicant, nor can it be found, as the result of inquiries now made, that any such convictions exist with the exception of one which occurred nine years ago. The conviction was for poaching. A single conviction of the nature mentioned, and occurring so many years ago, would not, in the opinion of the Lord Lieutenant, disqualify a person from holding licensed premises.

**INSTRUCTION IN AGRICULTURE.**

**MR. PATRICK O'BRIEN**: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he will cause the principles of agriculture to be placed on the same footing as other

science subjects in Irish National Schools in which classes are taught in connection with the Science and Art Department?

**MR. A. J. BALFOUR**: The Commissioners of National Education report that the existing system in no respect whatever interferes with the giving of efficient agricultural instruction to pupils of national schools. It has been adopted as the only effectual means of preventing duplicate payments for agriculture. It was fully considered at the time, as pointed out in reply to a question put by the hon. Member on June 3, 1889, and the Commissioners are clearly of opinion that no alteration should be made.

**THE CROSSMAGLEN CONSPIRACY, 1881**

**MR. BLANE** (Armagh, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland if the Government would consider the case of the six men in penal servitude for an alleged conspiracy at Crossmaglen, County Armagh, in 1881; and if the Government would have regard to the fact that no person or property was injured by those prisoners, and consent to their release after eight and a half years' imprisonment?

**MR. A. J. BALFOUR**: The cases of the convicts referred to have been before the Viceroys of successive Governments on Memorials submitted in their behalf, and the decisions come to have been that the law must take its course. There is no ground to reverse those decisions.

**MR. BLANE**: Are not the Government satisfied with eight and a half years' imprisonment?

**MR. A. J. BALFOUR**: It is not a question for the Government, but for the Courts of Law. I am not acquainted with the circumstances which attended the trial.

**MR. BLANE**: Will the Government review the case?

**MR. A. J. BALFOUR**: The case has been reviewed over and over again.

**MR. BLANE**: When was the last occasion?

**MR. A. J. BALFOUR**: If the hon. Member desires I will inquire.

**PRIMARY TRAINING COLLEGES.**

**MR. SEXTON** (Belfast, W.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether, in equalising the position of the Irish primary training



colleges, account will be taken, in the case of the non-official colleges, of the special annual charges arising against their credit funds, owing to the disadvantage resulting from inequality of treatment up to the present time?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: As the hon. Gentleman is aware, I have been long anxious to put all the training colleges on an equality, but I have always been reluctant to adopt any scheme for carrying out this object which would, as one of its incidental results, produce injustice. I think I may say that I have now hit upon a plan by which absolute equality of treatment will be obtained for all the training colleges, including the college in Marlborough Street, Dublin. In that scheme the only loss will fall upon the Exchequer, and to this my right hon. Friend has consented. The Chancellor of the Exchequer has given me permission to state this as his broad policy.

MR. SEXTON: Will the right hon. Gentleman say how soon the decision of the Government will be made public?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Probably in the course of the autumn or in the early part of the year. It will be laid before Parliament, but it will be found that the result is as I have stated.

#### ROMAN CATHOLIC RECRUITS.

MR. PATRICK O'BRIEN: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether there is any military rule to exclude Roman Catholic recruits from service in the Royal Irish Rifles; whether Captain Tobin, while acting as Recruiting Officer of the 83rd Regimental District, Belfast, from 1886 to the present year, introduced and carried out a system, not previously provided for in the printed headings of the recruiting books, of asking the religion of the recruits; whether it was the custom of Captain Tobin to reject Catholics if they wished to join their territorial regiment, the Royal Irish Rifles; whether he will cause an examination to be made by an independent person of Army Recruiting Book, No. 46, in use during the period from 1886 to 1890, while Captain Tobin was in command, and state the number of Catholic recruits accepted for the Royal Irish Rifles during that period, and also the number rejected; and whether he will instruct the officer now in charge of this department

*Mr. Sexton*

in Belfast to discontinue the practice if it is found to exist.

\*THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (MR. E. STANHOPE, Lincolnshire, Horncastle): Every recruit has to state his religious denomination for insertion in his attestation paper. The recruiting officer at Belfast, Captain Tobin, made no alteration in the recruiting books; nor did he reject any recruit on account of his religion. While he was recruiting officer for the Royal Irish Rifles he enlisted for that regiment 206 Roman Catholic recruits, and rejected three. Recruits are now, and have been in the past, received irrespective of their religion; but some are refused if they cannot produce good evidence of character.

#### LAND COMMISSION—BANTRY.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether in the case of "Bennett v. Beamish," No. 10, in Chief Land Commission Bantry List, 29th July, the tenant was informed, in reply to his application of 24th June, that a Court Valuer would be directed to report as to the appeal rent; did the High Chief Commission confirm the Sub-Commission rent on the next day after the hearing; was the Valuer's Report before them; and, if not, can he explain why; and, if it was not obtained, has Mr. Bennett any remedy during the next 15 years?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The Land Commissioners report that the case referred to was a cross-appeal. The tenant was informed that a Court Valuer would be sent to inspect the holding and report thereon; but owing to the illness of the gentleman who was inspecting in the district it was not possible to have the inspection made before the sitting of the Appeal Court. At the hearing of the case the Court, after hearing the witnesses for both sides, confirmed the order of the Sub-Commission, which had reduced the rent of the holding from £145 to £75. There is no appeal from a decision of the Appeal Court upon a question of value.

MR. T. M. HEALY: Is it reasonable that, as a promise was made to the tenant that a Court Valuer would be sent, the rent should be fixed without waiting for the Valuer's Report?

**MR. A. J. BALFOUR:** I do not gather that a promise was given to the tenant, nor is the Court bound to base its determination on the Report of the Valuer.

#### LAND COMMISSION—KERRY.

**MR. EDWARD HARRINGTON** (Kerry, W.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland when the next sittings of the Sub-Commission of the Land Court will be held in Kerry; when will a sitting be held in Kenmare; and how long is it since the Sub-Commissioners have held a sitting in Kenmare?

**MR. A. J. BALFOUR:** The Land Commissioners inform me that the hearing of two lists of cases from the County of Kerry will be commenced on the 7th of October next—one at Tralee and the other at Kenmare. A Sub-Commission last sat to dispose of cases from Kenmare Union at the end of the year 1888.

#### THE DRAINAGE OF THE UPPER INNY.

**MR. TUIE** (Westmeath, N.): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether he is aware that the extensive drainage works carried out on the Upper Inny, County Westmeath, about 17 years ago, at a cost of over £55,000, are to a great extent useless, owing to the silting up of the Lower Inny, causing back water to inundate the eastern end of the Upper Inny District for a considerable portion of the year, and that from the want of a proper outfall through the Lower Inny the area of land flooded yearly has largely increased since the completion of the works; have any representations on the subject been made to the Board of Works by the Upper Inny Drainage Board, with the view of having the obstructions on the Lower Inny removed; and, if not, is it in the power of the Board of Works to take independent action in the matter; whether, in the meantime, he will take any steps to relieve the occupiers in the inundated districts from the Drainage Tax, from which they derive no benefit whatever, but who, on the contrary, suffer heavily by the overflow of the river at that point; and can he state what proportion of the cess levied for the said works is paid by the occupier?

**THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY** (Mr. JACKSON, Leeds, N.): I am informed by the Board of Works that no complaint has been made to them by the Upper Inny Drainage Board. It is not in the power of the Board of Works to take independent action in the matter, but if the works are not properly maintained they have power to interfere. They have no power to relieve the occupiers from the Drainage Tax. No part of the cess levied for the works is paid by the occupiers, it being all paid by the owners, but the Board are unable to say what amount of increased rent, if any, the occupiers pay to the owners for the benefit their lands derive from the works.

#### COLONEL GUINNESS.

**MR. PATRICK O'BRIEN:** I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether he is aware that Colonel C. W. R. Guinness, now commanding the 83rd Regimental District, was in receipt of money allowance, and, if so, how much, in lieu of lodgings from February to October 1889, while at the same time living in the Field Officers' Quarters, Fairfield House, Belfast; and whether Colonel Guinness's conduct has been sanctioned by him; and, if not, will he take any, and what, action in the matter?

**MR. E. STANHOPE:** I believe that there were no public quarters available, and, therefore, Colonel Guinness drew lodging allowance, but by private arrangement he occupied quarters assigned to another officer, and handed over to him the lodging allowance. This exchange had not been sanctioned. An explanation has, therefore, been called for.

#### THE DUBLIN POST OFFICE.

**MR. PATRICK O'BRIEN:** I beg to ask the Postmaster General whether a Circular was issued on the 13th of July last, fixing the scale of pay for telegraph learners in the General Post Office, Dublin, who had passed successful examinations since July, 1889, at 12s., 14s., and 18s. per week, with annual increment of 2s. per week; whether, during the present month, and since the passing of the Post Office Estimates, a fresh notice has been issued which states that the initial salaries are to be

hereafter annual, thus, first year 12s., second year 14s., and third year 18s. per week respectively; whether the effect of this scale will be to alter the pay of learners under the old scale from 13s., 16s., and 17s. 6d. per week respectively for first, second, and third year's service to 12s., 14s., and 18s.; and whether he will consider the advisability of granting to the telegraph learners who entered the Service since July, 1889, the more favourable terms of the scheme of 13th July, 1890?

A LORD OF THE TREASURY (Sir H. MAXWELL, Wigton): The scale introduced on July 11 last fixed the wages of second-class telegraphists at 12s. a week for the first year, at 14s. a week for the second year, and at 18s. a week for the third year, thereafter rising by 2s. annually to 40s. a week. This scale is, on the whole, better, far better, than the one it superseded. In connection with the old scale, however, there was an arrangement under which a learner, if fully qualified, could receive 16s. on appointment, and it is being considered whether a similar advantage should not be given to those learners whose employment began before the new scale was introduced.

MR. SEXTON: Is the hon. Gentleman aware that the new scale is considered to be much worse than the old one?

SIR H. MAXWELL: I believe it is considered to be very much better.

#### CASE OF JAMES DEVITT.

MR. PATRICK O'BRIEN: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether his attention has been directed to the case of James Devitt, who served as a non-commissioned officer 15½ years, mostly in the East Indies, in the 50th Regiment, from which he was discharged for debility, with good conduct certificates; whether he is aware that the only pension given Devitt was 6d. per day for three years, now expired; and whether, considering his long service and good conduct, and the fact that he lost his health in the Service, and is now 80 years of age, he will grant him a pension sufficient to enable him to live without becoming chargeable on the poor rates of the Clones Union, County Monaghan?

\*MR. E. STANHOPE: Inquiry is being made as to the circumstances of Devitt's discharge, but his conduct has been such

*Mr. Patrick O'Brien*

as to render it doubtful whether anything can be done in the case.

In answer to a further question by Mr. P. O'BRIEN,

\*MR. E. STANHOPE said: I think it would be unfair to an old soldier to tell the public what the circumstances are connected with his conduct.

#### GUN LICENCE.

MR. COX (Clare, E.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether, at the recent Petty Sessions at Tulla, County Clare, a farmer named Quinlivan applied for a licence to carry a gun; whether the presiding Magistrate, Captain Keogh, R.M., stated that he felt certain Quinlivan did not want the gun for illegal purposes, but, at the same time, he would not grant the licence to Mr. Quinlivan, nor would he grant a similar licence in future to any applicant who was not willing to take an oath of allegiance to Her Majesty the Queen; and, if so, whether a Magistrate has any legal right to impose such a test?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The Magistrate in course of conversation, intending to satisfy himself as to Quinlivan's fitness to hold a licence, asked him if he was willing to take the oath. He laid down no principle such as that suggested in the question.

MR. COX: Was it from Captain Keogh that the right hon. Gentleman got his information?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Yes.

#### THE POTATO BLIGHT.

MR. DALTON (Donegal, W.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that the potato blight has destroyed nearly all the potato crops in the western part of Donegal; and whether, in view of the certain famine that must ensue during the coming winter, he will make provision in the Railway Bill he has introduced into the House for the employment of the people on the making of railways?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The Reports so far received do not bear out the suggestion that the blight has destroyed nearly all the potato crop in the western part of Donegal.

**MR. A. O'CONNOR** (Donegal, E.): Have not similar representations been made in reference to the existence of the blight at Gweedore for the last nine months?

**DR. TANNER** (Cork Co., Mid): And also in reference to the south-west of Cork.

**MR. E. HARRINGTON**: Will the right hon. Gentleman also extend his inquiries to the coast of Kerry?

**MR. SEXTON**: May I ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether the Government propose to take any special action upon the numerous resolutions of the Boards of Guardians in the South and West of Ireland, declaring that there is danger of famine, owing to the almost total failure of the potato crop in many extensive districts; what precautionary measures are being adopted by the Irish Local Government Board; what steps are to be taken in case of special need arising during the Parliamentary Recess; and whether, in this event, the Government will be ready with such proposals as may be needful at the opening of next Session?

**MR. A. J. BALFOUR**: I am still of opinion that the House would be well advised in taking precautions against a possible calamity, but what I object to is the assumption that what may happen will necessarily happen. It is impossible, as yet, to form any conclusion. Some hours' sunshine may produce an improvement, and some hours' additional rain may be very injurious. There is very serious danger in some places and less serious danger in others. There is no ground for believing that the resources of the Poor Law will be insufficient to meet any calls that may be made upon them.

**MR. SEXTON**: Statements have been made that in several districts in the South of Ireland the crop is a total failure.

**MR. E. HARRINGTON**: It is now the 15th of August. May I ask whether, at this date, it cannot be decided whether the crop will be a failure or the reverse?

**MR. LEA** (Londonderry, S.): May I ask whether, at the time of the famine 10 years ago, it was not predicted that in 10 years' time there would be a serious potato famine, in consequence of the use

of the same seed over and over again; and whether the right hon. Gentleman cannot take some steps to provide for a fresh supply of seed potatoes?

**MR. A. J. BALFOUR**: I am very much alive to the fact that constant use of the same seed does tend to produce failure of the crop, and, as hon. Gentlemen are aware, I have brought in a measure dealing with the matter in the congested districts. I am very glad that I have tried an experiment very nearly similar in certain portions of the coast of Donegal. I supplied seed potatoes at cost price, but I am sorry to say that so many purchasers did not come forward as I had hoped, and the Treasury suffered a loss.

**MR. A. O'CONNOR**: In regard to Gweedore and other parts of Donegal, will the right hon. Gentleman, in the event of the usual means of sustenance totally disappearing, take steps to relax the administration of the Poor Law, so that the people may be relieved without being compelled to break up their homes and go into the workhouse?

**MR. A. J. BALFOUR**: I have before told the House that, in my judgment, a relaxation of the Poor Law would be one of the most serious steps that could be taken.

In answer to Mr. SEXTON,

**MR. A. J. BALFOUR** said: The Local Government Board, with which I am in constant communication on this subject, are clearly of opinion that there is no reason to apprehend that the resources of the ordinary Poor Law will be found insufficient to meet any exceptional distress which may possibly arise from a deficient potato crop. I need not say that I shall carefully watch the progress of events, but I do not the least anticipate that any exceptional proposals will be necessary next Session.

#### DISTRICT INSPECTOR DAGG.

**MR. HENRY CAMPBELL** (Fermanagh, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether District Inspector Dagg, of the Royal Irish Constabulary, Lisnakea, County Fermanagh, in January of this year, being in a state of madness resulting from severe drinking, forced his way into the Ulster Bank in that town, in the absence of the manager, and at

tempted a criminal assault upon the housekeeper, who only succeeded in escaping from him after a severe struggle; that the Inspector thereupon ordered two policemen to "arrest the Bank;" and that they remained in charge of the Bank with closed doors for over two hours, and refused to allow the manager of the Bank or his servant to enter; whether any Report was received from him on this matter; and whether, if the facts are as stated, he will order the removal of this officer from the district of Lisnaskea, or what action will he take?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The Inspector General informs me that no Report of these alleged occurrences have, up to the present time, been received by him. The Divisional Commissioner and the County Inspector of Fermanagh have been directed to proceed to Lisnaskea to investigate the charge.

#### THE OLPHERT ESTATE.

MR. DALTON: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that a licence for a pound at Ballyconnell, on the Olphert Estate, has recently been granted in a place which has none of the qualifications necessary for a pound, and is actually a part of the farmyard of Ballyconnell House, to which there is no access except through Mr. Olphert's private grounds; what necessity there is for a pound in this place, and whether the licence will be withdrawn if it should be found on inquiry that no necessity exists for this pound? I have also to ask the right hon. Gentleman whether his attention has been drawn to a Circular addressed to the Magistrates of the County of Donegal, giving notice that a special Sessions of the Justices of the Peace of the said county, to be held at Lifford on the 11th August instant, for the purpose of considering the necessity of applying to the Lord Lieutenant for an extra force of constabulary, to replace the same number of men of the reserve force at the Royal Constabulary Depot, which, for some time past, has been serving in this county; can he state what is the necessity for taxing this district with extra police, and if he can state how many police stations are now on the Olphert Estate, how many policemen are

*Mr. Henry Campbell*

stationed there, how are they paid, and what does Mr. Olphert receive for barracks and stations? May I further ask the right hon Gentleman if he can state how many licensed pounds are now on the Olphert Estate, who granted the licences, who are the pound keepers, and have they entered into recognisances; and, if so, who are the sureties; whether these places have any of the qualifications necessary for a pound; whether he can state the charges made by the bailiffs for the sheep that are on their way to the pound, or in the pound; how much money has been collected off the district for trespass within the past six months, and to whom does this money go; whether the police are authorised in assisting to drive cattle and sheep to these pounds; and whether he is aware that, on the 11th August, six bailiffs and three policemen made a raid on the waste lands of Glasheroco, and took away 47 sheep from a vacant house in which they were penned, and which were not grazing on the land, or doing any damage whatever, and on their way to the pound also took along some sheep grazing by the roadside?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I must ask the hon. Gentleman to postpone these questions.

#### CAPTAIN RYE.

DR. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether Captain Richard Tonson Rye, of Rye Court, lately a prisoner in Cork Gaol, while undergoing a sentence of hard labour in Cork Gaol, wore the prison clothes; and, if not, what were the grounds of exemption, and if all hard labour prisoners now in Ireland are exempted from wearing prison dress; has Mr. John Kelly, in Clonmel Gaol, been obliged to wear prison dress; and how many prisoners in Ireland, confined under the Criminal Law and Procedure (Ireland) Act, are at present obliged to wear prison clothes?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The General Prisons Board report that both the prisoners named availed themselves of the privilege of wearing their own clothes. Rule 28, which confers this privilege, applies to both hard labour and non-hard labour prisoners. The Board cannot afford a reply to the point in the last paragraph without making

inquiries, but they state that on the 31st of March last there were only two prisoners in custody in the whole of Ireland who availed themselves of the privilege of wearing their own clothes.

#### CASE OF ANDREW REID.

DR. CAMERON (Glasgow, College): I beg to ask the Lord Advocate whether the attention of the Secretary for Scotland has been called to the case of Andrew Reid, of Glasgow, sentenced in February, 1887, to be confined during Her Majesty's pleasure for shooting a policeman whilst labouring under a fit of insanity, and at present confined in Perth Criminal Lunatic Asylum; and whether he will cause inquiry to be instituted as to Reid's present mental condition; and if it be found that for many months past he has been free from any symptom of unsoundness of mind, he will take steps to procure his release?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. P. B. ROBERTSON, Bute): The Secretary for Scotland has had this case more than once under consideration. In the meantime, he does not feel justified in ordering the prisoner's release.

#### THE AMERICAN MAILS.

MR. STAVELEY HILL (Staffordshire, Kingswinford): I beg to ask the Postmaster General whether the United States Postal Authorities have abandoned the practice under which the Homeward mails were entrusted to the most speedy vessels leaving the port of New York; and whether the effect of the non-adherence to this rule has been that the transfer of the mails from the White Star Line steamship *Majestic* to the Inman Line *City of Chicago* has caused delays in the arrival of the mails of three days, and the transfer from the *Britannic* to the *City of Berlin* of one day in the transit?

SIR H. MAXWELL: There is no reason to suppose that the United States Post Office has abandoned the principle of sending the mails to this country by the quickest ships from New York. It is true that on her two earliest voyages the *Majestic* brought only specially addressed correspondence; and on these occasions the *City of Chicago* likewise only brought a portion of the mails, the bulk being brought in

both instances by the German Packet *Aller*. But since the *Majestic* has established her superiority, she has brought the whole of the mails whenever she has left New York. In the case of the *Britannic* also, it was a German steamer, the *Lahn*, that was preferred for the conveyance of the bulk mails; and the correspondence for England was thereby expedited. But the Irish mails sent by the *City of Berlin* would, as it turned out, have gained by being sent by the *Britannic*.

#### TELEGRAPH SERVICE AT ABERAMAN.

MR. DAVID THOMAS (Merthyr Tydvil): I beg to ask the Postmaster General whether he is aware that the Telegraph Service at Aberaman has been discontinued, and that much inconvenience has been caused in the district thereby; and when the service will be resumed?

SIR H. MAXWELL: Owing to the sudden resignation of the Letter Receiver it has been necessary to suspend the telegraph business at Aberaman. No time will be lost in making a new appointment, and the business will then be resumed. Meanwhile, I may say that the head Telegraph Office at Aberdare is not more than about a mile distant.

#### MAJOR ROSS AND SIR LINTORN SIMMONS.

MR. T. M. HEALY: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War if Major Ross, of Bladensburg, is on active service; what regiment does he serve in; and what business was he conducting in Rome with Sir Lintorn Simmons?

\*MR. E. STANHOPE: Major Ross, of Bladensburg, is serving on full pay in the Coldstream Guards. He received leave to go abroad in November, 1889, and, while on leave, served as secretary to Sir Lintorn Simmons's Special Mission to the Vatican.

MR. T. M. HEALY: Under what circumstances did Major Ross get leave, and for how long was the leave? How did it happen that while on leave he managed to get promoted from Captain to Major? Was it for his services at the Vatican?

\*MR. E. STANHOPE: It happened that during the time he was on leave his turn came for promotion.

**Mr. T. M. HEALY:** How long was the leave granted for, and is this the second or the third time that this gentleman, an officer of the Coldstream Guards, has obtained leave and been employed in other matters?

**\*Mr. E. STANHOPE:** If the hon. and learned Gentleman wants to have information of that detailed character, he had better put a question upon the Paper. This is the second occasion, I believe, on which Major Ross has been publicly employed.

In answer to a question by **Mr. T. W. RUSSELL** (Tyrone, S.),

**\*Mr. E. STANHOPE** said: It does not appear to me remarkable that Sir Lintorn Simmons, who is himself a General in the Army, should select as his private secretary a military officer.

**Mr. T. M. HEALY:** Is there any idea under heaven why Major Ross was selected?

**\*Mr. E. STANHOPE:** Because Sir Lintorn Simmons desired to have his services.

#### POSTAGE BETWEEN ENGLAND AND INDIA.

**Mr. HENNIKER HEATON** (Canterbury): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India whether arrangements have been completed with the Treasury and British Post Office for the reduction in postage between England and India; and whether he can state what date has been fixed for the said new postage rates to come into operation?

**THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA** (Sir J. GORST, Chatham): I am sorry to say that the arrangements are not yet complete, and the Secretary of State, therefore, is not yet able to announce the date when the new rates will come into operation.

#### THE LONDON WATER SUPPLY.

**Mr. RAUMANN** (Camberwell, Peckham): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether his attention has been drawn to the evidence of Sir Robert Rawlinson, given before the Committee which is at present inquiring into the water supply of London, to the effect that the drainage of house-boats into the Thames is prejudicial to the water supply of the Metropolis; and whether in the interests of public health he will direct the official repres-

ent of the Board of Trade on the Thames Conservancy Board to urge upon the Conservators the necessity of taking some steps to prevent this nuisance?

**\*THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE** (Sir M. HICKS BEACH, Bristol, W.): No, Sir; my attention has not been called to the evidence referred to, but I will direct a communication to be made to the Thames Conservancy Board upon the subject. I observe, however, that in the last Report of the Conservators, they state that "their officers continue to watch house-boats and steam launches, with a view to the detection of any pollution from those vessels."

#### KOSI BAY.

**SIR GEORGE BADEN-POWELL** (Liverpool, Kirkdale): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies whether the Colonial Office has had brought to its notice any concessions, covering the right to make a railway and harbour at Kosi Bay, other than the concession claimed by the Amatonga Company?

**THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES** (Baron H. de WORMS, Liverpool, East Toxteth): Two such alleged concessions, prior in date to that claimed by the Amatongaland Exploration Company, have been brought to the notice of the Colonial Office.

#### NEWFOUNDLAND FISHERIES.

**SIR GEORGE BADEN-POWELL:** I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether the Newfoundland *modus vivendi* will lapse at the end of the present fishing season; whether, in view of this, Her Majesty's Government have entered into negotiations, or have taken other steps to secure an amicable settlement of the dispute; and whether any reply has yet been made to the proposals of the Representatives of the Newfoundland fishery.



### THE PRESIDENCY OF ST. KITTS-NEVIS.

**MR. LABOUCHERE** (Northampton): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies whether the Secretary of State has received a Petition from the proprietors, merchants, and planters of the Presidency of St. Kitts-Nevis, praying him to disallow the grant of £2,000 for the purchase of a steam launch, which it is alleged is not required; whether he is aware that a grant of £7,000 has been voted by the Council of the Presidency to build hotels; that these two grants were carried in the Council by the votes of the paid official nominees of the Crown, and against the wishes of the inhabitants of the island; that the taxation has lately greatly increased; and that it is money raised by heavy Import Duties on food and on the necessities of life; and whether, in view of the above circumstances, he will disallow the said grants?

**BARON H. DE WORMS**: The answer to the first paragraph of the hon. Member's question is in the affirmative. The Petition was sent to the Secretary of State direct, and has been returned for transmission through the Governor in accordance with the Colonial Regulations, as the Secretary of State cannot deal with it without that officer's Report. The Secretary of State is aware that £1,000 a year for seven years has been voted as a subsidy to encourage the erection of hotels. He has no knowledge of these two grants being passed by the official votes against the wishes of the inhabitants, not having yet received a Report from the Governor, which will doubtless arrive in due course when he deals with the Memorial. If not, a Report will be called for. There has been no recent increase of Import Duties, or of any form of taxation of food or other necessities. The Secretary of State, under the circumstances, pledges himself to no particular course of

### TEACHERS.

(Oxford University): I am President of the Council on Education and a teacher who has been since 1847, who, and who has not

yet received the pension for which he has applied, has been brought under his notice; whether this is one instance of a class not inconsiderable in numbers; and whether the Education Department could now see their way to grant pensions to all those who entered the profession between 1846 and 1851, under the impression that they would be entitled, upon fulfilling the necessary conditions, to receive such pensions?

**THE VICE PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL** (Sir W. HART DYKE, Kent, Dartford): I cannot trace any such case as that referred to in the first part of my hon. Friend's question. It is the practice of the Department, upon the fulfilment of the necessary conditions, to grant a pension to every applicant who entered the profession before August, 1851.

### ANGLO-PORTUGUESE AGREEMENT.

**DR. CAMERON**: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether it is true, as stated in a *Times* telegram of the 13th instant, that the terms of a Convention between Great Britain and Portugal had been definitely agreed on, and that it was to be signed in London on the following day; and, if so, whether he is in a position to communicate to the House the substance of the Convention?

**\*SIR J. FERGUSSON**: An Agreement is under consideration, but has not yet been signed, and I am not able to communicate the terms of it to the House.

**DR. CAMERON**: Will the right hon. Gentleman be in a position to communicate the Agreement before the House rises?

**\*SIR J. FERGUSSON**: I cannot say, but I hope and trust that we are on the eve of a satisfactory and honourable settlement.

### THE DENBY LOCAL BOARD.

**MR. HENRY J. WILSON** (York, W.R., Holmfirth): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Local Government Board whether he is aware that a letter from the Denby Local Board, dated 2nd July, was not answered or even acknowledged till 24th July; and whether he will give directions that letters shall be acknowledged more promptly if they cannot be immediately answered?

\*THE SECRETARY TO THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. LONG, Wilts, Devizes): It is the case that a letter which was received by the Local Government Board from the Denby Local Board on the 3rd of July was not answered until the 24th of July. The letter asked the Board to direct a local inquiry into a scheme for water supply, and into certain statutory objections with regard to the works proposed. The letter enclosed a copy of an agreement made with the owner of the property on which the works were to be constructed, the indenture being a lengthy document of 10 brief pages; a statutory declaration as to certain notices which had been given by the Local Board under Sections 32, 53, and 54 of the Public Health Act with regard to the execution of works outside their district, and the construction of a reservoir to contain 2,000,000 gallons of water; a statutory objection served on the Local Board with reference to the proposed works; testings of the flow of water from various sources which were proposed to be made available by the Local Board; and seven other documents. Three days later the Board received a further communication, enclosing a copy of an agreement of five brief pages with reference to certain rights of way. These communications involved the consideration of questions of law and engineering, and it was necessary for the Board to consult their legal adviser and their Chief Engineering Inspector. The Board, after consideration of the several questions, determined to direct a local inquiry, and on the 25th of July the Local Board were informed accordingly. It is not the usual practice of the Board to send mere acknowledgments of the letters received from a Local Authority in the ordinary course of correspondence when there is reason to expect that a reply can shortly be sent.

#### THE SCOTCH MAILS.

DR. CLARK (Caithness): I beg to ask the Postmaster General whether he is aware that the mail train from Edinburgh to the North very frequently misses the through mail at Perth, and that letters and newspapers for the northern counties are, in consequence, 24 hours late in being delivered; and whether he has made arrangements for despatching the mails by the Forth

Bridge route, and so preventing this unnecessary delay?

SIR H. MAXWELL: The Postmaster General is aware of the unfortunate delays to which the hon. Member refers, and I am glad to say that arrangements have been made for preventing them for the future.

DR. CLARK: When will they begin?

SIR H. MAXWELL: I cannot say, but arrangements have been agreed upon.

#### CASE OF MR. H. WYNDHAM CARTER.

MR. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether Harry Wyndham Carter, esquire, is now suffering imprisonment in Her Majesty's Convict Prison at Chatham, under a sentence passed at the Maidstone Assizes, in 1887, of five years' penal servitude; whether at his trial he was found guilty by the jury of unlawfully wounding only, under 14 & 15 Vict., c. 19, s. 5, the jury acting upon the direction of the Judge, Mr. Justice Denman, that they could either find the prisoner guilty of unlawfully, maliciously, and feloniously shooting with intent to maim, or of unlawfully shooting only, and refusing to find him guilty of unlawfully and maliciously shooting; whether an indictment preferred against him at the same Assizes for felonious shooting was, in fact, abandoned; whether, under the above circumstances, the prisoner could be lawfully sentenced under the provisions of Statutes 14 & 15 Vict., c. 19, and 24 & 25 Vict., c. 100, for anything more than a misdemeanour, punishable under Section 20 of the last-named Statute with, at most, a term of three years' penal servitude; and whether, inasmuch as the prisoner has already suffered three years and seven months of penal servitude, he will now advise Her Majesty to exercise the Royal Prerogative of mercy in favour of the prisoner's immediate release?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. STUART WORTLEY, Sheffield, Hallam): The answer to the first two paragraphs is in the affirmative. The limit of three years' penal servitude authorised by the Act 24 & 25 Vict., c. 100, s. 20, was raised by 27 & 28 Vict., c. 47, s. 2, to a minimum of five years. I am authorised by the Secretary of State to say that he

considers that the offence was an extremely bad one, and that he would not feel justified in advising any remission of the sentence.

#### EASTERN TELEGRAPH COMPANY.

MR. HENNIKER HEATON: I beg to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether he is aware that the Australian Government have contributed a sum of £32,000 a year for the past 11 years to the Eastern Telegraph Company, for maintaining and cheapening telegraph communication between Australia and Europe; whether the British Government contributed any portion of this subsidy; whether an application was made this year by the Agents General of the New South Wales, the Victorian, and the South Australian Governments, to the British Government, to join in a guarantee against loss, on condition that the Telegraph Companies reduced the rates to and from Australia from 9s. 4d. to 4s. per word for ordinary messages, and from 7s. 5d. to 2s. 6d. per word for Government messages; and what answer, if any, was given to the Australian Governments?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. GOSCHEN, St. George's, Hanover Square): Yes, Sir; I think the contribution was the amount mentioned by the hon. Gentleman. I understand that the subsidy in question was granted mainly with a view to the duplication of the cables between Java and Australia. The British Government did not contribute to the subsidy. An application to the effect indicated in the third paragraph of the hon. Member's question was made, but Her Majesty's Government was unable to accede to it.

#### CHURCH OF ENGLAND PROPERTY.

MR. CHANNING (Northampton): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether he can state to the House why the first part of the Return of the property of the Church of England vested in the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, which was promised by 1st June, has not yet been delivered to Members; and when the Return will be issued?

MR. STUART WORTLEY: The Return will be issued to-day.

#### SEVERE SENTENCES.

MR. CHANNING: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether his attention has been called to the sentence passed, on July 31st, at Elford Petty Sessions, in Staffordshire, on Sarah Ann Maycock, a girl 14 years of age, a fine of £5 and costs, and in default a month's hard labour, for having pulled sticks from a fence, the damage being assessed at one shilling; and whether he will advise the remission of this sentence?

MR. STUART WORTLEY: The Secretary of State is informed by the Magistrates that the prisoner is 20 years of age, not 14. She has been twice previously convicted of stealing, and once, in April of this year, of vagrancy. The Secretary of State is not able to advise any remission of her sentence.

#### VACCINATION.

DR. TANNER: I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board whether it has been reported to him that many parents, who are not opposed to vaccination, object to the use of human lymph with their children, as being attended with risks special to itself, and desire, therefore, to have their children vaccinated with calf lymph, declaring that on no other condition will they submit them to the operation; whether the Medical Officer of the Local Government Board has declined to admit the right of parents to require at the hands of public vaccinators the use of calf lymph, and has declared that the responsibility for the lymph employed rests not with the parents, but solely with the vaccinator; whether Mr. T. M. Watt, public vaccinator of the Hovingham district of the Malton Union, Yorkshire, has repeatedly applied to the National Vaccine Establishment for calf lymph, and been definitely refused it; whether Mr. Watt has reported that for three months he has thus been prevented from performing his duties as public vaccinator; and whether the President of the Local Government Board will direct that the National Vaccine Establishment furnish public vaccinators with calf lymph when they prefer and require it for performance of their official duties?

\*MR. LONG: Representations have from time to time been made to the

Local Government Board as to the cases of parents who desire to have their children vaccinated with calf lymph, on the ground of their objection to the use of human lymph, but such representations have been very exceptional. It is the case that the Medical Officer of the Board, in a letter which he addressed to Mr. Watt, pointed out that the responsibility for the lymph must rest with the public vaccinator and not with the parents. An application which was made by Mr. Watt for calf lymph on April 2 last was complied with, but on subsequent application for additional lymph he was referred to a letter addressed to him on the 26th of April, in which it was explained that the organisation of the National Vaccine Establishment did not admit of its undertaking to supply either human or calf lymph for the ordinary vaccination of individual children, of whom from half to three-quarters of a million required vaccination every year. It has been more than once explained to Mr. Watt that the principle on which the National Vaccine Establishment proceeds in its distribution of lymph, whether to public or private vaccinators, is to furnish each applicant with enough for the performance of a few first vaccinations, and the establishment expects that the recipient will exert himself to vaccinate in series from the beginning which he is thus enabled to make. Mr. Watt's duties as public vaccinator require him to vaccinate half-yearly, namely, in April and October. The Board assume that he is complying with the terms of his contract in not vaccinating in the interval. I do not propose, pending the sitting of the Royal Commission on Vaccination, to make any change in the administration of public vaccination in England and Wales.

#### SUPPLY.

MR. BUCHANAN (Edinburgh, W.): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether, in view of the fact that 48 Votes in Supply were taken, for the most part without discussion, at a single Sitting on 13th August, the Government will arrange next Session that Supply shall be taken frequently and at fixed times throughout the Session, and that Members of the House may have an opportunity of discharging

*Mr. Long*

their Parliamentary duty of discussing grievances in Supply?

MR. JACKSON: My right hon. Friend desires me to say that it is, of course, the wish of the Government to proceed with Supply as early in the Session as is possible; but I am not in a position to give the pledge suggested by the hon. Member, and I would wish to remind him that though eight days were devoted to Supply up to the Easter Recess, and 12 days in all up to the Whitsuntide Recess, the progress made was not at all commensurate with the time expended.

MR. LABOUCHERE: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that the Chairman of Committees stated at Easter time, in addressing his constituents, that the progress made was very great?

MR. JACKSON: I am giving to hon. Members the views of my right hon. Friend the leader of the House.

#### A POINT OF ORDER.

SIR WILFRID LAWSON (Cumberland, Cockermouth): I wish to ask you, Sir, as to a point of order. In view of what took place at an early hour this morning, I wish to know whether a Bill printed and read a second time on one day can be passed through Committee and also read a third time at one Sitting on the next day, when a sixth part of the Members present are opposed to it, and registered their opposition by their votes?

MR. SPEAKER: I can give no opinion on what took place last night. I have not the slightest doubt that the right hon. Gentleman the Chairman of Committees, acting as the Deputy Speaker, did what was right and proper; but on the abstract question I shall be glad to reply to the hon. Baronet. It frequently happens, especially late in the Session, when urgency is in the nature of the case, that two or more stages of one Bill are taken at the same Sitting. My predecessor in the Chair was asked the very same question as late as the 13th of November, 1882, and he stated then very strongly, more strongly than I have ever put it, that it was not a question of leave of the House, but of a vote of the House; and, acting on that opinion, and in accordance with other precedents, I have myself on two occasions—the only occasions I can recollect—done so. These occasions were as late as September in

1887—one on the Superannuation Acts Amendment Bill, and another on the Bankruptcy (Discharge and Closure) Bill; and I took the vote of the House on the question whether the Bill which had then been considered as amended should forthwith be read a third time. The Divisions took place, and the numbers on those two occasions were respectively 81 in the majority and 16 in the minority, 80 in the majority and 14 in the minority; thus proving that it is competent to take the sense of the House on that question, the sense of the House being sufficiently expressed by the numbers I have given.

SIR WILFRID LAWSON: Thanking you, Sir, for your ruling, might I ask whether there is any certain number or fixed proportion of Members required before a Bill can be taken in that way?

MR. SPEAKER: There is no fixed number required.

#### TIPPERARY CRIMES COURT.

MR. SEXTON: I wish to call the Chief Secretary's attention to a case which occurred in Tipperary yesterday, in which a local professional man named Gill was charged with assaulting a constable by merely brushing against him at a street corner? He was tried before two Resident Magistrates (Messrs. Shannon and Irwin) at a Crimes Court, and was sentenced to 14 days' imprisonment with hard labour, and was then called upon to find bail for 12 months in accordance with the Statute of Edward III., and in default to suffer another term of one month's imprisonment. Does the right hon. Gentleman approve that sentence?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I cannot, of course, express an opinion upon it at this moment, but I will inquire into the facts of the case in order to satisfy myself.

MR. J. O'CONNOR (Tipperary, S.): Will the right hon. Gentleman also inquire whether the Magistrates refused to increase the sentence so that Mr. Gill might have a right of appeal? Mr. Gill is the brother of the hon. Member for Louth, and I think it will be found that the police have on more than one occasion endeavoured to obstruct him in the performance of his professional duties?

DR. TANNER: Will the right hon. Gentleman also inquire as to the character of Mr. Shannon, one of the Magistrates, in order to ascertain whether the reports of alleged immorality on his part are correct?

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order!

MR. J. O'CONNOR: I will put a further question on the Paper to-night, and I shall expect an answer definitely to-morrow.

#### NEXT SESSION.

MR. COBB (Warwick, S.E., Rugby): I beg to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether he will be able before the Prorogation to state definitely, for the convenience of Members, that there will be no meeting of Parliament so early as November?

MR. GOSCHEN: Certainly not, Sir. It is absolutely fixed that the House will meet in the course of November.

MR. CHANNING: It would be greatly to the convenience of Members going abroad if the Chancellor of the Exchequer will state that the House will not meet before the 20th November, which, I think, is the phrase used by the First Lord of the Treasury.

MR. GOSCHEN: I do not think that was the phrase of my right hon. Friend. I think he said we should not meet until after the middle of November. That is not far from the date mentioned by the hon. Member.

MR. A. O'CONNOR: What notice shall we get?

MR. GOSCHEN: I will inquire, Sir, and let the hon. Member know to-morrow.

#### INTOXICATING LIQUORS (IRELAND) BILL.—(No. 7.)

Order for Committee read, and discharged.

Bill withdrawn.

#### BILLS OF SALE BILL [LORDS.] (No. 384.)

Lords Reason for disagreeing to one of the Commons Amendments, and Lords Amendments to Commons Amendments to be considered forthwith.

Lords Reason and Amendments considered.

Resolved, That this House doth not insist on the Amendment to which the

Lords have disagreed; and doth agree to the Lords Amendments to the Commons Amendments.

#### RATING OF MACHINERY BILL.

(No. 6.)

Order for Committee read, and discharged.

Bill withdrawn.

#### LICENSING (IRELAND) BILL.—(No. 415.)

Order for Committee read, and discharged.

Bill withdrawn.

### ORDERS OF THE DAY.

#### CONSOLIDATED FUND (APPROPRIATION) BILL.

##### SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."

\*(4.28.) MR. JENNINGS (Stockport): I wish to call the attention of the House to the method which is now adopted of managing the business of Supply. It is quite evident that we cannot look upon the arrangement this year as a mere accident. It is part of a system which is now becoming fixed and established in Parliamentary procedure, the system of thrusting Supply into the background and of hindering and discouraging any discussion upon it. The plan of action is, put off Supply and endeavour by any means whatever to baffle anyone who presumes to criticise it. The latest development of this plan is to get it deferred till the very last days of the Session, and to take care to suspend the Standing Orders before it is brought on. After that is done, we are treated to a performance with which we are becoming familiar. One of the leaders of the Opposition looks in casually and asks the First Lord of the Treasury at what date Supply must be closed to enable the House to adjourn in, say, a week. The First Lord is very much shocked at the bare suggestion; but he braces himself up to meet it, and announces that he can allow about 24 hours for the remaining Votes. This liberal offer is received with effusion by the representative of the

Opposition; both sides have a stage embrace, and the entertainment concludes with a grand dissolving view, in which the whole of the Estimates disappear. The part of the unsophisticated countryman, who drops into the show accidentally, was this year taken by the right hon. Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. H. H. Fowler), and it is needless to say that the First Lord of the Treasury received him with even more than his usual benevolence. The ins and the outs stand together on these matters. There is not a pin to choose between them. The great thing is to keep off impertinent outsiders. But an object much more important than this is accomplished. The House of Commons is deprived of that efficient control over public expenditure which it used to guard so jealously. It is compelled by insidious means to relinquish that control into other hands. What we have left to us now is the form without the substance. One of the most ancient functions of this House, and that which practically brought it into existence, is for the present in abeyance. What are the facts about the present Session? Only seven Sittings were devoted to Supply prior to Whitsuntide. Thus, during the most valuable part of the Session, this vital business—the only business which absolutely must be done before we can separate—was deliberately shelved. But the day before the House separated for the Recess, a Vote on Account was taken for nearly £4,000,000. That is the favourite and approved method of managing the expenditure of this country nowadays—by means of Votes on Account. When they are once smuggled through, no Government cares a brass farthing how long regular grants of Supply are deferred. If the House will give them money without discussion, why should they have the discussion? It is often inconvenient; it sometimes brings to notice many unpleasant facts, and it lets the daylight into dark corners. Therefore, it is the Votes on Account which Secretaries to the Treasury delight in, and which they are scheming to put upon a permanent footing. But it is not the constitutional system. Votes on Account are a modern innovation. In former days they were not asked for unless to meet some emergency, or in anticipation of a Dissolution. Now they

form part of the routine of the Session. The year before last three were taken; last year the same number; this year two, besides a shower of Supplementary Estimates. I think the time will come when the House of Commons will not be juggled with in this manner. Warned by its experiences in the past, it will refuse to grant Votes on Account—at any rate, after the first Vote—without adequate discussion. If we cannot get at the Estimates in any other way, we must get at them through the Votes on Account. Then we have been treated to another discovery in the art of manipulating public expenditure and of gagging the House of Commons. Votes are fished out here and there to suit the convenience of heads of Departments. No one now is allowed to know when any Vote is coming on, or when it will be finished, or what Report of a Royal Commission will be tacked on to it so as to divert attention from the Vote itself. All these are new practices. It used to be the rule to take each class in its proper order; but now, if any opposition is threatened to a particular Vote, that Vote is purposely kept in the background. For three years I have been trying to bring the expenditure on the Admiralty Office before the notice of the House of Commons. That Office is an epitome of all that is extravagant, foolish, and bad in the Public Service. Last year and the year before I was obliged to withdraw my opposition to the Vote because it was put back to the last hours of the Session. This year I began very early to try to guard against a similar result. On the 14th of February—soon enough, in all conscience—I asked the First Lord of the Admiralty whether he would not take this Vote early in the year. His reply was that he would “make a note of the request,” as he remembered that I had “twice postponed the observations I wished to make on this Vote to facilitate public business.” I put similar questions afterwards, and always received similar replies—the Vote shall be brought on in good season. It was actually presented to us on the 8th of August, when about 90 other Votes had to be taken in a few days, and even then a discussion on the Report of the Hartington Commission was adroitly fastened upon it. It would have been ridiculous to raise a long discussion on

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the expenses of the Office. Before one has been many years in this House, one finds out that the promise of a Minister does not always mean quite the same thing as the promise of a private gentleman made out of doors. But the answer to all such complaints as these is that Debates in Supply never save the public money, and merely result in a waste of time. This is a theory which the “two Front Benches” industriously spread abroad. When they are not themselves holding forth, which they are doing at least three parts of the Session, everything that goes on here is a waste of time. The noble Lord the Member for Rossendale (Lord Hartington) complained the other day of long speeches and bores. Does he suppose that there are no bores in the House except those who sit on the back Benches? We who are the helpless victims could tell the public a very different tale. Let an account be taken of the number of hours occupied every Session by the two Front Benches, with their futile controversies and their interminable harangues, and it will soon be seen who wastes the time of the House. Last year the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. H. H. Fowler) came down and stated (April 20, 1889) that during the preceding 20 years all discussions in Committee of Supply had only resulted in a saving of £50,000. We can imagine with what delight the Secretary to the Treasury received this announcement from the ex-Secretary to the Treasury. Once more the curtain descended amid applause on *Box and Cox*. But the statement, and all the data upon which it is founded, are utterly delusive. The figures in question are obtained by carefully excluding from consideration everything but the immediate result of a Motion for the reduction of a Vote. Yet it is manifestly impossible to form a fair judgment on the question by confining inquiry to this narrow field. The reduction moved is often merely nominal in amount, and it is, perhaps, withdrawn upon a promise that the subject shall receive proper attention before the next Estimates are submitted. In any case, a reduction is rarely carried against the whole force of the Government. That year, consequently, there is no saving shown. But if the point raised has been a strong one, and if it has been



well pressed home, the Government take the hint, and the Vote is reduced in a future year. Numerous examples of this could be given, and, therefore, to form a judgment merely on the immediate effect of the discussion is to follow an utterly misleading test. The statement of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Wolverhampton is obviously based on a Return laid before the Select Committee of 1888 by one of the clerks of the House, Mr. Milman. But in handing in this Return Mr. Milman endeavoured to guard against the very misuse of which complaint has been made. He was careful to state (Q. 435)—

"The effective reductions made by the Committee are few; but the great influence of the Committee is the impression that its Debates make upon the Government. The actual reduction may perhaps only be £300; but, of course, if the Government see that the House is unfavourable to a particular line of expenditure, without bringing about a reduction in the Vote of that year, the Debates very much influence the policy of the Government upon particular Votes to which material objection is taken."

And, again, he plainly said that his Return was not to be taken as an index to the effect of discussions in Committee of Supply. (Q. 549). The truth is, that discussions in Supply often result in most material reductions of expenditure, and most important changes of policy. They keep down the tendency to extravagance which runs through all Departments, and prevent the perpetration of many a job. But officials are always craving to acquire the absolute control of this business, and they never cease to do all that they can to bring these discussions into derision. Again, we are told that time is occupied with haggling over petty details of expenditure. That, no doubt, does happen occasionally, and the utmost advantage is always taken of it. The incident is described at full length in all the Papers, and officials make it part of their stock-in-trade all through the Recess. They take good care never to mention their own errors and follies, their abortive schemes, their programmes of legislation which are utterly unmanageable, and their scoldings, quarrellings, and recriminations, of which everybody but themselves is sick and tired. Over all that, a discreet veil is drawn. As a general rule, a surprisingly

*Mr. Jennings*

short space of time is devoted to the discussion of actual expenditure. Everything runs off upon questions of policy. Take the Foreign Office. What happens is this: a kind of party is made up to go round the globe, followed by the Under Secretary, who contrives to give as little information as he can at the various points of interest. In the course of this journey, almost everything will have a chance of being discussed except the enormous cost of carrying on the Department. The range of discussion on these Votes grows wider and wider every year, and why is that? It is because the opportunities afforded to private Members to bring up outside subjects are being steadily and persistently curtailed. Many a subject which used to be disposed of with Mr. Speaker in the Chair is now brought up in Committee of Supply, where Members can speak as often as they choose. Consequently, there has been a great loss instead of a saving of time. And now, as a remedy, it is proposed to send all the Estimates to be dealt with in a smaller Committee. Sir Erskine May, before the Select Committee of 1871, Q. 98, declared that he would not recommend this change in our procedure.

"I think," he said, "a Committee of Supply should certainly be a Committee of the whole House, and nothing short of that."

But suppose we took this rash step, how could it possibly save much time? The questions of policy which are involved in the Votes would still be discussed in the House. The Committee upstairs would go through the figures, and report to the House, and then Members interested in various topics would insist upon discussing them as usual. The very thing which consumes the time now would consume it then. The only difference would be, that Members could only speak once on Report, but that change could be made by an alteration in the rules limiting Members to one speech on each Vote in Committee of Supply, and even restricting them to a limited time. Those would be far less serious changes than removing Supply from a Committee of the whole House. The money itself is voted away in a helter-skelter fashion. I have taken notes from time to time of feats which have been accomplished in this direction, and I find that even early in the Session large amounts are voted without discussion.

On Thursday, May 9, 1889, seven Votes were got in Class II., although the House did not go into Committee till past 7. The following day, at a Morning Sitting, nine other Votes were taken. On the 18th of June, 27 Votes were obtained at one Sitting, representing an expenditure of £17,143,300 (Army and Navy). Eight of these Votes were passed in 20 minutes. The day before the Easter holidays this year, all Class I. of the Civil Service Estimates was got without much trouble, the amount voted being £1,595,000. On the 17th of March, nearly the whole of the Navy Estimates were obtained at a single Sitting; that is to say, from Votes 1 to 15, including Works, Buildings, Repairs, Wages, and almost everything of importance connected with the Navy. The amount voted was £7,822,600. August, however, is the harvest month of the Treasury. Then the Secretary to the Treasury puts in his sickle and mows the whole crop, while everybody else is asleep. I find from my notes that on Saturday, August 17, 1889, 8 Votes were obtained in Class VI., 6 in Class VII., 2 in Revenue Departments, 5 in Class IV.—altogether 21 Votes. This was eclipsed on the same day two years previously (1887), when 45 Votes were got in one night. On 22nd August, 8 Votes were taken in Class II., 12 in Class III., 2 in Revenue Departments, 2 Army, and 8 in Class V.; the next day 18 Votes were got—or 50 Votes in two days. A machine could not do it much faster. On the 9th of this month, August 1890, we voted away £6,950,126; on the 13th we got through 48 Votes at a single Sitting. This is how the present system works—badly, as I think, for the House and the country alike. Every year finds the House of Commons growing weaker and weaker in this matter, and the Government of the day succeeds in forcing it to perform merely mechanical functions. If nothing can be done to check this, the House will have received another heavy blow, levelled not by obstructionists, but by those who were bound in honour to defend it from attack. Rather than continue to be parties to the present mockery, it would be far better for us to go back to our constituents and inform them that they need not look to us for any attempt to exercise supervision over the public expenditure; that all such

business is now managed in secret by the Government of the day, and that the House of Commons has renounced a right for the vindication of which it once carried out a revolution. Either in the form of an Amendment to the Address, or in some other way, I will endeavour next Session to force the Government to bring on the Estimates at a period when they can be discussed in a rational manner.

\*(4.54.) MR. BUCHANAN (Edinburgh, W.): I wish to say a few words in support of the speech of the hon. Member who has just sat down. The result of the Sittings of the Select Committee referred to was not quite that which was expected. It did not recommend that Supply should be referred to a Grand Committee. I cannot help thinking that the action of the Government since that time has been rather in the direction of trying to starve out opposition in this House, in order that it may induce the House to refer Supply to an outside Committee. I wish to say a word about the utility of Supply in enabling hon. Members to ventilate new schemes of policy. Probably independent Members on both sides value Committee of Supply very much more from that point of view than from the point of view of control over expenditure. Certainly Committee of Supply affords practically the only opportunity we Scottish Members get for bringing up matters relating to Scottish administration with a view to legislation in the future. Last Session it was pointed out that, as we had occupied a good deal of time on the Local Government Bill, we might let Supply go through practically without discussion. This Session the principal Scotch Votes were taken practically on one night. Not only did the Scotch Votes receive inadequate discussion, but the Science and Art Votes, and others of exceptional interest, were taken without any discussion whatever. The object of the discussion a few days ago on the Home Office Vote was not to criticise the expenditure of the Home Office, but to urge on the right hon. Gentleman, who is mainly responsible for mines regulation, the necessity for some alteration in the law. Until we have some opportunity of bringing forward our grievances otherwise than on the Estimates, we are not

going to forego this, which is the sole opportunity we have. It seems to me very desirable that next Session there should be a strong movement in favour of having fixed times for the discussion of Supply. Let the Government set apart definitely time for the Estimates, and Members will understand their position. As it is, we have few opportunities of bringing up subjects in which we are interested. I am perfectly certain that if the Government were to set apart, say, one day a week, it would be found that hon. Members would be able to make arrangements with each other, would be able to show consideration for each other, and the time would be occupied with much more effective discussion. What the Secretary to the Treasury aims at is the saving of time in the voting of money. By the method I suggest he would get his money very much more quickly, and we ourselves would be satisfied with obtaining definite opportunities of stating our grievances. I earnestly trust that the Government will, during the Recess, give their most serious attention to this grievance. It has never reached the height it has this Session, when the whole of the Votes are brought on nearly at its close, because the greater part of the Session has been mis-spent. I hope that the Estimates will be brought on earlier next Session, when the Government will not attempt the unsuccessful programme of this Session.

(5.3.) MR. LABOUCHERE (Northampton): I am very glad that the hon. Member opposite has spirited himself up to criticise the conduct of Ministers of this House. I will point out the real reason why Ministers are independent of this House, why they may do whatever they like, and violate the principle, although they keep the letter, of the Rules of this House. It is the absolute want of independence of Members on the other side of the House. If we protest against the action of the Government, the suggestion is that we are actuated by Party feeling. When Ministers are kept in proper order, it is when there is a sufficient number of independent Members on their own side who do not allow them to do precisely what they like. For instance, the Chief Secretary for Ireland was an excellent independent Mem-

*Mr. Buchanan*

ber. I remember he and several others sitting in this very place, and they kept in pretty good and reasonable order the Conservative Party for a considerable time. They did their best. But who are their successors? They have got their places on the Treasury Bench. They have no successors. This has never occurred before. And I do urge Gentlemen opposite to have some regard for the decencies of this House by aiding us to induce Ministers not to do more than their predecessors have always done in these matters. Hon. Gentlemen have complained of the waste of time on the part of the two Front Benches. It is a most deplorable feature of this House, this deplorable pot-and-kettle dispute between the two Front Benches. Ministers and ex-Ministers seem to spend the best part of their time in reading the old speeches of each other. Someone gets up on the Front Opposition Bench and says that years ago some Minister had taken a perfectly opposite view. At first the Minister denies it; then he says, "If I am guilty look what my opponent has done. Ten years ago he entertained an entirely opposite opinion." Neither this House nor the country cares one sixpence about Ministers' consistency; in fact, I will go so far as to say that the best Minister is the most inconsistent Minister. I want a man to ripen. He may entertain foolish opinions occasionally; but as he goes on, and is more acquainted with public affairs, he becomes wiser. It is complained that Scotch Members have not sufficient time to discuss Scotch Estimates. That may be so, and I am bound to say that they use to the best advantage the opportunities given them. It is used as an argument by both Scotch and Irish Members in favour of their having preference over English Members that they live such a long way off. I could never understand the force of that argument, because a Member, whether he live in Scotland or Northamptonshire, cannot be in two places at once. He cannot be at his home and in this House at the same time; and, being here, I cannot see why the fact of his living at a distance should give him preference over an English Member. I think it would be infinitely better to take the Estimates as they are set down, whether Scotch, English, or Irish. My

own belief really is that Ministers would gain rather by doing that than by making arrangements with particular Members to give them opportunities to air their grievances. Nobody can deny for a moment that the proceedings of last Wednesday were a gross scandal. Forty-eight Votes were hurried through in six or seven hours. There were very few Members in the House, and we thought it more dignified to protest by our silence against this gross abuse. We intend during the Recess to have a good deal to say about the mode in which the Estimates are conducted. What is the meaning of the Estimates? It is that Parliament should have control over the public expenditure. It is very obvious that if this control is to be a reality, they must be submitted at a time when they can be fully and legitimately discussed. Remember that only a few years ago, on the Motion to go into Committee on the Estimates, we were allowed to say anything we liked. We have been deprived of that. Then we have been deprived of one of the days of the week, and now, after the first week of the Session, we have not any opportunity, excepting on the Estimates, to raise the grievances which we think, rightly or wrongly, ought to be submitted to the House. The normal business of the Government is to submit the Estimates, and the normal business of the House is to discuss them. Nobody can say that the Government have fulfilled their normal duty this Session. But the action of the Government has been all the worse, because there was a specific and definite pledge last year from the First Lord of the Treasury that the Estimates should be submitted at a reasonable time. A few days were spent at the commencement of the Session on the Estimates, and then we heard no more of them until nearly the end of the Session. Why is this? Because the Government have adopted an entirely false view of how the business of this House should be conducted. The Government think that their first duty is to bring forward Party Bills, and that they should be carried with as little discussion as possible; but that if there is large and extensive discussion, then that the Estimates must be put back. Now, I say that the Estimates ought, at least, to run parallel with the

Bills; they should be spread over the Session. What do the Government say? That there has grown up in the present Parliament a horrible and pernicious system of obstruction. I and others, I imagine, consider it a duty to use all the Forms of the House to hinder being passed into law Bills which involve great expenditure without the country being asked to express an opinion upon them. Take, for instance, the Irish Land Bill. At the last General Election most hon. Gentlemen opposite obtained their seats on pledging themselves to vote against any Imperial guarantee for the purchase of Irish land. To support the Irish Land Purchase Bill is not merely going beyond their mandate, but is going contrary to their mandate and the pledges they have given. Surely, therefore, if the Government use the Forms of the House to force their Bill through, we have the right to use those same Forms to resist its passage. Our duty in regard to what is called obstruction is more manifest than at first sight appears. The Conservative Party when they are out of Office have the House of Lords to fall back upon. If the Liberals bring in a Bill which does not meet with the approval of the Conservatives the House of Lords can throw it out, and so provoke a General Election. We are not able to do that. It is on that ground that I try in this House to perform the part of a Radical Peer by doing my best to do away with the House of Lords, which has no mandate. I am particularly amused at the complaints of the noble Lord the Member for Rossendale about obstruction. Why, the noble Lord and the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham and the Liberal Unionists declared over and over again that one reason why it was useless for the country to declare itself in favour of Home Rule was that the measure could not be carried for several years. They have declared again and again that they will use all the Forms not only of this, but the other, House to prevent the measure being passed. I think the Government has certainly exceeded its general mandate. For my part, I am a Triennial Parliament man, but, at any rate, I think, under the present system, four years is quite

enough for any Parliament. After four years it is the business of any Member of this House to do his best to force a General Election, because it is not certain that the Government represent the views of the country, though they may have done so four years before. Now, this Session obstruction has not been necessary, simply because the Ministers have been good enough to obstruct each other. We have complained that the Chancellor of the Exchequer has ceased to be a Liberal; but I believe we are making a mistake. I believe the right hon. Gentleman is a thorough-going Liberal, and I believe he is doing his very best to upset the Government. I tender to the right hon. Gentleman my most grateful thanks for what he has done this Session, which has proved an abortive and a barren one. I trust that every Session, while the present Government are in power, will prove abortive and barren. The hon. Gentleman said that next Session he intended to move an Amendment to the Address, in order to call attention to the necessity of bringing the Estimates forward at the proper time. I shall put down an Amendment in case the hon. Gentleman does not turn up to press his. I hope the hon. Gentleman will. At the same time, I know perfectly well that my Amendment will be lost; still, we will have made our protest. I think the second plan suggested by the hon. Gentleman is the better. It is that when the Vote on Account is brought on it should be discussed in all its details. I apprehend that is entirely in conformity with the Rules of the House. It is usual, though not absolute law, to pass a Vote on Account early in the Session for a month or six weeks. When the second Vote is taken, there should be furnished a Paper showing how much is to be allocated to each Department, and on that Paper we can discuss the Estimates. We have only to carry out that which is our right, to put an end to this attempt of the Government to slip their Estimates through at the fag-end of the Session without any species of discussion. Still, there is a more drastic mode of meeting this question. It is that this House, which is becoming very flabby, should be roused by what I may term an electoral bark. Let us appeal to our constituents. If hon. Gentlemen come back with a majority in favour of any

*Mr. Labouchere*

particular Bill, I certainly shall not feel it my duty obstructively to interfere with the passage of that Bill. Lord Salisbury the other day at the Mansion House said the country wants and will have legislation. The best proof that the country does not want Conservative legislation at the present time is that it does not get it. If there were any leverage behind Ministers, Conservative or Liberal, they would be able to crush out any species of obstruction. Hon. Gentlemen opposite say the country is indignant at our course. I cannot find the proof. Without attaching to them too much importance, the bye-elections do not show it. Certainly those elections have not been very much in favour of the Government. On the contrary, I believe that the indignation is with those who continue in office that they and their friends may raid upon the funds of the country. I believe that if we had an election at the present moment we would gain a majority, and I think it is because hon. Gentlemen opposite are aware that we would have a majority that we have not had a General Election.

\*(5.23.) *MR. BARTLEY* (Islington, N.): We remember that the hon. Member opposite announced that he would do everything he possibly could to prevent legislation.

*MR. LABOUCHERE*: I never made any such announcement. I said if the Government brought in a good Bill I would warmly support it. They do not bring it in.

\**MR. BARTLEY*: I may be dense, and perhaps other Members of Parliament are equally dense, but I think the impression conveyed to hon. Members was that the hon. Member for Northampton said he would feel it his duty to prevent legislation in every conceivable way. I fully acknowledge that it is unfortunate the Estimates have been brought on at the end of the Session. But we must look at the matter in a straightforward way. How in the world could the Government have acted in any other way? We know very well that, whether brought on at the beginning, middle, or end of the Session, hon. Members opposite would render it impossible for any legislation to be carried out if they could. Look at the exact facts of the case. The Government have got two days a week for

their public business. There are over 200 Votes to take, and, at one hour a Vote, the whole time of the Government would be absorbed. But the Government have an immense deal of other business which they must get through. The hon. Member for Northampton says that there is to be a full discussion on the details of each Vote on Account, if more than one is taken, to last over six weeks. The Government would find it absolutely impossible to get Supply through in 12 days, which represents six weeks of the Session. Therefore, a second Vote on Account is necessary. The real *crux* is that, unless hon. Members behave reasonably, it will be impossible to get through the business of the House. We must look at this matter from a common-sense point of view. Irish and Scotch Members say that they do not get enough time; indeed, every section of the House would like the whole time of the Session. The Irish Members get an enormous deal too much time. When we see such discussions as took place last night, or rather this morning; when we see the reckless and absolute obstruction which takes place on a Bill brought in principally at the request of Irish Members, then I think the country ought to understand the cause of this delay of Parliamentary business. The hon. Member for Northampton, no doubt, does not care to see Party Bills discussed when this Party is in Office, though no doubt he would not object to seeing a Home Rule Bill discussed were his Party in power. In 1886, most of the Session was occupied in considering the Home Rule Bill. There was no mandate from the country to consider that. I think it is rather hard that the Government should be attacked by my hon. Friend in this way. The Government have had a phalanx of the most reckless obstructionists to meet. These men are doing their best to render the transaction of business impossible, and it is a great pity that some Members on the Ministerial side of the House should encourage them. We ought to alter the Rules of the House in order to put a stop to obstruction. The only way to accomplish that is to silence altogether for the Session the Members who render the transaction of business almost impossible. Let them vote by all means, but let

them not speak. Until the House adopts some such method of silencing and stopping these perpetual talkers and obstructors we shall never be able to devote our attention properly to legislation or the granting of Supply.

(5.33.) Dr. CLARK (Caithness): The true moral is, that the work undertaken by the House is more than it can possibly accomplish. It is not the fault of the Government or of Members below the Gangway; the defect is in the system, and the only solution is to devolve the work upon people who can do it. I am glad that the Liberal Party has adopted the principle of Home Rule, which will devolve a great deal of work on Local Authorities, and will leave this House to do its Imperial work thoroughly and well. Referring to the question of perpetual pensions, I wish to point out to the Secretary to the Treasury that the policy of the Government is to redeem them by making them perpetual at our cost. That is a very unfair way of putting an end to them. Some of these pensions were voted in perpetuity by previous Parliaments, and the Treasury method of terminating them is to buy them out at 27 years' purchase. That is really making those pensions perpetual in another form at the cost of the country. The hon. Members for Stockport and Northampton have been fighting the Treasury on the question whether the rate of purchase should be 22 years or 27 years; and it appears to me it is a case of the difference between tweedledum and tweedledee. I think that the only way to meet these claims fairly and generously would be to give the money to the present pensioners and their living heirs. As to the other class of perpetual pensions, where no service has been rendered, I think due notice should be given that in five years they will cease. Hon. Members on this side intended to use all the Forms of the House in order to raise this question under such circumstances as will compel hon. Gentlemen opposite to give us a fair hearing. I do not see what use it is for the junior Member for Northampton to pretend he wants to get rid of this evil; all he is fighting for is whether the rate of purchase shall be 22 years or 25 years.

\*Mr. JENNINGS: If it had not been for the efforts of the hon. Member for

Northampton in making public the facts there would have been no Committee on Perpetual Pensions.

DR. CLARK: Long before the junior Member for Northampton entered this House all the facts on which he has since based his speeches were made public in the *Financial Reform Almanack*.

\*(5.40.) THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON, Leeds, N.): I will endeavour to reply to the various speeches made. I have no fault to find with my hon. Friend the Member for Stockport for bringing forward this question. It is a subject in which every Member of the House may very properly take a deep interest. I think, however, that a good case can be made out for the course which has been taken during the last two years. It is absolutely necessary, and the necessity cannot be avoided, to take a Vote on Account for each of the Civil Service Votes. As regards the Army and Navy, there is a power of transfer between one Vote and another, but there is no such power of transfer as regards the Civil Service Votes. No doubt in some cases it would be convenient that there should be such a power of transfer, and, if so, it would be possible by taking one or two Votes for large sums to avoid taking Votes on Account. This year, fortunately, the Government have been able to do with only two Votes on Account; but in most years it has been necessary to take three Votes on Account, because, until the whole of the Votes are taken, of course it may happen that a particular Department is short of money, and a Vote on Account becomes necessary. In recent years it has been customary to restrict Votes on Account to two months' grant; and if the House sits for six months, it becomes almost necessary to take a third Vote on Account. There are two difficulties in the way: One is, that the Government have only a limited number of days at their disposal; and the other is, that there has grown up a habit of speaking at much greater length and discussing matters of detail to a much greater extent than was formerly the case; and as long as that goes on, I look almost hopelessly for any means to remedy what is justly complained of by my hon. Friend the Member for Stockport and

*Mr. Jennings*

the other Members who have spoken, namely, that a great many Votes have to be taken in a hurried manner at the close of the Session. That certainly is not the fault of the Government. This year and last year the Government have devoted more time to Supply than in any similar period during the last 20 years. No plan is so simple and so desirable as to begin with the Votes in the order in which they appear on the Estimates and to go straight through with them. The Government began this year with the intention of pursuing that course. Some important question may arise, and the leader of the Opposition will request the Government to afford facilities in Committee of Supply for discussing a particular subject. The Government, to meet the convenience of hon. Members, concede the request, and thus the order is broken. My hon. Friend seems to think that the Government have postponed important Votes, and have not given as much time to Supply in the earlier part of the Session as ought to have been given. I have caused a statement to be drawn up showing the total number of days devoted to Supply in each Session since 1872. The Return was made up to the end of May, the end of June, and the end of July, and last year was excluded altogether, because an exceptionally large number of days were then devoted to Supply in the earlier part of the Session. Up to the end of May in the present year five days were devoted to Supply, which, with the exception of 1878, is the largest number since 1872. Up to the end of June this year nine days were given to Supply, which again is the highest number, with the exception of 1878. Up to the end of July 20 days were given to Supply, which is a number considerably greater than in any preceding year since 1881, for there is no record concerning the years from 1872 to 1881. There is yet another way of testing the comparative periods given to the discussion of Supply. From 1875 to 1879 the average number of days devoted to Supply in each year was 23; from 1880 to 1885 the average was 26; and from 1887 to 1890 the average was 40. This shows that in recent years much more discussion in Supply has occurred than formerly. I make no complaint, because I



am strongly of opinion that legitimate discussion in Committee of Supply is not only valuable for calling attention to grievances, but also for giving backbone to the Government in resisting the financial demands made upon them. The hon. Member for Northampton has spoken of what he calls obstruction. The description is not mine, but the hon. Member's. Speaking in Devonshire, the hon. Member for Northampton said, "I have obstructed; I do obstruct; and I regret that I have not obstructed more." The Government have given a larger amount of time for discussion in Supply than any of their predecessors. But there is a constantly increasing quantity of business to be transacted, and hon. Members ought to endeavour to avoid the discussion of petty details, not in themselves effecting any great economies, and devote themselves to discussing matters which will secure economy and efficiency in the administration of the various Departments. Speaking as a Member of the Government, I should welcome any assistance which the House would give in this direction.

\*(5.55.) MR. CREMER (Shoreditch, Haggerston): I listened, in common with other Members of the House, with great interest to the speech delivered by the hon. Gentleman the Member for Stockport. The hon. Member always interests deeply the Members of this House when he speaks on any subject whatever, but I cannot help hoping that next Session he will be found not merely speaking, but voting in favour of the views he so admirably expresses from time to time in this House. Up to the present the hon. Member has talked, but not acted. I hope that state of things will be reversed next Session, and that we shall have him joining us in our efforts to effect the very useful reforms to which he has referred. I quite agree with him that it would be dangerous to relegate the question of Supply to a Grand Committee. I have had two or three years' experience on the Grand Committee on Law, and the experience I have gathered there does not warrant me in thinking it would be safe to entrust such an important function to a Committee of that kind. We had this year—only a few weeks ago—one of the

most important Bills submitted to that Grand Committee which has ever been brought under our notice. I refer to the Bill for the consolidation of the various Acts affecting the housing of the working classes. The form in which the Bill was presented to the Committee, the President of the Poor Law Board admitted, rendered it almost impossible for anyone to fully understand it. There were interpolations here and excisions there, and it was one of the most extraordinary Bills we have ever had, and yet it was rushed through the Grand Committee in three hours and a half. Why was that? It was quite clear to me and to other members of the Committee, who did not take an official view of it, that the Government were anxious to go to the country and make capital out of the fact that they had passed the Bill, an excellent measure as they will probably describe it, but one which is, I think, full of defects that will have to be remedied at an early date. I can just imagine that the Members of the Government and their supporters behind them will, at the various meetings they will address during the Recess, make as much capital out of the fact as they possibly can. But they will fail to tell the audiences how this Bill was rushed through the Grand Committee on Law, or of the defects which it contains, and which will have at no distant day to be remedied. When the Bill was brought into this House for the Third Reading, that stage was carried through in an extraordinary manner. I was anxious to propose Amendments, but it was impossible to do so in the Grand Committee, and I therefore hoped to be able to move to re-commit the Bill when it was sent back to this House. But again I was disappointed in that hope. I was pretty watchful, but somehow, I scarcely know how, I failed to ascertain the particular moment at which the Bill was to be taken, and, as a result, the Bill was almost smuggled through its last stages. If the House will bear with me for a few moments, I should like to point out two or three defects which the Bill contains, for, to my mind, if it had only been passed in a complete and perfect form, it would have been one of the most valuable measures that has ever been adopted by this House. I dare-

say my hon. Friend the Member for Finsbury will draw attention to what is occurring in his own constituency, which proves that power ought to be given to the Treasury or some other Governmental Office to prevent Local Authorities from forcing working people from a locality without having provided homes for them elsewhere. Not long ago, in Chelsea, hundreds of working men, women, and children were driven away by the ground landlord that he might clear the site for other dwellings. I was anxious to propose a clause in the Bill on this subject with the view to preventing this sudden displacement of sections of the population, but I had no opportunity of doing so. There is another very important defect in the Bill to which I refer—

MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Gentleman is not in order in discussing the provisions of another Bill on the Appropriation Bill.

\*MR. CREMER: I will not go into a discussion of that Bill, though I think greater facilities ought to have been given for a discussion of a measure of the kind, and that it ought not to have been rushed through Grand Committee in three hours and a half, and then got through this House in a still more speedy and mysterious manner. I venture to predict that this Bill, which was to consolidate the Statutes, will have to be amended at no distant date. The Chief Commissioner of Works, in conjunction with the Secretary to the Treasury, has been considering for three or four years how to get rid of the evils of contracting for workmen in Government establishments. Some Members are content with an answer of the kind which has been given to me; but if you want to get anything in this House, you have to keep pegging away; and I shall keep pegging away at this question. I believe the contract under which workmen are employed in this House and various Government Offices expires on the 31st March, and I want to know whether that contract will be renewed. It seems to me abominable that poor men, who ought to have every penny they earn, should be subjected to shameful deductions by the contractor, in some cases to the extent of 20, 30, and 40 per cent. If I am correctly informed, in one Department of the British Museum the contractor deducts from the scanty earn-

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ings of his men between 7s. and 9s. per week. I believe the Secretary to the Treasury is really anxious to do something to get rid of or to modify this system. But what I contend is that it is not modification we want, but total abolition of this system. I will take care next Session to watch my opportunity to ventilate the whole question. With regard to the discontent which exists in the Post Office, anyone who has watched the proceedings of the last few months must have come to the conclusion that the Department is honeycombed with discontent, from some cause or other, whether the fault of the Postmaster General or the permanent officials. The right hon. Gentleman said he had "stamped out rebellion." That was the phrase he used. I admit that the Post Office *employés'* attempt was one of the most foolish ever made by a body of men. We hear many taunts and sneers levelled at agitators, but it is a fact that representatives of the Post Office *employés* sought an interview with hon. Members of this House, who are supposed to be more directly representative of labour than others. We gave those representatives our advice, which was to seek remedy of their grievances in a constitutional way. Unfortunately, they listened to other and more pernicious counsels, and we know what the result has been. Still, the Post Office is rife with discontent. The other night, however, the Postmaster General graciously informed me that he intended to raise the salaries of the counter-men of the Post Office, by 40 per cent. in some instances, and 20 in others. I went away glad that the right hon. Gentleman was going to do that hard worked and badly paid class of servants justice. But when I spoke with the Postmaster of a certain district he informed me that the promise of the right hon. Gentleman would not affect those who had petitioned the Postmaster for five years. I will not discuss the point now, but it is a fact that these counter-men, who petitioned two or three years ago, will have to wait five years before the prayer of their Petition is acceded to. There is only one other point to which I wish to call attention, that is the salaries and expenses of the Office of Registrar of Friendly Societies. I, for one, am pre-

pared to get rid of the institution altogether, at least in the form in which it exists. So far as I can gather among the officers of Friendly Societies it is looked upon as perfectly useless, and unless it is re-modelled and new chief officers appointed, and the whole institution re-cast, I think I shall undertake to move the rejection of the Vote next year. I think the Secretary to the Treasury will agree with me, when he has given further consideration to the subject, that the Office of the Registrar of Friendly Societies is an institution which requires to be re-modelled.

\*(6.20.) MR. STAVELEY HILL (Staffordshire, Kingwinford): I hope I shall not be considered as unduly taking up the time of the House in calling the attention of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to the present condition of the negotiations between the United States and this country on the subject of the Behring Sea Fishery. When a question has come to the point at which two nations so closely allied and having so much in common are brought to a condition in which they have said very nearly the last word to one another, it becomes of the greatest importance that we should consider in what position the matter stands. I regret that the Foreign Office has not at an earlier period given the Papers on the subject. The correspondence has been published in Canada and in the States, but though a promise was made early in April that the Papers would be produced, it is only just as I am rising to speak that my right hon. Friend has presented me with this large Blue Book. It is a great pity that upon such an important question the Government have not been able to produce the correspondence at an earlier date. The *locus in quo*, the Behring Sea, has been claimed by the United States as a *mare clausum*, as a place for which they have a right to pass and in which they have a right to enforce their own municipal law, and in which other nations have no rights. The claim is altogether monstrous. They represent as an inland sea a tract of ocean comparable in extent to the North Atlantic or the Gulf of Mexico. Reaching up in the North to the Arctic Ocean, and on the South to the Archipelago, of the Aleutian Islands, is a large tract of water 1,000 miles in extent from North

to South, and over many degrees of longitude from East to West, with openings between the islands from double the width of the Channel between England and France to about 120 miles between the most westerly American and the most easterly Russian island. This part of the case was fully discussed during the early part of the correspondence, and Lord Salisbury, in August, 1887, said that the Government of the United States would admit that the seizure and condemnation of British vessels and the imprisonment of masters and crew were not warranted by the circumstances, and hoped that compensation would be afforded, and steps taken to prevent a recurrence of those incidents. In 1889, after further correspondence, I learn from the Papers laid before Congress that Lord Salisbury protested against the renewal of the seizures, pointing out that they were wholly unjustified by International Law. I need not now dwell upon the habits of these animals which form the subject of dispute, and in which the United States are setting up a sort of proprietary right. In the centre of the Behring Sea are two islands, St. Paul's and St. George's, formerly belonging to Russia, and sold by her as part of Alaska to the United States. The seals appear to go down as far as San Francisco in each year, and return for the purpose of breeding to these two islands. Those islands are leased to and carefully guarded by the Alaskan Company, and an enormous revenue accrues to the United States from the seals killed on them. The animals that are not breeding remain on the sea, where they consume enormous quantities of fish, and then lie basking in the sun, to fall a prey to the spear of the Indian, or the rifle of the white hunter. The United States has legislated for the territory of Alaska, and penalties have been provided in the case of persons killing a fur-bearing seal in the Alaskan territory or the waters thereof. If "the waters thereof" are to be construed as merely the territorial waters, then this legislation is, of course, within their constitutional rights; but if it is intended to bring within their jurisdiction the whole of the waters to the north of the chain of the Aleutians, then they are legislating on a matter as to which they have no

right at all. British Columbian schooners, for example, start on their errand from British Columbia to catch seals in the open sea. If they go within the territorial waters they are liable to the territorial laws of Alaska, but so long as they keep to the open sea they are not amenable. Seizures, professedly under this Act, took place in 1886 and 1887. In 1888, in consequence of strong remonstrances from Lord Iddesleigh and Lord Salisbury, a proclamation was issued by the United States under which the sealers were left alone. The proclamation, however, was withdrawn in 1889, and the schooners were again attacked. I will read to the House the only passage with which I will trouble it, the account of the seizure of the *Black Diamond*, Mr. Owen master. He says—

“On the 11th day of July, 1889, whilst I was on board and in command of the said schooner, and she being then on a sealing expedition, and being in latitude 56° 23' north, and longitude 170° 25' west, and at a distance of about 35 miles from land, the United States Revenue cutter *Richard Rush* overhauled the said schooner, and having hailed her by shouting a command which I could not distinctly hear, steamed across the bows of the said schooner, compelling her to come to. A boat was then lowered from the said cutter, and Lieutenant Tuttle and five other men from the United States vessel came aboard the said schooner. I asked the lieutenant what he wanted; and on his stating he wished to see the ship's papers, I took him down to my cabin and showed them to him. He then commanded me to hand the papers over to him; this I refused to do, and locked them up in my locker. At this time there were 181 seal skins aboard the schooner, 76 of which had been salted, and 55 of which were unsalted, and Lieutenant Tuttle ordered his men to bring up the skins and to take the salted ones on board the *Richard Rush*. The cutter's men accordingly transferred all of the salted skins from my schooner to the *Richard Rush*, and also took aboard the cutter two sacks of salt and a rifle belonging to the schooner. Lieutenant Tuttle then again demanded me to give up the ship's papers, and told me that if I would not give them up he would take them by force. As I still declined to part with them, he signalled to the cutter, and a boat came off with the master-at-arms, who came on board the schooner. Lieutenant Tuttle asked me for the keys of the locker, so that he might get the papers; and upon my refusing to give them to him, he ordered the master-at-arms to force open the locker. The master-at-arms then unscrewed the hinges of the locker, took out the ship's papers, and handed them to Lieutenant Tuttle. Lieutenant Tuttle then returned to the *Richard Rush* and came back to the schooner again, bringing on board with

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him one whose name I have since heard to be John Hawkinson, and who I believe to be a quartermaster of the *Richard Rush*. Lieutenant Tuttle then told me to take the schooner to Sitka. I told him that I would not go unless he put a crew on board to take the schooner there. He gave Hawkinson directions to take the ship to Sitka, and gave him letters to give to the United States Authorities on arrival. Lieutenant Tuttle, before leaving my schooner, ordered 20 Indian spears which were aboard for sealing purposes to be taken on to the *Richard Rush*. I asked the lieutenant to give me a receipt for the papers, skins, &c., he had taken; this he refused to do, and he then returned to the *Richard Rush*, taking the said spears with him, and leaving the man Hawkinson in charge of the schooner; shortly afterwards the cutter steamed away without returning the ship's papers, seal skins, and other goods before mentioned. After the departure of the United States vessel, I directed my course to Unalakleet, hoping there to meet with an English man-of-war. We arrived there on the 15th of July. My crew at this time consisted of a mate (Alexander Gault), two white seamen, deck hands, and a white cook and 20 Indians. The Indians, thinking we were going to Sitka, became mutinous, and told me the best thing I could do to avoid trouble was to take the schooner home; they also warned the other white men on board that if they thought I meant to take the schooner to Sitka they would throw us all overboard. There being no man-of-war at Unalakleet, I left there and directed my course to Victoria, and arrived at that port at about 7 p.m. on Saturday, the 3rd of August last, having on board the said John Hawkinson, who, during the cruise to Victoria, had not tried to give me any directions or made any suggestions as to the course to be taken by the schooner. On arrival at Victoria Hawkinson was put on shore by one of my boats.”

Here we have every rule of seizure at sea violated, the cargo taken out of the ship, no sufficient prize crew placed on board, nor any steps taken to obtain an adjudication in due form, and this was the manner in which the United States dealt with some 17 vessels sailing under the flag of a friendly Power. The case of the *Black Diamond* is typical of 17 or 20 other cases in 1886-7-9. Cutters have been sent to attack schooners, for what reason? “Because,” says Mr. Secretary Blaine, speaking of this vast ocean—

“Into this secluded and peaceful field of labour whose benefits were so equitably shared by the native Aleuts of the Ribyloff Islands, by the United States, and by England, certain Canadian vessels in 1886 asserted their right to enter, and by their ruthless course to destroy the fisheries.”

I venture to say that the House, on

reading the Despatches of Lord Salisbury, will find that the whole case has been put plainly and forcibly, and that it is unanswered and unanswerable. Mr. Blaine says that our action has been *contra bonos mores*; that is to say, that killing seals on the high seas is equivalent to piracy. I will not trouble the House with the Despatches, inasmuch as I only received the Blue Book at half past 2 o'clock this afternoon.

\*THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Sir J. FERGUSON, Manchester, N.E.): The hon. and learned Gentleman is under a mistake. The Papers were obtainable at the Vote Office this morning.

\*MR. STAVELEY HILL: I went to the Library this afternoon, and was informed that it had been presented there only in dummy. It is said that there is a great waste of seal life, and that the female seals are killed as well as the males. I thought it right to inquire into this charge myself, and I saw at Vancouver the masters and many of the sealers. I examined and cross-examined them; I went on board their ships, and went into the whole matter as fully as I could, and I came to the conclusion that in the way in which sealing is conducted there is no waste of life and no undue killing of the female seals. There is one important point to bear in mind. Sealakin, I own, is a very valuable article of commerce. There is, however, another side to the question; the seals live in a sea which washes a coast where, in the course of a few years, there will be as large a British population as you will find anywhere—I mean that of British Columbia. The Behring Sea is not merely valuable for its seals. It has probably the greatest fishery for cod and other useful fish. If the United States be once allowed to consider Behring Sea as a *mare clausum*, they will be able not only to protect the seals, to the destruction of the fish, but also to forbid the taking of the codfish, and the result will be that, while there will be in that territory a large British population, they will not be able to catch the fish which they will require for their own sustenance. In many matters in this part of the world England has not looked sufficiently far ahead. Let us look ahead in the present instance. It is com-

puted that there are at present in the Behring Sea fully 6,000,000 seals. Every one of these seals, it is calculated, consumes 10 lbs. of fish a day, so that there is a total consumption of 60,000,000 lbs. of fish per day; the loss of this must be taken into the account as against the value of the seals. There is another question to which I will draw the attention of my right hon. Friend, and that is the seizure made by the Russian Government in 1888. An Alaskan Company's vessel started out in a fog, and when the fog lifted, found itself close to a schooner called the *Araunah*, which was lowering her boats out for sealing. The Russians contended that the *Araunah* was within three miles of the shore. They took possession of her, sold her boats, destroyed her, and turned her crew adrift. I was fortunate enough to come across the man who was at the wheel of the *Araunah* at the time of the seizure, and he proved to me that he was at least five miles distant from the coast. I would ask my right hon. Friend to let me lay these and other facts before him for future consideration, because if these facts are true the crew of the vessel seized have been very badly treated. With regard to close time, in a letter I wrote to the *Times* in November last I advocated on the part of the sealers that there should be a close time during nine months of the year—in other words, that there should be hunting only during July, August, and September. That is the one thing required; but Mr. Secretary Blaine rests his whole case on this: that Lord Salisbury consented in the earlier part of the discussion that there should be a close time from April to November. If the Prime Minister did say so it was entirely *per incuriam*, and without knowing the facts of the case and the habits of the seal. Lord Salisbury, however, refused finally to arrange this matter until "Canada is heard from;" and in taking that line Lord Salisbury acted most properly. I think Canada should be consulted; and what was most calculated to make the pulses of the Canadian people beat warmly and in accord with the Mother Country was Lord Salisbury's declaration that Canada must be consulted. Sir Julian Pauncefote, our most excellent Ambassador at Washington, has put forward a scheme which, at present, the United States will not listen to, but it is one

which must eventually be accepted. He proposes a seal limit line, a close time during nine months of the year, the appointment of a Committee of experts to inquire into what is necessary for the sufficient protection of the seal, and that differences between the United States and the British or any other Government upon the Report of this Committee shall be left to the arbitrament of a friendly Power. We have no fear with regard to arbitration; we know that our case is absolutely a good one. In the hands of Sir Julian Pauncefote and the Foreign Office the matter, I am confident, will be well attended to. The only persons who have not shown themselves very strong in this matter have been those at the head of the Colonial Office. The Colonial Office ought to have prevented Lord Salisbury from making the important mistake, if mistake it were, in regard to the close time; but, with our experience of the present head of the Colonial Office, one does not expect great things.

(6.42.) **SIR W. PLOWDEN** (Wolverhampton W.): I wish to refer to the manner in which the affairs of our Indian Empire are administered. As the Rules of the House are at present arranged it is utterly impossible to obtain any satisfactory discussion of any great questions involving matters of interest in India, except those which are concerned with the Indian Accounts. An hon. Member did, at some earlier time in the Session, obtain by ballot a day for the discussion of a matter somewhat akin to that which I am now bringing forward; but his day was taken from him by the Government, and the consequence is that the question has never been brought forward. When the hon. Member to whom I refer (the Member for North Kensington, Sir Roper Lethbridge) complained on the subject, I understand the Government agreed to consider the matter. The position is simply this: By Standing Order 51, whenever an Order is read for the House to resolve itself into Committee, not being Committee of Supply or Ways and Means, you, Sir, are to leave the Chair without Question put. Therefore, on these occasions we are prevented altogether from bringing forward questions of the greatest interest to this country and to many Members of this House. I cannot fancy that any-

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thing could be more calculated to produce feeling on the part of our fellow-subjects in India than the methods we employ in dealing with their affairs in this House. We do not allow them to take a large share in the administration of their own country, and we profess to be the guardians of their interests in this House; but we do not exercise any powers in regard to the guardianship of such interests. A notice which was put down in the early part of this year would have had the effect of amending the Standing Order so as to give those desirous of discussing Indian affairs at any length, or on any appropriate occasion, power to do so. I want to state to the Government that, in the coming Session, it will be my business to endeavour to get that notice placed again on the Paper, and also to secure a day for its discussion. The notice was to the effect that Standing Order No. 51 be amended by inserting after the words "Ways and Means," the words, "the Committee on the Indian Financial Statement." I believe there are many Members who will support me if I am able to take that step. I believe the Government themselves are desirous that the present state of things should no longer continue, and I do appeal to the House to assist in providing some means of relieving the House from what is a grave and serious scandal. If this be done I am certain the occasions will be few when advantage will be taken of such a modification of the Order, and that discussions will only be raised on matters of deep and serious interest to the Government themselves.

(6.45.) **SIR R. N. FOWLER** (London): I quite agree with all the hon. Member has said, and I hope the Government will favourably consider his contention. I wish to draw attention to a question in regard to which, in conjunction with my hon. Friend the Member for Kirkcudbright (Mr. M. Stewart), I had the honour to introduce a deputation to Lord Cross, namely, the sale of opium in India. Formerly the East India Company and the Indian Government did all that lay in their power to restrain the selling of opium amongst their own subjects, the people of India. I am afraid the Government of India is not so careful as it used to be, and I trust attention will be given to the subject.



\* (6.47.) MR. G. HOWELL (Bethnal Green, N.E.): I have to complain of the way in which the Government have dealt with several matters that have been put before the House. Especially do I think that the Chancellor of the Exchequer ought to have persevered with the Savings Banks Bill. It was withdrawn at a late period of the Session because, forsooth, the Government declared they had not an opportunity of giving it adequate discussion. And yet after that the Government consented to bring in a Bill which occupied this House during the whole of last night. I think the conduct of the Government amounts to a breach of faith. They were not justified in throwing overboard, at the last moment, so important a measure, affecting, as it does, 1,500,000 depositors, having £46,000,000 in the savings banks of the country. From the Savings Banks Association I learn that the representatives of the savings banks of the country, having deposits to the amount of £40,000,000 out of £46,000,000, approved the general principle of the Bill of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Under these circumstances, I think we have the right to feel aggrieved that the Government have thrown overboard so important a measure. It is not as if there were not sufficient evidence. Evidence has accumulated in this House since 1886, and we have before us this notorious fact, that the depositors of the Cardiff Savings Bank, having £40,000 of their money unpaid to them, are still waiting for a settlement of their claims. Early next Session I shall certainly bring the matter before the House again, and endeavour to insure that the depositors in savings banks shall have their deposits secured to them by Act of Parliament. I have also another complaint to make against the Treasury. For 26 years the Trade Unions of this country have enjoyed the privilege of depositing their funds in the Post Office Savings Bank or Trustee Savings Banks without limit as to amount. They have exercised this privilege without any detriment whatever to the public, without any inconvenience to the Treasury, and without any inconvenience to the Post Office. Now, this privilege has been suddenly withdrawn, and it is not known upon what ground. The

Chancellor of the Exchequer, it is true, says it is a dangerous thing to have large sums belonging to Trade Societies in the savings banks, for they might be withdrawn suddenly in times of emergency, and the right hon. Gentleman also doubts whether these societies come within the definition of Friendly and Provident Societies. I have made inquiries, and find that six societies alone, in the period during which the privilege to which I refer has been enjoyed, have paid to their members for benefit purposes £5,758,414. These six societies in the same period have only paid £278,132 in respect of strikes. This hardly bears out the right hon. Gentleman's view that the money is likely to be withdrawn suddenly for strike purposes. The Government are not only boycotting these great benevolent institutions, they are actually backing up the attempt which has been made to take from these societies their benevolent objects, and to make them exist for strike purposes alone. I had a letter this morning from the Secretary to one of these societies, and I find that the amount of money his society has spent on disputes and strikes of all kinds has been some £70,255, whereas it has spent something like £730,580 for benevolent objects. The most singular thing is that, only a year ago, at my instance, the Government, as a concession to these societies, agreed to transmit money from one branch to another, or from the executive to a branch, without going through the ordinary form of making two trustees and the secretary go to the Post Office to pay in the money, and causing two trustees and the secretary to attend at the Post Office at the other end for the purpose of drawing it out again. I speak in the name of 16 societies, having branches all over the country, which have now been boycotted, and also in the name of the London Trades Council, and I say that the question shall not continue to depend on the decision of the National Debt Commissioners. We shall insist in this House upon the passing of a measure which shall give to these societies the same privilege as is accorded to other benevolent societies. The ban of the law has been removed, and now these institutions are perfectly lawful. Why the Government should endeavour to



boycott the funds of these unions I am at a loss to understand. I hope that, during the recess, the Treasury will consider the whole question, and in the ensuing Session bring in a measure to give to these societies the rights and privileges that other Provident Societies enjoy, and have enjoyed, for a considerable number of years.

(7.1.) **Mr. CHANNING** (Northampton, E.): The point to which I wish to address myself relates to the work of the Foreign Office; but before I touch upon it I should like, as the hon. Member representing the Post Office in the absence of the Postmaster General is present, to support the appeal made by the hon. Member for Haggerston in favour of the consideration of the case of the postmen who, through accepting bad advice, have been guilty of insubordination. I trust the Department will look favourably upon the case of these men, who have, I believe, in almost every instance, acted admirably in other matters. We owe a great debt to the hon. Member for Stockport (Mr. Jennings) for having brought up the question of Supply. I wish to offer Her Majesty's Government one suggestion, which I hope they may adopt. The hon. Member made an exceedingly conciliatory and dignified defence of the course of the Government with regard to Supply, but he did not touch the kernel of the matter, and that is the arrangement of the time given to Supply. The suggestion I wish to offer is, that Supply should not only be taken consecutively, but after adequate notice. It is important that the discussion of the Estimates should be systematised, and the Government will have the warm support of many Members like myself in a free application of the Closure in Supply, if they only give adequate notice with regard to Supply beforehand, and if they insist that only those subjects shall be discussed of which adequate notice has been given. We have heard a great deal of obstruction being practised by hon. Members on this side of the House, and I think the Secretary to the Treasury was a little unjust to my hon. Friend the Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) in quoting a speech of his in Devonshire. I believe the quotation the right hon. Gentleman made from that speech had reference especially to the

*Mr. G. Howell*

Local Taxation Bill. Let me draw attention to the time actually given to Supply by English and Welsh Members from the beginning of the Session to the end of July. I have not been able to carry my investigations further, but I think the figures which I have obtained up to that time justify me in saying that hon. Members on this side have not taken up an undue proportion of the time of the House. I find that, in the various discussions, leaving out of the calculation the Irish Estimates and the Education and Police Votes, which were specially arranged for, English and Welsh Liberal Members have delivered 175 speeches, occupying a little over 15 hours. The speeches delivered by Ministers and their supporters numbered 241, and occupied 23 hours and 48 minutes. But I chiefly rose because of the reply I received from the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to a question I put to him as to representations made by the Ecclesiastical Assembly of the Armenians to the Patriarch at Constantinople, requesting him to lay before the Sublime Porte the grievances of the Armenians in respect to their religious privileges and rights, particularly in the matter of marriage and inheritance, and the collection of money and its application to the building of schools and churches. I drew attention to the fact that the Memorial of the Armenians had been communicated to Lord Salisbury in the month of February or March last, and that, in the acknowledgment from the Foreign Office, the intimation was made that the Memorial was sent to Sir William White with the object of obtaining his opinion upon it. The reply of the right hon. Gentleman was to the effect that Her Majesty's Ambassador, to whom a copy of the Memorial was sent, had advised that no advantage would be gained by his supporting the demands of the memorialists, and that Her Majesty's Government, therefore, did not propose to take any steps in the matter. I wish to enter my protest against the action of Sir William White and Her Majesty's Ministers in this matter. The Memorial states, in the most moderate way, certain grievances of the Armenian people. It draws attention to the fact that successive Sultans have guaranteed in the most solemn way the maintenance of the special privileges of the Armenian

clergy, especially in regard to the management of their Church affairs. Treaties, and the relations which have been maintained with regard to this matter by the Government of the Porte, constitute a moral obligation, if not a constitutional International obligation, on the part of the Administration of this country, to exercise supervision as to the protection and maintenance of these privileges for the Armenians. If the answer of the right hon. Gentleman really represents their policy in regard to the Armenians, the Government are evidently shutting their eyes to the facts. If they shut their eyes to the withdrawal of these privileges and the stamping out of Christianity, if they are going to turn a deaf ear to the prayer of such a reasonable Memorial as that laid before the Porte, at the instance of the clergy of the Armenians, they are assuming a very dangerous responsibility. Their policy will be challenged by those of strong religious feeling, who will not tolerate in any Government the betrayal of the best and mildest forms of religion in the struggle against tyranny and oppression, especially when there are Treaty obligations on the part of this country to give such protection as we can to these poor and miserable people.

\*(7.20.) SIR J. FERGUSSON: I am sorry if my reply the other day to the hon. Member for East Northamptonshire as to the Memorial presented to the Porte led him to think that Her Majesty's Ambassador does not concern himself in the welfare of the Christian population, and specially of the Armenians, when opportunity offers for useful representation. In the last Despatch in the Blue Book presented on this subject there is one from Lord Salisbury instructing Sir W. White to use his influence whenever he sees opportunity to do so. There are matters referred to in the Memorial with regard to which I have shown Her Majesty's Ambassador has exerted himself not altogether without success; but I must remind the House that we are not alone in this matter. We are only one of the Powers which are parties to the Treaty of Berlin, and if in season and out of season we are perpetually interfering in the internal affairs of the country it will diminish, instead of increase, the influence we now possess. I gratefully acknowledge the tone and

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temper of the hon. and learned Member for Staffordshire (Mr. S. Hill), who possesses special knowledge on the subject of the Behring Sea Fisheries, and who has visited the locality in question. I am glad to think that with his knowledge of the subject the hon. and learned Member considers that the representations made by the Prime Minister to the Government of the United States have been adequate, and such as those injured have a right to expect. I hope the Despatch of Lord Salisbury to Mr. Blaine will be studied elsewhere than in this House, seeing that the time of the Session precludes its consideration here. The Papers show that Her Majesty's Government have not been slow to meet the United States on fair and conciliatory terms. As long ago as April, 1888, Lord Salisbury was willing to refer the matters in question to arbitration. With regard to the close time then proposed, from the 15th of April to the 1st of November, it was distinctly stated that it was open to discussion, and further investigation has shown that it would not be the most convenient time. At the same time, Her Majesty's Government have protested against any more captures of British vessels on the high seas on the pretence that they are on a *mare clausum* where the United States have exclusive jurisdiction. They have also recognised the necessity which exists for the protection of this species, which is particularly liable to extinction by unlimited and reckless fishing. The Canadian Government, who object to being altogether shut out, recognise that some restrictions ought to be imposed to prevent the extermination of the species. I hope that nothing will occur to cause anything like a collision between the two nations. Caution has been used to avoid such a collision, but it will be impossible to tolerate that more of our vessels should be seized in a manner which we cannot for a moment permit.

(7.25.) MR. J. ROWLANDS (Finsbury, E.): There is one matter to which I desire to call the attention of the President of the Local Government Board. My hon. Friend the Member for Haggerston has criticised the Housing of the Working Classes Acts that have been passed this year. I do not intend to enter into the merits or demerits of the question, because I was one of those who wel-

comed the Consolidation Act as a great step in advance. What I am particularly anxious to know is, whether the Government will be prepared next Session to bring in a Bill dealing with the question of the clearance of large areas by private individuals? At present, no Bill can pass which gives a Railway Company or a Corporation power to make clearance unless they provide dwellings for the people whom they are about to displace. But a private individual can displace any number of people without providing other dwellings for them, and I and others are anxious to know whether it is the intention of the Government to effect a change of the law in this respect? There are other matters upon which, if it were earlier, I should like to have spoken, but the importance of these I have mentioned justifies me in making at the end of the Debate these few remarks. I endorse the whole of the speech of my hon. Friend the Member for Bethnal Green (Mr. Howell) as to the action of the Treasury in regard to Trades Union banking accounts, and unless some alteration is made in this regulation much more will be heard of the matter next Session.

\*(7.31.) Mr. MORTON (Peterborough): I am sorry to detain the House, and I will not do so at any length. There is a question I should like to put to the Under Secretary of State for India, a question we could not put last night, because we were restricted to the financial side of Indian questions. Why, I ask, do the Government refuse to allow the people of India to have some elected Representatives upon the Indian Councils? It is an important question we have not had the opportunity of discussing during this Session. I was amazed to hear the remarks by Lord Salisbury in relation to Canadian opinion, and it struck me as strange that he did not see the advantage of applying the principle he supported to the Irish people. If we had treated the Irish people as we treat the Canadian people, we should have no more trouble with Ireland than we have with Canada. With regard to Supply, which is almost the only matter that I, as a new Member, have hitherto concerned myself and troubled the House about, it appears to me that to the most important function of the

*Mr. J. Rowlands*

House of Commons (the control of the National expenditure) we have this Session devoted very little attention. I am glad to hear that next year we are to have the support of the hon. Member for Stockport (Mr. Jennings) on this subject, and I hope we shall have his vote on our side as well as his speech. I noticed that on one occasion this Session the hon. Member made a long and useful speech on a Motion for a reduction of expenditure, of which he had given notice, but he did not actually move the reduction, so that we had no opportunity of backing him, nor did he take the opportunity of backing his speech by his vote. It is of little use making a speech on matters of this kind unless you take a Division. The Government laugh at this, but they do not like a Division which shows to the country the opinions of Members. I shall heartily join with the hon. Gentleman next Session in criticising Votes on Account. It is the only way to teach this, or any other, Government, that the nation's money must be expended economically as well as efficiently. Except on rare occasions there is no Party question involved in this, and we can all join in preventing extravagant Departmental expenditure, and if we change places in the House next year, as I hope we may, I shall still be glad to co-operate with the hon. Gentleman to this end. I am afraid, however, that we shall never get these matters properly considered until we have a system by which we can relegate local business to Local Legislatures of each nationality. We have been told to-day by the Secretary to the Treasury that he desires a free discussion of the Estimates, and now that the franchise is extended and people are better educated, they will insist upon more attention being given to these matters upon which they are so deeply concerned. In future, more time must be given to Supply, and this time can only be found by a devolution of local affairs, leaving this House free to deal with Imperial matters. Charges of obstruction have been freely made against us, but I do not believe there has been any such thing as obstruction. I have no doubt that those who have made those charges will, after the next General Election, regret that they have made these complaints. That which is fair criticism, looked at from the other side

may seem to be obstruction, but I deny that the charge of obstruction can be supported this Session. Our opposition has been asked by the country, and it has been successful, for the Government have had to withdraw their Bills. The waste of time during this Session is due to the action of the Government and not of the Opposition.

\*(7.38.) THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. RITCHIE, Tower Hamlets, St. George's):

In reply to the hon. Member for Finsbury, I acknowledge that the question of the housing of the working classes is of great and growing importance. He complains that there is a grievance in the fact that private individuals are not, by legislation, compelled to find accommodation for those people they displace when they clear their land.

MR. J. ROWLANDS: Or give due time.

\*MR. RITCHIE: The tendency of modern legislation is whenever a public body or company comes to Parliament to take power to clear away dwellings, that the promoters shall provide accommodation for the people they displace, but the position is very different when private individuals deal with their own property. Legislation then does not control private action, though public opinion would not regard with anything like favour the peremptory action of a proprietor who might act without the slightest regard to his tenants. It is a matter of very great importance, but it would be a novel feature in legislation to deal with it in the manner desired by the hon. Member. There are difficulties in the way, but the subject shall have the attention its importance deserves. With regard to the remarks of the hon. Member for Haggerston (Mr. Cremer), on the Housing of the Working Classes Bill, I may say that during the recess I will have Circulars issued so that Local Authorities may be made thoroughly acquainted with the new duties and powers that devolve upon them, and so that the objects of the measure may be carried out.

Question put, and agreed to.

Bill read a second time, and committed for to-morrow.

#### EAST INDIA (REVENUE ACCOUNTS).

##### Resolution reported—

"That it appears, by the Accounts laid before this House, that the Total Revenue of India for the year ending 31st day of March, 1889, was Rx.81,696,678: that the Total Expenditure in India and in England charged to the Revenue was Rx.81,659,660; that there was a Surplus of Revenue over Expenditure of Rx.37,018; and that the Capital Outlay on Railways and Irrigation Works was Rx.1,638,001, besides a Capital Charge of Rx.10,336,049 involved in the Redemption of Liabilities."

Resolution agreed to.

#### DIRECTORS' LIABILITY BILL.

(No. 413.)

Lords Amendments agreed to, with Amendments.

#### METROPOLIS MANAGEMENT ACTS AMENDMENT BILL.—(No. 356.)

Order read for consideration of Lords Amendments.

(8.47.) MR. PICKERSGILL (Bethnal Green, S.W.): The London County Council have, I understand, accepted these Amendments rather than lose the Bill, but, under other circumstances, I should have felt it my duty to take a Division upon one of the points involved. As the Bill left this House it provided that where a Vestry or District Board required a portion of a house or premises in order to effect a public improvement it should be able to purchase the part, and not be compelled, as at present, to purchase the whole of the premises. The point was fully considered by a Committee of this House—a Committee which took a large amount of evidence on the question, and was assisted by a considerable number of learned counsel, and I believe the Committee was unanimous in accepting Clause 6, which has been thrown out in another place. The London County Council, however, accept the Amendment, as it is compelled to do at this period of the Session, and, therefore, I shall not now dispute it.

Lords Amendments agreed to, with Amendments.

House adjourned at five minutes before Eight o'clock.

## HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Saturday, 16th August, 1890.

The House met at Twelve of the clock.

## QUESTIONS.

## VACCINATION.

DR. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid): I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board whether parents who present their children to public vaccinators for vaccination with calf lymph will be open to prosecution under the Compulsory Vaccination Act if they withhold their children from vaccination with human lymph; whether the Board recognises the vaccinator's responsibility for the lymph he uses, as that responsibility has been declared by the Board's Medical Officer, and will supply to public vaccinators at least, from the institution authorised by Parliament for the production of calf lymph, so much of that lymph as they may require for the due discharge of their official duties; and whether, in view of the fact that in Belgium and other countries calf lymph is dispensed by their Governments to the almost complete exclusion of human lymph, and that the Board's Medical Officer has in a recent Report spoken favourably of the increasing preference shown in this country for calf lymph, he can inform the House on what grounds that preference and the Medical Officer's favourable mention of it are founded?

\*THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. RITCHIE, Tower Hamlets, St. George's): The Vaccination Act, 1867, under which vaccination is made compulsory, contains no exemption by which parents are relieved of the statutory obligation in this respect because of their preference for one class of lymph rather than another. But every parent is free to arrange with a private medical practitioner for the vaccination of a child with calf lymph. The Local Government Board have always regarded it as a matter of importance that the responsibility for the lymph used in vaccination should lie with the public vaccinator, and they concur in the view expressed by their medical

officer as to this. The Board will continue, as heretofore, to forward to any public vaccinator who may desire it a supply of calf lymph, such as will enable him to establish a series of vaccinations, but, as I stated yesterday in my reply to another question, I am not prepared to make any change in the administration of the Vaccination Acts pending the sitting of the Royal Commission on Vaccination. I am not aware that the Medical Officer of the Board has in any recent Report spoken favourably of the increasing preference shown in this country for calf lymph.

## SIR G. CAMPBELL AND THE ATTORNEY GENERAL.

SIR G. CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.): Perhaps the House will allow me to make a personal explanation. When I complained the other day that the Public Prosecutor did not investigate the case of bogus companies, the Attorney General mentioned the instance of a particular company with which I have been connected, and he suggested that I was endeavouring to enforce civil rights by the means of the Criminal Law.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir R. WEBSTER, Isle of Wight): I beg the hon. Gentleman's pardon. The hon. Gentleman is quite mistaken. I said, as a general proposition, that these prosecutions would be used for the purpose of enforcing rights. I made no allusion whatever to the misfortune of the hon. Member.

SIR G. CAMPBELL: I am quite aware the Attorney General exempted me from his category of fools.

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order! After that explanation I do not see that a personal imputation has been made.

SIR G. CAMPBELL: But, Sir, there is another point. I have often attacked bogus companies, and so have my hon. Friends. [*Cries of "Order!"*]

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order! There is no personal question concerned.

SIR G. CAMPBELL: Might I, Sir—  
[*Loud cries of "Order!"*]

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order!

## IRELAND—CASE OF MR. R. P. GILL.

MR. J. O'CONNOR (Tipperary, S.): I beg to ask the Attorney General for Ireland whether he has made inquiry into the case of Mr. R. P. Gill, M.L.C.E.,

I., a professional gentleman of high standing, employed as architect of the buildings of New Tipperary, who was sentenced at Tipperary Petty Sessions, on Thursday, to a fortnight's imprisonment with hard labour, and ordered to give bail to be of good behaviour for 12 months, for the alleged offence of brushing with his shoulder against a policeman while walking through the street; whether it is true that, although Mr. Gill stated the brushing to have been accidental, and although the only evidence to the contrary was that of the policeman in question, yet the Magistrates refused to increase their sentence so as to admit of an appeal; and whether, if this be the case, the Executive intend to carry out the full measure of the sentence?

\*THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN, Dublin University): I am informed that the defendant went out of his direct course and wilfully assaulted a constable by throwing him off the pathway. The Court refused to state a case or to increase the sentence so as to justify an appeal, and the Lord Lieutenant sees no ground to interfere with the action of the Magistrates.

Mr. SEXTON: May I ask the right hon. and learned Gentleman if it is not the fact that two constables were standing upon the public crossing of the street when this gentleman desired to walk along it? The constables refused to make way, and Mr. Gill in passing pushed against the shoulder of one of the constables. The defendant is a respectable person and brother of the hon. Member for Louth. Having regard to the fact that a legal question was raised as to whether there had been an assault at all, and that the Magistrates refused to allow an appeal by declining to state a case or to increase the sentence, I would ask the right hon. and learned Gentleman whether the Government will not direct the release of this gentleman?

\*Mr. MADDEN: The facts before me do not correspond with those mentioned by the hon. Gentleman. The hon. Member says that there was a legal question involved in the case. If so, the defendant would have his remedy by going before another tribunal, and it would be wrong for me to express any opinion upon the matter. If wrong has been done to Mr. Gill by the refusal to

state a case on a legal question, he will be able to obtain redress.

Mr. SEXTON: I sincerely hope that at this stage of the Session the Government will not think it worth while to insist on this sentence being carried out. It is quite clear from the declaration of the Magistrates themselves that the utmost that occurred was an error of judgment on the part of this gentleman in thinking that he had a right to push past the constable upon a public crossing. Mr. Gill was of opinion that the constables had no right to block up the crossing; but as an appeal to a Superior Court, even upon a legal question, cannot be heard until after the 14 days' imprisonment have expired, I would ask the right hon. Gentleman whether, for the sake of producing harmony in this House, he will not order the release of Mr. Gill?

\*Mr. MADDEN: I have no right to give any undertaking on the part of the Lord Lieutenant, with whom the decision in the matter rests; but I will submit the statement which has been made by the hon. Gentleman to the proper quarter.

Mr. J. O'CONNOR: The right hon. and learned Gentleman assumes that the Magistrates had no difficulty in arriving at a decision upon the matter. Is it not the fact that during the investigation Mr. Gill asked for a postponement of the sentence until he had an opportunity of bringing up evidence to show what really had occurred, and that the Magistrates refused to accede to his request? Does it not appear to the right hon. and learned Gentleman that this refusal introduced an element of difficulty into the case?

\*Mr. MADDEN: No, Sir. The information laid before me does not show that any such request was made during the investigation.

Mr. J. O'CONNOR: I have here a *verbatim* report of what occurred.

\*Mr. MADDEN: The information supplied to me states that no evidence was called for the defence, but that the defendant addressed the Court, and intimated that he was prepared to repeat his course of action.

Mr. SEXTON (Belfast, W.): Is it not clear to the right hon. and learned Gentleman that the declaration of the defendant that he would repeat the offence showed that he thought he had a legal right to do so? If there is a

question of legal right at issue it is evident that it cannot be settled until the 14 days' imprisonment with hard labour have expired.

\*MR. MADDEN: I assume that the Magistrates were of opinion that there was no question of law. The Magistrates may have wrongly decided that no legal question arose, and in that case an application could be made to the Superior Courts. If there is a legal point at issue the Magistrates may be compelled to state a case.

MR. SEXTON: In which case the sentence will have been served before a decision can be given?

\*MR. MADDEN: No, Sir; the defendant being in custody, a Judge would sit instantly to hear the application.

#### MAIL SERVICE IN THE NORTH OF IRELAND.

MR. SEXTON: I beg to ask the Postmaster General, with regard to the undertaking given to the Ulster deputation last June, what steps, if any, the Department will take to secure the acceleration of the mail service by the Larne and Stranraer route, which is urgently required by the commercial and general interests in the North of Ireland?

A LORD OF THE TREASURY (Sir H. MAXWELL, Wigton): If the hon. Gentleman will repeat the question on Monday, I will endeavour to obtain the information.

MR. SEXTON: I must remind the hon. Gentleman that it is a question which concerns most important interests in the North of Ireland, and one which ought not to be treated by the Department with contempt. Unless effective action is taken during the Recess, I shall at the opening of the Session call attention to the promise made by the Postmaster General in June and his failure to fulfil it.

#### EX-LIEUTENANT COLONEL BROWNING.

MR. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether, with reference to the fact that Mrs. Browning, the wife of ex-Lieutenant Colonel Browning, has been refused a grant of compassionate allowance by the War Office, notwithstanding the precedent raised in the case of Mrs. Woods, who has received such a

*Mr. Sexton*

grant, and the fact that ex-Lieutenant Colonel Browning, who is now in the 59th year of his age, and unable to obtain any appointment, has served Her Majesty and the country for 30 years and five months at home and abroad, and his retired pay has been stopped by the War Office; and why (as the cases of these two ladies, both being in distressed circumstances, are precisely similar) has one lady received such a grant and the other lady been refused it?

\*THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Mr. E. STANHOPE, Lincolnshire, Horncastle): I have not received sufficient notice of this question to enable me to answer it to-day.

#### THE OLPHERT ESTATE.

MR. DALTON (Donegal, W.): I beg to ask the Attorney General for Ireland whether he is aware that a licence for a pound at Ballyconnell on the Olphert Estate has recently been granted in a place which has none of the qualifications necessary for a pound, and is actually part of a farmyard at Ballyconnell House, to which there is no access except through Mr. Olphert's private grounds; what necessity there is for a pound in this place; and whether the licence will be withdrawn if it should be found on inquiry that no necessity exists for this pound?

\*MR. MADDEN: I am informed that a licence was granted some years ago for the pound in question, and I believe that there is free access to it.

MR. DALTON: I beg to ask the Attorney General for Ireland whether his attention has been called to a Circular addressed to the Magistrates of the County of Donegal giving notice that a special Sessions of the Justices of the Peace of the said county, to be held at Lifford on the 11th August instant, for the purpose of considering the necessity of applying to the Lord Lieutenant for an extra force of constabulary, to replace the same number of men of the reserve force at the Royal Constabulary Depot, which for some time past has been serving in this county; can he state what is the necessity for taxing this district with extra police; and if he can state how many police stations are now on the Olphert Estate, how many policemen are stationed there, how are they paid, and what does Mr. Olphert receive for



barracks and stations? I also wish to ask the right hon. Gentleman if he can state how many licensed pounds are now on the Olphert Estate, who granted the licences, who are the pound keepers, and have they entered into recognisances; and, if so, who are the sureties; whether these places have any of the qualifications necessary for a pound; whether he can state the charges made by the bailiffs for sheep that are on their way to the pound or in the pound; how much money has been collected off the district for trespass within the past six months, and to whom does this money go; whether the police are authorised in assisting to drive cattle and sheep to these pounds; and whether he is aware that on the 11th August six bailiffs and three policemen made a raid on the waste lands of Glashercoo and took away 47 sheep from a vacant house in which they were penned, and which were not grazing on the land or doing any damage whatever, and on their way to the pound also took along some sheep grazing by the roadside?

\*MR. MADDEN: I have not yet received Reports upon these questions.

#### EVICCTIONS IN CASTLEISLAND.

DR. TANNER: I beg to ask the Attorney General for Ireland whether it is true that, on Thursday 14th instant, Mr. Marmion evicted a number of tenants from their dwellings at Castleisland, near Schull, County Cork, and subsequently levelled the houses; and whether it is a fact that these houses were built by the tenants out of money advanced by the Board of Works?

\*MR. MADDEN: I must also ask the hon. Gentleman to defer this question on the ground of insufficient notice.

MR. DALTON: Will the right hon. and learned Gentleman be able to answer them on Monday?

\*MR. MADDEN: I am unable to say.

MR. DALTON: At any rate, I will put them down for Monday.

#### FAILURE OF THE POTATO CROP IN WEST CORK.

MR. DONAL SULLIVAN (Westmeath, S.): I beg to ask the Attorney General for Ireland whether he has received Reports of a failure of the potato crop in the neighbourhood of Bantry in West Cork, and of impending distress in the

district; and whether, with reference to the railway extension at Bantry, involving an expenditure of £30,000, promoted under the Light Railways Act by the Cork and Bandon Railway Company, who not only offer to work the line, but to contribute one-fourth of the cost, inasmuch as this railway has passed the Grand Jury, the works could be set going long before any operations can be commenced under the Railways (Ireland) Bill of this Session if the Treasury will sanction the advance of money recommended by the Board of Works, and whether he will urge on the Treasury the desirability of taking immediate action in the winter?

\*MR. MADDEN: I have not yet received the information that will enable me to answer the question.

#### OUTRAGES IN THE NORTH OF IRELAND.

MR. SEXTON: I have no wish to trouble the House on Monday with the case to which I have already drawn attention of the brutal outrages upon Catholics in Belfast, but I beg to give notice, that unless the Government will promise to carry out the recommendations of the Royal Commission of 1886, it will be my duty at the earliest possible moment next Session to endeavour to fix the responsibility for these outrages.

#### ARRESTS FOR DRUNKENNESS ON SUNDAY (SCOTLAND).

Return ordered—

"Of all Convictions since the 29th day of September, 1887, of all Persons arrested for Drunkenness on Sunday in Scotland, giving the number in each particular County or Burgh, with the population of each such County or Burgh (in continuation of Parliamentary Papers, No. 14 of Session 1886, and Nos. 67 and 316 of Session 1887)."—(Mr. Kimber.)

#### POOR RATE (METROPOLIS) BILL. (No. 135.)

Order for Second Reading read, and discharged.

Bill withdrawn.

#### SITTINGS OF THE HOUSE.

Resolved, That this House do meet upon Monday next, at 11 o'clock.—(Mr. Jackson.)

## ORDERS OF THE DAY.

## CONSOLIDATED FUND (APPROPRIATION) BILL.

## COMMITTEE.

Bill considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

## Clause 1.

(12.25.) MR. J. O'CONNOR: I am very reluctant to trouble the Committee with any remarks at this late period of the Session; but disinclined as I am to encroach upon the time of the Committee, I am obliged to forego my original intention by what has transpired lately and the incidents which have taken place recently at the New Tipperary. On this occasion I propose to draw attention to what I conceive to have been an outrage committed upon a most respectable man.

THE CHAIRMAN: Order, order! I fail to see how the hon. Member can raise a question of this kind upon the clause now before the Committee.

Question, "That Clause 1 stand part of the Bill," put, and agreed to.

## Clause 2.

MR. SEXTON: Upon the question of order, you have ruled, Mr. Courtney, that any discussion at this stage of the Bill must be relevant to the clauses. Will it be in order to raise a general discussion upon the Third Reading?

THE CHAIRMAN: That will be a question for the Speaker.

Question, "That Clause 2 stand part of the Bill," put, and agreed to.

Remaining Clauses agreed to.

Bill reported without Amendment; to be read the third time on Monday next.

RAILWAYS, &c., RETURN TICKETS  
BILL.—(No. 217.)

\*MR. MORTON (Peterborough): I beg to move the discharge of the Order for the Second Reading of this Bill. It is no use at this period of the Session to attempt to proceed further with it, but the proposal has received so much support that I wish to say I shall take

the earliest opportunity next Session of bringing the measure forward again.

Order for Second Reading read, and discharged.

Bill withdrawn.

## ADJOURNMENT.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House do now adjourn."—*(Mr. Jackson.)*

Motion, by leave, withdrawn.

## FINANCIAL RELATIONS (ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, AND IRELAND).

Ordered, That the Select Committee on Financial Relations (England, Scotland, and Ireland), have leave to sit this day, notwithstanding the adjournment of the House.—*(Mr. Sexton.)*

## ADJOURNMENT.

Motion made, and Question, "That this House do now adjourn,"—*(Mr. Jackson.)*—put, and agreed to.

House adjourned at half after Twelve o'clock till Monday next.

## HOUSE OF LORDS,

Monday, 18th August, 1890.

The Lord FOXFORD (E. Limerick) chosen Speaker *pro tempore*.

## CONSOLIDATED FUND (APPROPRIATION) BILL.

Brought from the Commons and read 1<sup>a</sup>: Then (Standing Orders Nos. XXXIX. and XLV. having been dispensed with), moved that the Bill be now read 2<sup>a</sup>; agreed to: Bill read 2<sup>a</sup> accordingly: Committee negatived; Bill read 3<sup>a</sup>, and passed.

House adjourned during pleasure.

House resumed by the Lord Chancellor.

## COMMISSION.

The following Bills received the Royal Assent:—

Consolidated Fund (Appropriation).  
Elections (Scotland) (Corrupt and Illegal Practices).

Metropolis Management Amendment Act (1862) Amendment.  
 Census (England and Wales).  
 Census (Ireland).  
 Bankruptcy.  
 Expiring Laws Continuance.  
 Public Works Loans.  
 Pharmacy Act (Ireland) (1875) Amendment.  
 Marriages in British Embassies, &c.  
 Housing of the Working Classes.  
 Local Taxation (Customs and Excise) Duties.  
 Police (Scotland).  
 Statute Law Revision (No. 2).  
 Companies (Winding-up).  
 Companies (Memorandum of Association).  
 Allotments Act (1887) Amendment.  
 Settled Land.  
 Public Libraries Acts Amendment.  
 Metropolis Management Acts Amendment.  
 Customs Consolidation Act, 1876, Amendment.  
 Tenants' Compensation.  
 Public Health Acts Amendment.  
 Parliamentary Registration Expenses (Ireland).  
 Bills of Sale.  
 Railways (Ireland).  
 Directors' Liability.  
 And a number of Private Bills.

**PROROGATION OF THE PARLIAMENT.**

THE PARLIAMENT was this day prorogued by Commission.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR delivered Her Majesty's speech as follows:—

*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

"My relations with all Foreign Powers continue to be of a pacific and friendly character.

My attention has been called to the inconveniences which might arise from the possible conflict of territorial claims in the newly-occupied regions of Africa. I have, therefore, entered into negotiation with the Powers principally concerned for the purpose of marking out

the boundaries within which the action of the respective Governments is to be confined. The arrangement with Germany, which closes the most difficult of these questions, has been completed and laid before you; and in order to give effect to it you have sanctioned by a special Statute the cession of the island of Heligoland.

An Arrangement has also been entered into with France, separating the territory adjacent to the southern frontier of Algeria from the territory which is under the influence of the Royal Niger Company. An Agreement for the delimitation of other territories in Africa is under discussion with the Government of Portugal.

I have agreed with the President of the French Republic that the British Protectorate over Zanzibar and the French Protectorate over Madagascar shall be mutually recognised by the two Powers.

I have offered to the President of the United States to submit to arbitration questions of difference that have arisen between us with respect to jurisdiction in Behring's Sea.

The Conference upon the Slave Trade, assembled at my suggestion by His Majesty the King of the Belgians, has brought its deliberations to a close. The Final Act has received the adhesion of all the Powers represented at the Conference with the exception of His Majesty the King of the Netherlands. The Protocols will be laid before you as soon as they are received. I earnestly hope that the resolutions to which the Conference has come may lead to results worthy of the high and benevolent purpose which has inspired them.

Controversies have arisen between my subjects in Newfoundland and the French fishermen upon that coast with respect to the true interpretation of the rights reserved to France by the Treaty

of Utrecht and subsequent engagements. The adjustment of these differences is occupying the anxious attention of my Government.

I have gladly given my assent to the Act which you have passed for conferring upon the Colony of Western Australia institutions similar to those which have worked with remarkable success in the other Australian colonies.

I have learnt with satisfaction, that a Convention has been ratified by the Volksraad of the South African Republic which will, I trust, bring to an end the difficulties which existed in respect to Swaziland.

*Gentlemen of the House of Commons,*

I thank you for the provision which you have made for the requirements of the State. It is a matter of much satisfaction to me that you have been able to make substantial progress in the task of reducing the public burdens.

*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

I am rejoiced to observe that effective steps have been taken by you for the promotion of primary, intermediate, and technical education.

I trust that the measures which you have passed for the extensive reconstruction of barracks will secure the health and increase the efficiency of my soldiers. I am glad that you have been able materially to improve the position of the Police Force, on whose valuable service increasing demands are made.

The policy you have adopted of giving uniformity and increased vigour to precautions against contagious diseases among cattle will have a salutary influence upon a very important interest.

The Amendments you have made in the system of winding-up companies under the Law of Limited Liability will be of advantage to commerce; and the Acts as to allotments, and with respect to Houses for the Working Classes, will

contribute largely to the well-being of the labouring portion of my people.

I commend you earnestly to the care and blessing of Almighty God."

Then a Commission for proroguing the Parliament was read.

After which,

THE LORD CHANCELLOR said:

*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

By virtue of Her Majesty's Commission under the Great Seal, to us and other Lords directed, and now read, we do, in Her Majesty's name, and in obedience to Her Commands, prorogue this Parliament to Saturday, the Twenty-fifth day of October next, to be then here holden; and this Parliament is accordingly prorogued to Saturday the Twenty-fifth day of October next.

## HOUSE OF COMMONS,

*Monday, 18th August, 1890.*

The House met at Eleven of the clock.

### FINANCIAL RELATIONS (ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, AND IRELAND.)

Report from the Select Committee brought up, and read [Inquiry not completed.]

Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 412.]

Minutes of Proceedings to be printed. [No. 412.]

### NOTICE OF MOTION.

#### THE DEBATE ON THE ADDRESS.

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON, Leeds, N.): On behalf of my right hon. Friend the Leader of the House, I wish to give notice that next Session Her Majesty's Government will propose a shortened Address in answer to Her Majesty's Gracious Speech from the Throne, in the hope that the simple expression of the thanks of Parliament for the Royal Speech will greatly tend to shorten Debate.

### QUESTIONS.

#### THE CASE OF MR. D. J. MACKINTOSH.

**MR. SEYMOUR KEAY** (Elgin and Nairn): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether his attention has been called to the case of Mr. D. J. Mackintosh, who was appointed Professor of English in the Egyptian Government Schools, on the nomination of Sir Edward Malet, and on the recommendation of Lord Granville, in 1883, and who, after seven years of service without increase of pay, has now been superseded by another officer, and practically dismissed from his functions without any fault recorded against him; and whether he will make inquiries into the matter, and, if unmerited hardship has been inflicted on Mr. Mackintosh, will recommend to the Egyptian Authorities either to reinstate him, or to confer on him some other post of equivalent emolument?

**THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS** (Sir J. FERGUSON, Manchester, N.E.): I am not aware that anything has been heard of this case, and I do not gather from the facts stated in the question that there would be any ground for interference.

#### IRELAND—THE TULLOW POLICE.

**MR. PATRICK O'BRIEN** (Monaghan, N.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that the police of Tullow and other stations in County Carlow were engaged recently for several days, sometimes as early as 2 o'clock a.m., in seizing the cattle and other effects of the cesspayers on decrees obtained by the barony constable, Mr. Berry, for the recovery of Railway Guarantee Tax; that Head Constable Bruen, having seized and impounded in Carlow a lot of cattle, sheep, and pigs, acted as auctioneer, and charged, in addition to the amount for which the stock were seized, fees which he said were incurred in making the seizures and also poundage; and whether it is with his knowledge and sanction that the police act as bailiffs and auctioneers in cases of this kind; and, if not, will he order that they shall not again be so engaged?

**THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND** (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.): I did not receive notice of this question in time to enable me to obtain the necessary information.

#### LAND COMMISSION—DUBLIN COUNTY

**MR. CLANCY** (Dublin Co., N.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that nearly 60 tenants living in the Balrothery Union, County Dublin, lodged, prior to 31st December, 1888, applications to have fair rents fixed, and have since been unable to get their cases heard by the Land Commission; and, if so, whether any steps will be taken to expedite the hearing of the cases of those tenants and of other tenants in the County of Dublin who have served originating notices?

**MR. A. J. BALFOUR**: The list of cases for the County of Dublin which is at present for hearing before a Sub-Commission contains all the outstanding cases from the Balrothery Union up to the end of 1887, and of the cases received in 1888 there are at present 47 undisposed of. A Sub-Commission has been sitting continuously in the County of Dublin since March last, and will resume its sitting after the Vacation in October next. The outstanding cases will be disposed of with the utmost possible expedition, having due regard to the claims of other districts.

#### AFFRAY AT MILLSTREET.

**MR. J. O'CONNOR** (Tipperary, S.) for **DR. TANNER** (Cork Co., Mid): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether any inquiry has been, or will be, made into the alleged firing on and assaulting of Messrs. Sullivan and Riordan by a gang of rioters near Dean Moriarty's land in the vicinity of Millstreet, County Cork, on Tuesday, the 12th instant; whether it is true Sullivan was brutally beaten, and suffered from the infliction of several scalp wounds; and whether any attempt will be made to put down the violence now displayed in Millstreet? I have also to ask the right hon. Gentleman whether he is aware that, on Tuesday night last, Mr. Sullivan, of Millstreet, was struck from behind a severe blow on the head by a sling shot while

passing through the streets of the town; and whether any attempt is being made to bring to justice the individual who perpetrated this outrage?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I am at present unable to reply to these questions.

#### COMPLAINT AGAINST THE IRISH CONSTABULARY.

MR. J. O'CONNOR (for Dr. TANNER): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether two constables, named Donnelly and O'Donnell, are to be proceeded against for assaulting and dangerously wounding Messrs. Cornelius Costelloe and Thomas Costelloe at Croagh, near Rathkeale, on the 11th instant; whether it has been reported to him that on the occasion in question the constables having in charge a man named Gloster, who was drunk and resisting arrest, on Cornelius Costelloe advising him to go quietly, Constable Donnelly turned and struck him with a stick, knocking him down; on Thomas Costelloe coming up he was assaulted by Constable M'Donnell, who drew his sword and gave him two strokes on the head; and that the constable, seeing what he had done, tore off his cape and threw it with his sword on the ground near Costelloe, and ran away, followed by Donnelly, who let his prisoner go; whether Dr. John attended the men assaulted, and informed the police that the lives of these men were in danger from the wounds inflicted; whether either of the policemen have been, or will be, arrested and proceeded against; and what steps will be taken to punish them for the alleged outrage?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I have not yet received the information that would enable me to answer the question.

#### VACCINE LYMPH.

DR. TANNER: I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board if the Local Government Board have any information to show how many points or tubes of vaccine lymph can be obtained from a single calf; and what is the average cost to the State per calf used by the National Vaccine Institution for the purpose of propagating vaccine lymph?

THE SECRETARY TO THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. LONG, Wilts, Devizes): The calves at the

Animal Vaccine Establishment are made to serve two purposes, namely, the vaccination of infants direct from the calf at the Lamb's Conduit Street station, and the supply to the National Vaccine Establishment of lymph stored in points, for issue to practitioners (including public vaccinators) desirous of starting series of arm to arm vaccination. The number of points received by the Local Government Board from the Animal Vaccine Establishment averaged in 1888 about 80 per calf, the calf being also used for vaccinations as already stated. Calf lymph is not now issued by the Board in tubes. The cost per calf for lymph propagating purposes could only be separated with great difficulty, if at all, from the expense of maintaining a large infantile vaccination station for the Metropolis, the two expenses going on concurrently in the same premises.

#### THE TRANSVAAL.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies whether the High Commissioner for South Africa, and Mr. Hoffmeyer, Member of the Cape Parliament, acting under his instructions, have power to conclude a Convention with the Transvaal State, regarding Swaziland and several other matters, without further reference; whether the Agreement so made, and ratified by the Transvaal Volksraad, is finally concluded, or is still subject to ratification in this country; whether, having regard to the instructions of the Secretary of State that "there should be no undue restriction of British trade and enterprise," Her Majesty's Government propose to insist on the stipulations made by Mr. Hoffmeyer that the concessions to the Transvaal should only come into force on condition that the Transvaal enters the Protective Customs Union, of which the Cape Colony is the leading member, and abandons the lightly taxed commercial intercourse now existing between Natal and the Transvaal; and whether there is any provision for a Tribunal to settle disputes in Swaziland between Europeans and Natives or between Europeans and the Native Government; and, if so, whether Natives are to be represented on that Tribunal, or is it to consist of Europeans or White Afrianders only?

Mr. J. O'Connor

**THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES** (Baron H. de Worms, Liverpool, East Toxteth): The Convention referred to, of which the text has not yet been received, was made under the instructions of, and is subject to ratification by, the Government of this country. The third paragraph of the question is not fully understood, and is argumentative; and I can only refer the hon. Member to what I stated in this House, on the 4th instant, in reply to the junior Member for Northampton. As regards the fourth paragraph, it is impossible to state the provisions of the Convention precisely as far as they affect the administration of justice; but it is not believed that any Swasi native is competent to fill a judicial post in Swasiland.

#### DIRECTORSHIPS OF COMPANIES AND THE CIVIL SERVICE.

**SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL**: I beg to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether any general rules in regard to the acceptance of directorships of companies by the servants of the State have yet been promulgated; and, if not, whether any of the great Departments have issued such rules after the example of the Colonial Office which was commended by the Chancellor of the Exchequer; and whether such rules have been issued by the Treasury, both for the Treasury Office and for the Departments under the supervision of the Treasury, such as the Customs and Excise? I have also to ask if the present rules in regard to medical certificates for pension have been printed and can be laid upon the Table?

**MR. JACKSON**: In the absence of the Chancellor of the Exchequer I am afraid I am not able to answer these questions. With regard to the first, I may say that general rules were laid down by an Order in Council on the 21st of March last, and by an Order in Council on Friday last.

#### NORTHERN QUEENSLAND.

**SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL**: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies whether Her Majesty's Government have power to create Northern Queensland into a new colony without reference to Parliament; and, if so, whether the Secretary of State will give

an assurance that such a colony will not be created during the Recess, with the complete power over the Aborigines and the Pacific Islanders now enjoyed by the Colony of Queensland as a whole, or with the authority over the administration of New Guinea now vested in Queensland?

**BARON H. DE WORMS**: Her Majesty's Government are advised that an Act of Parliament is necessary for the erection of any part of Queensland into a separate colony.

**SIR G. BADEN-POWELL** (Liverpool, Kirkdale): Does the right hon. Gentleman mean by an Act of Parliament, an Act of the Imperial Parliament?

**BARON H. DE WORMS**: Yes.

#### THE PACIFIC ISLANDERS PROTECTION ACT.

**SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL**: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies how it is settled whether offenders under the Pacific Islanders Protection Acts are to be tried by Australian Courts under the Act of 1872, or by the Imperial Authorities created by the Act of 1875?

**BARON H. DE WORMS**: The Court in which an offender would be tried must obviously depend upon the circumstances of the case, such as the locality in which the accused is apprehended, and the place in which the witnesses are to be found.

#### THE OLPHERT ESTATE.

**MR. DALTON** (Donegal, W.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that a licence for a pound at Ballyconnell, on the Olphert Estate, has recently been granted in a place which has none of the qualifications necessary for a pound, and is actually a part of the farmyard of Ballyconnell House, to which there is no access except through Mr. Olphert's private grounds; what necessity there is for a pound in this place; and whether the licence will be withdrawn if it should be found on inquiry that no necessity exists for this pound?

**MR. A. J. BALFOUR**: I am informed that the licence was granted some years ago. The pound is in the farmyard of Ballyconnell House, and has the qualifications for a pound. It is accessible



from the public road through an open lane. The pound is necessary and is frequently used.

MR. DALTON: I beg to ask the right hon. Gentleman if he can state how many licensed pounds are now on the Olphert Estate, who granted the licences, who are the pound keepers, and have they entered into recognisances; and, if so, who are the sureties; whether these places have any of the qualifications necessary for a pound; whether he can state the charges made by the bailiffs for sheep that are on their way to the pound or in the pound; how much money has been collected off the district for trespass within the past six months, and to whom does this money go; whether the police are authorised in assisting to drive cattle and sheep to these pounds; and whether he is aware that on the 11th August six bailiffs and three policemen made a raid on the waste lands of Glashercoo and took away 47 sheep from a vacant house in which they were penned, and which were not grazing on the land or doing any damage whatever, and on their way to the pound also took along some sheep grazing by the roadside?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I am unable to answer this question.

#### EXTRA POLICE ON THE OLPHERT ESTATE.

MR. DALTON: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether his attention has been called to a Circular addressed to the Magistrates of the County of Donegal, giving notice that a special Sessions of the Justices of the Peace of the said county, to be held at Lifford on the 11th August instant for the purpose of considering the necessity of applying to the Lord Lieutenant for an extra force of constabulary, to replace the same number of men of the reserve force at the Royal Constabulary Depot, which for some time past has been serving in this county; can he state what is the necessity for taxing this district with extra police; and if he can state how many police stations are now on the Olphert Estate, how many policemen are stationed there, how are they paid, and what does Mr. Olphert receive for barracks and stations?

*Mr. A. J. Balfour*

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I am informed that a meeting of the Magistrates was summoned by the Clerk of the Peace, but there was no attendance in response. The county at large pay a moiety of the cost of extra police. Twenty-eight police constables are stationed where the operations are being carried on. There are two regular stations and some temporary outposts.

#### THE POTATO BLIGHT AND THE CASE OF MR. GILL.

MR. SEXTON (Belfast, W.): I wish to ask the Chief Secretary two questions, the first of which has reference to the probable state of famine in Ireland owing to the potato blight. In view of the fact now stated that famine fever has broken out in more than one place and that potatoes are at the famine price of 10d. a stone, will he still decline to take upon the Government the responsibility of dealing by exceptional means with such a state of affairs? My second question has reference to the decision come to in the case of Mr. Gill, the engineer, who has been sentenced to 14 days' imprisonment with hard labour, and who has also been ordered to find bail for a year, with the alternative of an additional imprisonment for a month for having jostled a police constable upon a public crossing. I wish to know whether it is intended to enforce this sentence?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: With regard to the first question, I have to say that I have received no Report of the outbreak of famine fever, nor indeed any Report since I replied to a similar question on Friday. Undoubtedly, the accounts of last week darkened the prospect, but I think it is still premature to make any statement as to the possible results of the potato blight. With regard to the case of Mr. Gill, I believe that it was fully considered by the Magistrates before whom it was brought, and I see no reason to interfere with the decision at which they arrived.

MR. SEXTON: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that the police constables were obstructing a public thoroughfare, and that Mr. Gill thought he had a right to use it? That is a matter of novelty, and is one which the Executive might feel it their duty to take notice of in ordering the reversal of the whole or

some part of the sentence. At any rate, will they afford Mr. Gill facilities to test the question of law? There is a very general opinion that the authorities have acted most harshly in the matter.

\*THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN, Dublin University): If Mr. Gill desires to raise a legal question, I apprehend that it would be by an application to a Judge of one of the Superior Courts; and if the Judge were to direct the Magistrates to state a case pending the result of his appeal he would be set at liberty as a matter of course.

MR. SEXTON: In the event of such an application being made, will the Crown undertake not to take advantage, as has been done in other cases, of any technicality their ingenuity may raise to oppose the application?

\*MR. MADDEN: It is not the fact that the Crown have ever taken such a course. There was a case in which a very serious question of law was raised, and the Crown felt it their duty to see that the issue was properly submitted to the Court. But the Crown never has interposed, and never will interpose, any obstacle in the way of having a legal question, frivolous or vexatious, fairly raised, especially when it has reference to a person actually in custody.

MR. SEXTON: Considering the extraordinary severity of the initial sentence—14 days' hard labour for jostling a constable—will the Irish Government insist on the further order to find bail for 12 months' good behaviour by a gentleman who occupies a respectable position, and against whom nothing can be alleged? May I ask the right hon. Gentleman not to enforce that part of the sentence which relates to the finding of bail?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I cannot go further than I have already gone. All I can say is, that when I get a full Report of the case, which I have not yet had, I will carefully consider the whole of the circumstances. I cannot promise to do more than that. I am unable to accept the statements which have been made without further examination.

MR. J. O'CONNOR: Considering that this gentleman has been sentenced to 14 days' imprisonment with hard labour, and that it will take some time to get up the evidence he desires to lay before the Court, if he is allowed to make an appeal,

will the Government see their way in the meantime to order the release of Mr. Gill?

MR. SEXTON: If a solicitor, on Mr. Gill's behalf, intimates that it is his intention to prosecute an appeal, will Mr. Gill be released pending the appeal?

MR. MADDEN: An application can be made to the Court, and if the Court directs the Magistrates to state a case, the defendant can at once be released. The Government have no power to interfere.

### ORDER OF THE DAY.

#### CONSOLIDATED FUND (APPROPRIATION) BILL.

##### THIRD READING.

Order for Third Reading read.

MR. JACKSON: I beg to move that the Bill be read a third time.

MR. SEXTON: Considering the peculiar pressure of circumstances, I may say that we in this part of the House do not intend to raise any discussion upon the Third Reading. I only wish to ask whether the report of the Charge of Chief Baron Palles in the Wexford conspiracy case, to which reference has been made more than once, and which was promised before the Irish Estimates came on, will be circulated soon?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I will take care that it is printed and circulated as soon as possible—probably when the House re-assembles in November.

MR. J. O'CONNOR: I had intended to make a statement to the House to day in reference to the case of Mr. Gill and some other cases of extreme hardship which have occurred in New Tipperary. I had thought that as we are on the eve of a three months' recess it was desirable to take some steps to curb the ferocity of the police in that district and to keep them within proper bounds. I will, however, act upon the advice of my hon. Friend (Mr. Sexton), which I always consider it wise to follow, and will content myself with expressing a hope that something will be done by the Government to restrain the unbounded ferocity of the police of Tipperary.

Question, "That the Bill be now read the third time," put, and agreed to.

Bill read the third time, and passed.

## MESSAGE FROM THE LORDS.

That they have agreed to,—Consolidated Fund (Appropriation) Bill; Census (Ireland) Bill; Expiring Laws Continuance Bill; Public Works Loans Bill; Railways (Ireland) Bill.

Amendments to,—Statute Law Revision (No. 2) Bill.

Amendment to Amendments to,—Pharmacy (Ireland) (1875) Amendment Bill.

Amendments to Amendments to,—Directors' Liability Bill.

Metropolis Management Acts Amendment Bill, without any Amendment.

That they do not insist on their Amendment to Bankruptcy Bill, to which this House has disagreed.

That they do not insist on their Amendment to Companies (Winding-up) Bill, to which this House has disagreed.

That they do not insist on their Amendment to,—Marriages in British Embassies, &c. Bill, to which this House has disagreed; and agree to the Consequential Amendment made by this House to the said Bill.

## COLONISATION.

That they do request that this House will be pleased to communicate to their Lordships Copy of the Report, &c., from the Select Committee appointed by this House in the present Session of Parliament on Colonisation.

Lords Message considered.

Ordered, That a printed Copy be communicated.

## PROROGATION OF THE PARLIAMENT.

Message to attend the Lords Commissioners.

The House went;—and the Royal Assent was given to the Bills mentioned on page 1200.

Afterwards Her Majesty's Most Gracious Speech was delivered to both Houses of Parliament by the Lord High Chancellor (in pursuance of Her Majesty's Commands).

Then a Commission for proroguing the Parliament was read.

After which,

THE LORD CHANCELLOR said—

*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

By virtue of Her Majesty's Commission, under the Great Seal, to us and other Lords directed, and now read, we do, in Her Majesty's Name and in obedience to Her Commands, prorogue this Parliament to Saturday the Twenty-fifth day of October next, to be then here holden; and this Parliament is accordingly prorogued to Saturday the Twenty-fifth day of October next.

[A TABLE OF ALL THE STATUTES.

*The following Tables are Re-produced by Special Permission of The Comptroller of Her Majesty's Stationery Office from the Volume of Public General Acts Passed in the 53rd and 54th Years of the Reign of Her Majesty Queen Victoria. Published by Authority.*

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A TABLE OF THE TITLES  
OF  
**THE PUBLIC GENERAL ACTS**  
PASSED IN THE FIFTH SESSION OF  
**THE TWENTY-FOURTH PARLIAMENT OF THE UNITED KINGDOM**  
**OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.**

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53 & 54 VICTORIA.—A.D. 1890.

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| <p>1. <b>A</b>N Act to apply certain sums out of the Consolidated Fund to the service of the years ending on the thirty-first day of March one thousand eight hundred and eighty-nine, one thousand eight hundred and ninety, and one thousand eight hundred and ninety-one. (Consolidated Fund (No. 1).)</p> <p>2. An Act to abolish the Office of Secretary of Presentations and to provide for the performance of the duties attached to that Office. (Crown Office.)</p> <p>3. An Act to remove doubts as to the Legality of certain payments by County Councils. (County Councils Association Expenses.)</p> <p>4. An Act to provide, during twelve months, for the Discipline and Regulation of the Army. (Army (Annual).)</p> <p>5. An Act to consolidate certain of the Enactments respecting Lunatics. (Lunacy.)</p> <p>6. An Act to empower the Secretary of State in Council of India to raise Money in the United Kingdom for the Purchase of the South Indian Railway; and for other purposes relating thereto. (South Indian Railway Purchase.)</p> <p>7. An Act to amend the Commissioners for Oaths Act, 1889. (Commissioners for Oaths Amendment.)</p> | <p>8. An Act to grant certain Duties of Customs and Inland Revenue, to repeal and alter other Duties, and to amend the Laws relating to Customs and Inland Revenue. (Customs and Inland Revenue.)</p> <p>9. An Act to amend the Merchant Shipping Acts relating to Load-line. (Merchant Shipping.)</p> <p>10. An Act to amend the Herring Fishery (Scotland) Act, 1889. (Herring Fishery (Scotland) Act Amendment.)</p> <p>11. An Act to amend the Law relating to Municipal Elections in certain Burghs in Scotland. (Municipal Elections (Scotland).)</p> <p>12. An Act for providing Money for defraying Costs, Charges, and Expenses incurred and to be incurred by the Drainage Board for the River Suck Drainage District. (River Suck Drainage (Provision of Funds).)</p> <p>13. An Act to amend the Electric Lighting Acts, 1882 and 1888. (Electric Lighting (Scotland).)</p> <p>14. An Act for conferring further powers under the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Acts, 1878 to 1886, with respect to Pleuro-pneumonia. (Contagious Diseases (Animals) (Pleuro-pneumonia).)</p> <p>15. An Act to amend the Open Spaces Acts. (Open Spaces.)</p> |
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VOL. CCXVIII. [THIRD SERIES.]

B

[To follow Text.]

[A.D. 1890.]

## TABLE OF THE STATUTES.

[53 &amp; 54 VICT.]

16. An Act to facilitate Gifts of Land for Dwellings for Working Classes in Populous Places. (Working Classes Dwellings.)
17. An Act to amend the Laws relating to the Rating of Orchards for Sanitary purposes. (Public Health (Rating of Orchards).)
18. An Act to amend the Law relating to the grant of Superannuation Allowances and Gratuities to certain Workmen in the Manufacturing and Store Establishments of the War Department. (Superannuation (War Department).)
19. An Act to facilitate the Appointment of new Trustees of Land held in Trust for Religious or Educational Purposes, and to make provision for vesting the Land in the Trustees for the time being. (Trustees Appointment.)
20. An Act to amend the Public Health (Scotland) Act, 1867, in relation to Hospitals for Burghs. (Public Health Amendment (Scotland).)
21. An Act to consolidate certain Enactments relating to the Regulation of the Inland Revenue. (Inland Revenue Regulation.)
22. An Act for the purpose of making operative certain Articles in the Education Code, 1890. (Education Code (1890).)
23. An Act to further improve the Administration of Justice in the Court of Chancery of the County Palatine of Lancaster. (Chancery of Lancaster.)
24. An Act to amend the Law relating to Deeds of Arrangement. (Deeds of Arrangement Amendment.)
25. An Act to make provision for building and enlarging Barracks and Camps in the United Kingdom, and in certain Colonies, and to amend the Law relating to the acquisition of Land for Military purposes. (Barracks.)
26. An Act to enable Her Majesty to assent to a Bill for conferring a constitution on Western Australia. (Western Australia Constitution.)
27. An Act to amend the Law respecting the exercise of Admiralty Jurisdiction in Her Majesty's Dominions and elsewhere out of the United Kingdom. (Colonial Courts of Admiralty.)
28. An Act to apply the sum of eleven million eight hundred and fifty thousand four hundred and thirty-six pounds out of the Consolidated Fund to the service of the year ending on the thirty-first day of March one thousand eight hundred and ninety-one. (Consolidated Fund (No. 2).)
29. An Act to amend the Law by making better provision for the Widows of certain Intestates in the distribution of such Intestates' Property. (Intestates' Estates.)
30. An Act to amend the Poor Laws of Ireland in relation to rating. (Poor Law Acts (Ireland) Amendment.)
31. An Act to amend the Law relating to the Superannuation of Officers and Servants of Pauper Lunatic Asylums in Ireland. (Pauper Lunatic Asylums, Ireland, Superannuation.)
32. An Act to assent to certain Provisions in an Agreement between Her Majesty and the German Emperor. (Anglo-German Agreement.)
33. An Act for further promoting the Revision of the Statute Law by repealing enactments which are superfluous or have ceased to be in force or have become unnecessary. (Statute Law Revision.)
34. An Act to prevent the Spread of Infectious Disease. (Infectious Disease (Prevention).)
35. An Act to amend the Boiler Explosions Act, 1882. (Boiler Explosions.)
36. An Act to amend the Removal Terms (Scotland) Act, 1886. Removal Terms (Scotland) Act, 1886, Amendment.)
37. An Act to consolidate the Foreign Jurisdiction Acts. (Foreign Jurisdiction.)
38. An Act for taking the Census of Scotland. (Census (Scotland).)
39. An Act to declare and amend the Law of Partnership. (Partnership.)
40. An Act to extend the provisions of the Factors Act, 1889, to Scotland. (Factors (Scotland).)
41. An Act to further amend the Acts relating to the raising of Money by the London County Council, and for other purposes. (London County Council (Money).)
42. An Act to remove certain doubts which have arisen under the Reserve Forces Act, 1882, and for other purposes connected therewith. (Reserve Forces.)
43. An Act to amend the Law in regard to the Education of Blind and Deaf-mute Children in Scotland. (Education of Blind and Deaf-mute Children (Scotland).)
44. An Act to amend the Supreme Court of Judicature Acts. (Supreme Court of Judicature.)
45. An Act to make provision respecting the Pensions, Allowances, and Gratuities of Police Constables in England and Wales, and their Widows and Children, and to make other provisions respecting the Police of England and Wales. (Police.)
46. An Act for taking the Census of Ireland. (Census (Ireland).)
47. An Act to amend the Law relating to the Marriage of British Subjects outside the United Kingdom. (Marriage.)
48. An Act to amend the Pharmacy Act (Ireland), 1875 (Pharmacy Act (Ireland), 1875, Amendment.)
49. An Act to continue various Expiring Laws. (Expiring Laws Continuance.)
50. An Act to grant Money for the purpose of certain Local Loans, and for other purposes relating to Local Loans. (Public Works Loans.)
51. An Act for further promoting the Revision of the Statute Law by repealing enactments which have ceased to be in force or have become unnecessary. (Statute Law Revision (No. 2).)
52. An Act to provide further facilities for the construction of certain Railways in Ireland. (Railways (Ireland).)
53. An Act to exempt certain letters of hypothecation from the operation of the Bills of Sale Act, 1882. (Bills of Sale.)
54. An Act to amend the seventy-eighth section of the Metropolis Management Amendment Act, 1862. (Metropolis Management Act, 1862, Amendment.)
55. An Act for the better prevention of Corrupt and Illegal Practices at Elections in Scotland other than Parliamentary Elections. (Elections (Scotland) (Corrupt and Illegal Practices).)

56. An Act to further amend the Customs Consolidation Act, 1876. (Customs Consolidation Act, 1876, Amendment.)
57. An Act to amend the Law with respect to Compensation due to Tenants on Land under Mortgage. (Tenants Compensation.)
58. An Act to make better provision for the payment of Clerks of Unions and Collectors of Poor Rates for services in carrying into effect the Acts relating to the Registration of Parliamentary Voters in Ireland. (Parliamentary Registration Expenses (Ireland).)
59. An Act to amend the Public Health Act. (Public Health Acts Amendment.)
60. An Act for the Distribution and Application of certain Duties of Customs and Excise; and for other purposes connected therewith. (Local Taxation (Customs and Excise).)
61. An Act for taking the Census of England and Wales. (Census (England and Wales).)
62. An Act to give further Powers to Companies with respect to certain Instruments under which they may be constituted or regulated. (Companies (Memorandum of Association).)
63. An Act to amend the Law relating to the Winding up of Companies in England and Wales. (Companies (Winding up).)
64. An Act to amend the Law relating to the Liability of Directors and others for Statements in Prospectuses and other Documents soliciting applications for Shares or Debentures. (Directors Liability.)
65. An Act to provide for an Appeal from a Sanitary Authority failing to carry into effect the Allotments Act, 1887. (Allotments.)
66. An Act to amend the Metropolis Management Acts. (Metropolis Management Amendment.)
67. An Act to make provision respecting the Pensions, Allowances, and Gratuities of Police Constables in Scotland, and their Widows and Children, and to make other provisions respecting the Police of Scotland. (Police (Scotland).)
68. An Act to amend the Public Libraries (England) Act. (Public Libraries Acts Amendment.)
69. An Act to amend the Settled Land Acts, 1882 to 1889. (Settled Land.)
70. An Act to consolidate and amend the Acts relating to Artizans and Labourers Dwellings and the Housing of the Working Classes. (Housing of the Working Classes.)
71. An Act to amend the Law of Bankruptcy. (Bankruptcy.)
72. An Act to apply a sum out of the Consolidated Fund to the service of the year ending on the thirty-first day of March one thousand eight hundred and ninety-one, and to appropriate the Supplies granted in this Session of Parliament. (Appropriation.)

A TABLE OF THE TITLES  
OF THE  
PUBLIC ACTS OF A LOCAL CHARACTER  
PASSED DURING THE SESSION WHICH ARE PLACED AMONGST THE  
LOCAL ACTS.

53 & 54 VICTORIA.—A.D. 1890.

- xxxvii. **A**N Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the General Pier and Harbour Act, 1861, relating to Hastings, Helmsdale, Mullion, Rhyl (New), and Yarmouth (Great). (Pier and Harbour Orders Confirmation (No. 1).)
- xl. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board under the Highways and Locomotives (Amendment) Act, 1878, relating to the Counties of Gloucester and Wilts. (Local Government Board's Provisional Orders Confirmation (Highways).)
- xli. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board relating to the Urban Sanitary Districts of Brighouse, Bromley, Burnley, Dover, Folkestone, Mountain Ash, and Trowbridge. (Local Government Board's Provisional Orders Confirmation.)
- lxvii. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order made by one of Her Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State under the Metropolitan Police Act, 1886, relating to lands in the Parishes of St. George Hanover Square and Fulham. (Metropolitan Police Provisional Order Confirmation.)
- lxviii. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order for the Regulation of Cleeve Hill Common, situate in the parish of Bishop's Cleeve, in the county of Gloucester, in pursuance of a report from the Board of Agriculture. (Commons Regulation (Cleeve) Provisional Order Confirmation.)
- lxxix. An Act to provide for the division of the Vicarage of Kew and Petersham into two distinct Vicarages. (Kew and Petersham Vicarage.)
- lxxx. An Act to confirm an Order of the Local Government Board under the provisions of the Public Health Act, 1875, as amended by the Public Health (Ships, &c.) Act, 1885, relating to the Port of Colchester (Maldon Division). (Local Government Board's Provisional Order Confirmation (Port).)
- lxxxi. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board relating to the Urban Sanitary Districts of Cambridge, Cheadle and Gatley, Portsmouth, and Ramsbottom, and to the Rural Sanitary Districts of the Belper, Bishop Stortford, Tynemouth, and Watford Unions. (Local Government Board's Provisional Orders Confirmation (No. 2).)
- lxxxii. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board relating to the Urban Sanitary Districts of Batley, Croydon, Halifax, Milford, Ogmere and Garw, and Portsmouth. (Local Government Board's Provisional Orders Confirmation (No. 3).)
- lxxxiii. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board relating to the Urban Sanitary Districts of Manchester and Stockport. (Local Government Board's Provisional Orders Confirmation (No. 4).)
- lxxxiv. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board relating to the Urban Sanitary Districts of Bolton, Colne and Marsden, Leicester, Neath, Rotherham, Soothill Nether, Southampton, and Sutton (Surrey). (Local Government Board's Provisional Orders Confirmation (No. 5).)
- lxxxv. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board relating to the Urban Sanitary Districts of Blackpool, Leeds, Southport, Street, and Twickenham, and to the Haslingden and Rawtenstall Outfall Sewerage District. (Local Government Board's Provisional Orders Confirmation (No. 7).)



[53 & 54 Vict.] PUBLIC ACTS OF A LOCAL CHARACTER. [A.D. 1890.]

- lxxxvi. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order of the Local Government Board for Ireland relating to Waterworks in the Town of Downpatrick. (Local Government Board (Ireland) Provisional Order Confirmation (Downpatrick Waterworks).)
- lxxxvii. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order of the Local Government Board for Ireland relating to additional Waterworks and Improvement of Streets in the Town of Bangor. (Local Government Board (Ireland) Provisional Order Confirmation (Bangor).)
- lxxxviii. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order of the Local Government Board for Ireland relating to Waterworks in the Town of Dungarvan. (Local Government Board (Ireland) Provisional Order Confirmation (Dungarvan Waterworks).)
- lxxxix. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order of the Local Government Board for Ireland relating to Waterworks in the Town of Foynes. (Local Government Board (Ireland) Provisional Order Confirmation (Foynes Waterworks).)
- xc. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order of the Local Government Board for Ireland relating to the Drumcondra, Clonliffe, and Glasnevin Township. (Local Government Board (Ireland) Provisional Order Confirmation (Drumcondra, Clonliffe, and Glasnevin).)
- xc. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order of the Local Government Board for Ireland relating to Part of Belfast Union and Holywood Town United District. (Local Government Board (Ireland) Provisional Order Confirmation (Belfast Union and Holywood Town).)
- xcii. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order of the Local Government Board for Ireland relating to Wexford. (Local Government Board (Ireland) Provisional Order Confirmation (Wexford).)
- xciii. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order made by the County Council of Somerset under the Allotments Act, 1887, relating to the Parish of Wedmore in the Rural Sanitary District of the Axbridge Union. (Allotments Provisional Order Confirmation.)
- xciv. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order of the Local Government Board under the provisions of the Artizans and Labourers Dwellings Improvement Acts, 1875 to 1885, relating to the City of Manchester. (Local Government Board's Provisional Order Confirmation (Artizans and Labourers Dwellings).)
- xcv. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order of the Local Government Board under the provisions of the Gas and Water Works Facilities Act, 1870, and the Public Health Act, 1875, relating to the Local Government District of Burley in Wharfedale. (Local Government Board's Provisional Order Confirmation (Gas).)
- xcvi. An Act to repeal the Act two and three Edward the Sixth, chapter fifty-four (local), for the keeping of the Sessions and County Days of the Isle of Anglesey in Beaumaris. (Anglesey Act Repeal.)
- xcvii. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the General Pier and Harbour Act, 1861, relating to Oriccieth, Gloucester, Humber, and Pensance. (Pier and Harbour Orders Confirmation (No. 3).)
- xcviii. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order made by the Board of Trade under the General Pier and Harbour Act, 1861, relating to Saint Mary's (Scilly). (Pier and Harbour Order Confirmation (No. 4).)
- xcix. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the Gas and Water Works Facilities Act, 1870, relating to Huntingdon and Godmanchester Gas, Llandrindod Water Gas, Studley Gas, and Wellingborough Gas. (Gas Orders Confirmation (No. 2).)
- c. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the Gas and Water Works Facilities Act, 1870, relating to Caton Water, Mid Kent Water, Stockport District Water, and Todmorden Water. (Water Orders Confirmation (No. 1).)
- ci. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the Gas and Water Works Facilities Act, 1870, relating to Cambrone Water, Frith Hill, Godalming, and Farncombe Water, Leatherhead and District Water, and Usk Water. (Water Orders Confirmation (No. 2).)
- cii. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order made by the Education Department under the Elementary Education Act, 1870, to enable the School Board for London to put in force the Lands Clauses Consolidation Act, 1845, and the Acts amending the same. (Education Department Provisional Order Confirmation (London).)
- ciiii. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order made by the Education Department under the Elementary Education Act, 1870, to enable the School Board for West Ham to put in force the Lands Clauses Consolidation Act, 1845, and the Acts amending the same. (Education Department Provisional Order Confirmation (West Ham).)
- cxli. An Act to provide for the Revision of the Lists of Parliamentary Voters in the Parliamentary Borough of Belfast, and the Payment of the Expenses thereof. (Belfast Parliamentary Borough Registration.)
- clxxiv. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order of the Local Government Board under the Provisions of the Poor Law Amendment Act, 1867, relating to the Hundred of Mutford and Lothingland. (Local Government Board's Provisional Order Confirmation (Poor Law).)
- clxxv. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order of the Local Government Board under the Provisions of the Artizans and Labourers Dwellings Improvement Acts, 1875 to 1885, relating to the Borough of Brighton. (Local Government Board's Provisional Order Confirmation (Artizans and Labourers Dwellings) (No. 2).)
- clxxvi. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order of the Local Government Board relating to the Isles of Scilly. (Local Government Board's Provisional Order Confirmation (No. 6).)
- clxxvii. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board relating to the Boroughs of Cardiff and Leeds. (Local Government Board's Provisional Orders Confirmation (No. 8).)

clxxxviii. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board relating to the Boroughs of Abingdon, Canterbury, and Lowestoft. (Local Government Board's Provisional Orders Confirmation (No. 9).)

clxxxix. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board relating to the Urban Sanitary Districts of Bacup, Blackburn, Bournemouth, Burnley, Criccieth, and Nelson, and to the Godalming Main Sewerage District. (Local Government Board's Provisional Orders Confirmation (No. 10).)

clxxx. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board relating to the Urban Sanitary Districts of Chorley and Middleton. (Local Government Board's Provisional Orders Confirmation (No. 12).)

clxxxi. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the Tramways Act, 1870, relating to Bradford Corporation Tramways, Drypool and Marnesfleet Steam Tramways, Dudley, Netherton, Old Hill, and Cradley Tramways, National Rifle Association (Bisley Common) Tramway, Norwich Tramways, Tong Local Board Tramway, and Worcester Tramways. (Tramways Orders Confirmation (No. 1).)

clxxxii. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the Tramways Act, 1870, relating to Bradford and District Tramways (Extension), Lea Bridge, Leyton, and Walthamstow Tramways, Poole and Bournemouth Tramways, and Warboys and Puddock Drove Tramway. (Tramways Orders Confirmation (No. 2).)

clxxxiii. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the Gas and Water Works Facilities Act, 1870, relating to Barnoldswick Gas, Hollingworth Gas, Ware Gas, and Aldershot Gas and Water. (Gas and Water Orders Confirmation.)

clxxxiv. An Act to confirm a Scheme of the Charity Commissioners for the Charity known as "The Wesleyan Methodist Chapel, School-house, Dwelling-house (or Preacher's Residence), and Trust Property," in the Parish of Birstall, in the West Riding of the County of York. (Birstall Wesleyan Chapel Trust Scheme Confirmation.)

clxxxv. An Act to make further provision concerning certain portions of the Shrewsbury and Holyhead Road. (Shrewsbury and Holyhead Road (Augsley and Carnarvon).)

clxxxvi. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the Electric Lighting Acts, 1882 and 1888, relating to Cambridge, Dover, Hove, Walsall, Wolverhampton, and Worcester. (Electric Lighting Orders Confirmation.)

clxxxvii. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the Electric Lighting Acts, 1882 and 1888, relating to Burnley, Bury, Chester, Fleetwood, Lancaster, and Salford. (Electric Lighting Orders Confirmation (No. 2).)

clxxxviii. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the Electric Lighting Acts, 1882

and 1888, relating to Bacup, Bedford, Huddersfield, Malvern, Oldham, and Stockton-on-Tees. (Electric Lighting Orders Confirmation (No. 3).)

clxxxix. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the Electric Lighting Acts, 1882 and 1888, relating to Accrington, Barnsley, Blackpool, Burton-on-Trent, Cheltenham, and Darlington. (Electric Lighting Orders Confirmation (No. 4).)

cx. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the Electric Lighting Acts, 1882 and 1888, relating to Bournemouth, Derby, Hastings, and St. Leonards-on-Sea, Oxford, Portsmouth, and Woking. (Electric Lighting Orders Confirmation (No. 5).)

cxci. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the Electric Lighting Acts, 1882 and 1888, relating to Birkenhead, Great Yarmouth, Kingston-upon-Hull, Nottingham, Wigan, and York. (Electric Lighting Orders Confirmation (No. 6).)

cxcii. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the Electric Lighting Acts, 1882 and 1888, relating to Belfast, Blackburn, Leicester, Morecambe, Sevenoaks, and Tunstall. (Electric Lighting Orders Confirmation (No. 7).)

cxci. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the Electric Lighting Acts, 1882 and 1888, relating to Ayr, Bognor, Eastbourne, Galway, Stafford, and Tiverton. (Electric Lighting Orders Confirmation (No. 8).)

cxci. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the Electric Lighting Acts, 1882 and 1888, relating to Lambeth, North London, St. James', Westminster, St. George the Martyr, Southwark, and a portion of the Parish of Camberwell, and Wandsworth district. (Electric Lighting Orders Confirmation (No. 9).)

cxci. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the Electric Lighting Acts, 1882 and 1888, relating to Preston, and Preston and Fulwood. (Electric Lighting Orders Confirmation (No. 13).)

cxci. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the Electric Lighting Acts, 1882 and 1888, relating to Ashton-under-Lyne, Bournemouth, Coatbridge, Hastings, Northampton, and Windsor. (Electric Lighting Orders Confirmation (No. 10).)

cxci. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the Electric Lighting Acts, 1882 and 1888, relating to Chatham, Rochester and District, Manchester, Plymouth, and Wrexham. (Electric Lighting Orders Confirmation (No. 11).)

cxci. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the Electric Lighting Acts, 1882 and 1888, relating to Crystal Palace and District and Paddington. (Electric Lighting Orders Confirmation (No. 12).)

[53 & 54 VICT.] PUBLIC ACTS OF A LOCAL CHARACTER. [A.D. 1890.]

xcix. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the Electric Lighting Acts, 1882 and 1888, relating to Aberdeen, Dundee, Glasgow, Kelvinside, and Moss Side and Stretford. (Electric Lighting Orders Confirmation (No. 14).)

ccii. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board relating to the City of Coventry and the Borough of Great Yarmouth. (Local Government Board's Provisional Orders Confirmation (No. 13).)

cciii. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order of the Local Government Board relating to the Borough of Kingston-upon-Hull. (Local Government Board's Provisional Order Confirmation (No. 14).)

cciv. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board relating to the Boroughs of Grimsby and Huddersfield. (Local Government Board's Provisional Orders Confirmation (No. 15).)

ccvi. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the Gas and Water Works Facilities Act, 1870, relating to Alton (Hants) Gas, Hoylake and West Kirby Gas, Sheffield Gas, Tonbridge Gas, and York Town and Blackwater Gas. (Gas Orders Confirmation (No. 1).)

ccvii. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order made by the Board of Trade under the Merchant Shipping (Pilotage) Act, 1889, re-

lating to Clyde. (Pilotage Order Confirmation (No. 1).)

ccviii. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order made by the Board of Trade under the Merchant Shipping (Pilotage) Act, 1889, relating to Bristol. (Pilotage Order Confirmation (No. 2).)

ccix. An Act to make better provision for the safety of the Public when the lands in or near Aldershot, vested in the Secretary of State for the War Department, are used for Rifle Ranges or other Military purposes. (Aldershot Roads.)

ccx. An Act to confirm an Order in Council of the Lord Lieutenant and Privy Council in Ireland relating to the South Clare Railways. (Tramways Order in Council (Ireland) (South Clare Railways) Confirmation.)

ccxxvii. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board relating to the Boroughs of Leamington and Tamworth. (Local Government Board's Provisional Orders Confirmation (No. 11).)

ccxxviii. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order of the Local Government Board relating to the City of Manchester. (Local Government Board's Provisional Order Confirmation (No. 16).)

ccxxix. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the Electric Lighting Acts, 1882 and 1888, relating to the City of London. (Electric Lighting Orders Confirmation (No. 15).)

A TABLE OF THE TITLES  
OF  
THE LOCAL AND PRIVATE ACTS

PASSED DURING THE SESSION

53 & 54 VICTORIA. — A.D. 1890.

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LOCAL ACTS.

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*The Titles to which the Letter P. is prefixed are Public Acts  
of a Local Character.*

ROYAL ASSENT, 2nd May 1890.

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| <p>i. <b>A</b>N Act to alter the mode of appointment of the Chaplain or Minister of the ancient Chapel of Saint John Deritend in the Diocese of Worcester and to provide for the constitution of part of the Hamlet of Saint John Deritend into a separate Pariah for ecclesiastical purposes; and to make other consequential arrangements. (Saint John's Chapel Deritend.)</p> <p>ii. An Act to enable Messieurs Henry Bath and Son to issue transferable Certificates and Warrants for the delivery of Goods; and for other purposes. (Henry Bath and Son's (Delivery Warrants).)</p> <p>iii. An Act for the Abandonment of the Railways and New Street authorised by the Columbia Market Act, 1885. (Columbia Market Railways (Abandonment).)</p> <p>iv. An Act for enabling the purchase of the Braid Hills by the Lord Provost, Magistrates and Council of the City of Edinburgh to be completed; for extending the Municipal and Police Boundaries of the City, including the Royal Burgh; for prohibiting or regulating games on Bruntsfield Links; and for other purposes. (Edinburgh Municipal and Police Extension.)</p> <p>v. An Act to extend the time for the completion of the authorised Railway of the Holsworthy and Bude Railway Company and for other purposes. (Holsworthy and Bude Railway.)</p> <p>vi. An Act to enable the Clayton Allerton and Thornton Gas Company to extend their works; to raise further Capital; and for other purposes. (Clayton Allerton and Thornton Gas.)</p> | <p>vii. An Act to extend the time for the completion of the Works authorised by the Clyde Lighthouses Act, 1880, and the purchase of Lands therefor. (Clyde Lighthouses.)</p> <p>viii. An Act for Freeing 'a Chapel formerly belonging to the Royal Naval School at New Cross and the Site thereof from Ecclesiastical uses purposes and disabilities and for authorising the demolition of the said Chapel; and for other purposes. (Royal Naval School (New Cross) Disused Chapel Site.)</p> <p>ix. An Act to authorise the purchase of a Site in Southwark for the South London Polytechnic Institutes. (South London Polytechnic Institutes (Borough Road Site).)</p> |
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ROYAL ASSENT, 22nd May 1890.

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| <p>x. An Act to enable the Hartlepool Gas and Water Company to purchase additional lands and to erect Gasworks thereon and for other purposes. (Hartlepool Gas and Water.)</p> <p>xi. An Act to authorise the Trustees of the Cart Navigation to borrow additional money and to levy additional rates and for other purposes. (Cart Navigation.)</p> <p>xii. An Act for the abandonment of the Railways authorised by the Church Fenton, Cawood and Wistow Railway Act, 1879, and the Selby and Mid-Yorkshire Union Railway Act, 1883. (Selby and Mid-Yorkshire Union Railway (Abandonment).)</p> <p>xiii. An Act for the sale and transfer to the Great Eastern Railway Company of the Undertaking of the Hunstanton and West Norfolk Railway Company and for other purposes. (Great Eastern Hunstanton and West Norfolk Railway Companies.)</p> |  |
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- xiv. An Act for the transference of the Property of the Feuars of Falkirk to the Magistrates and Council of the Burgh of Falkirk; for extending the Municipal and Police Boundaries of the Burgh; for borrowing further Money for Drainage; and for other purposes. (Falkirk Corporation.)
- xv. An Act to extend the time for the compulsory purchase of lands and for completing the Worcester and Broom Railway. (Worcester and Broom Railway (Extension of Time).)
- xvi. An Act for the Abandonment of the Brentford and District Tramways and for authorising the release of the Tramway Deposit Fund remaining deposited as security for the completion thereof. (Brentford and District Tramways (Abandonment).)
- xvii. An Act to authorise the Local Board for the district of Baildon to construct Works for obtaining a further supply of Water and to borrow further money and for other purposes. (Baildon Local Board Water.)
- xviii. An Act to amend the Birkenhead Corporation (Gas and Water) Act 1881 and to make further provisions as to the supply of Gas and Water by the Corporation of Birkenhead; and for other purposes. (Birkenhead Corporation (Gas and Water).)
- xix. An Act to enable the Cathcart District Railway Company to raise further money and to create and issue debenture stock and the Caledonian Railway Company to subscribe or to take and hold such stock or to advance to the Company by way of loan and for other purposes. (Cathcart District Railway.)
- xx. An Act for the granting of further powers to the Derby Gaslight and Coke Company. (Derby Gas.)
- xxi. An Act to revive the powers and extend the period for the Compulsory Purchase of Lands and to extend the period for the Completion of the Railway authorised by the Bray and Enniskerry Light Railway Act 1886 and to confer additional powers on the Company with reference to their Capital and Railway and for other purposes. (Bray and Enniskerry Railway.)
- xxii. An Act for enabling the Trustees of Port Glasgow Harbour to convert their Mortgage Debt into Debenture Stock; for altering the Constitution of the Trust; and for other purposes. (Port Glasgow Harbour.)
- xxiii. An Act for conferring further Powers on the Belfast and Northern Counties Railway Company and for amalgamating with their Undertaking the Undertaking of the Carrickfergus and Larne Railway Company; and for other purposes. (Belfast and Northern Counties Railway.)
- xxiv. An Act to authorise the London Tramways Company (Limited) to use mechanical power on their Tramways and for other purposes. (London Tramways Company (Limited).)
- xxv. An Act to extend the time for the purchase of Lands for and for the completion of the Wrexham and Ellesmere Railway and for other purposes. (Wrexham and Ellesmere Railway (Extension of Time).)
- xxvi. An Act for the Abandonment of the Llangammarch and Neath and Brecon Junction Railway. (Llangammarch and Neath and Brecon Junction Railway (Abandonment).)
- xxvii. An Act to enable the Canterbury Gas and Water Company to acquire further land to erect additional gasworks and to raise further capital for their Gas and Water undertakings and for other purposes. (Canterbury Gas and Water.)
- xxviii. An Act for consolidating the separate Funds of the Tyne Improvement Commissioners; and for amending the provisions of the Tyne Improvement Commission Act 1875 relating to the election of Commissioners and Auditor and of the Tyne Improvement Acts relating to the levying and Collection of Rates and Dues; and for empowering the Commissioners to establish a Superannuation Fund; and for other purposes. (Tyne Improvement.)
- xxix. An Act to confer further powers upon the Gravesend and Milton Gaslight Company to extend their limits of supply and to enable them to raise additional capital and for other purposes. (Gravesend Gas.)
- xxx. An Act to amend the Thames Valley Drainage Acts and for other purposes. (Thames Valley Drainage.)
- xxxi. An Act to Revive and Extend the Powers of the Guiseley Yeadon and Rawdon Railway Company for the Purchase of Land and the Completion of their Railway and for other purposes. (Guiseley Yeadon and Rawdon Railway.)
- xxxii. An Act to authorise the Luton Gas Company to raise additional Capital; and for other purposes. (Luton Gas.)
- xxxiii. An Act for enabling the Great Southern and Western Railway Company to execute certain Works; to acquire additional Lands; to purchase or lease a portion of the Railway of the Dublin, Wicklow and Wexford Railway Company; to enter into working agreements with that Company and with the Mitchelstown and Fermoy Light Railway Company to purchase a portion of the Deep Water Quay at Queenstown; to raise further Capital; and for other purposes. (Great Southern and Western Railway.)
- xxxiv. An Act for the Abandonment of the Burnley, Clitheroe, and Sabden Railway. (Burnley, Clitheroe, and Sabden Railway (Abandonment).)
- xxxv. An Act to extend the time for the Purchase of Lands for and for the completion of the Felixstowe and Bawdey Ferry Railway and for other purposes. (Felixstowe and Bawdey Ferry Railway (Extension of Time).)
- xxxvi. An Act to extend the powers of the Mayor Aldermen and Burgesses of the County Borough of Leicester with respect to their supply of Water; and for other purposes. (Leicester Corporation Waterworks.)

ROYAL ASSENT, 9th June, 1890.

P. xxxvii. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the General Pier and Harbour Act, 1861, relating to Hastings, Helmsdale, Mullion, Rhyl (New), and Yarmouth (Great).

- (Pier and Harbour Orders Confirmation (No. 1).)
- xxviii. An Act to enable the Forth Bridge Railway Company to raise additional Capital and for other purposes. (Forth Bridge Railway.)
- xxix. An Act to confirm Modifications made by the Award of an Umpire in certain Agreements between the London Brighton and South Coast and South Eastern Railway Companies and the Extension of those Agreements. (London Brighton and South Coast Railway (Agreements Confirmation).)
- xl. An Act to enable the Cornwall Minerals Railway Company to make a new Railway and for other purposes. (Cornwall Minerals Railway.)
- xli. An Act to revive the powers for the compulsory purchase of lands for and to extend the time limited for the completion of the railways authorised by the East Usk Railway Act 1885 and or other purposes. (East Usk Railway.)
- xlii. An Act to enable the Mayor Aldermen and Burgesses of the Borough of Preston to give effect to certain of the recommendations of the Interim Report of the Ribble Navigation Commission and to borrow Additional Moneys for the purposes of the Ribble Navigation and Preston Dock Undertaking and for other purposes. (Ribble Navigation.)
- ROYAL ASSENT, 4th July, 1890.
- P. xliii. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board under the Highways and Locomotives (Amendment) Act, 1878, relating to the Counties of Gloucester and Wilts. (Local Government Board's Provisional Orders Confirmation (Highways).)
- P. xliv. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board relating to the Urban Sanitary Districts of Brighouse, Bromley, Burnley, Dover, Folkestone, Mountain Ash, and Trowbridge. (Local Government Board's Provisional Orders Confirmation.)
- xlv. An Act for incorporating and conferring powers upon the Falmouth Gas Company. (Falmouth Gas.)
- xlvi. An Act to authorise the use of mechanical power upon the Undertaking of the North Metropolitan Tramways Company and for other purposes. (North Metropolitan Tramways.)
- xlvii. An Act to provide Open Spaces and Recreation Grounds in the Parishes of Broxborne and Hoddesdon in the county of Hertford and to declare and define the rights of way through the Broxbornebury Estate; and for other purposes. (Broxborne and Hoddesdon Open Spaces and Recreation Grounds.)
- xlviii. An Act for the Abandonment of the Kenmare Junction Railway. (Kenmare Junction Railway (Abandonment).)
- xlix. An Act to facilitate the winding up of the Cadogan and Hans Place Estate Limited and the distribution of the assets thereof. (Cadogan and Hans Place Estate (Limited).)
- l. An Act to enable Logan and Company of Birkenhead to issue Transferable Certificates and Warrants for the Delivery of Goods and for other purposes. (Logan and Company's (Delivery Warrants).)
- li. An Act to enable Richardson and Company of Swansea to issue transferable Certificates and Warrants for the Delivery of Goods and for other purposes. (Richardson and Company's (Delivery Warrants).)
- lii. An Act to authorise certain Improvements in the County Borough of Croydon and for other purposes. (Croydon Improvement.)
- liii. An Act for authorising the London and South Western Railway Company to construct additional Works to purchase additional Lands and to abandon certain of their authorised Works to extend and revive the periods limited for the purchase of Lands for and for the completion of certain authorised Works of the Company to extend the Time for the sale of superfluous Lands of the Company to empower the Company to consolidate their Debenture Stocks and to make other provision with respect to the Capital of and to confer further powers upon the Company to empower the Company and the Midland Railway Company to widen the Somerset and Dorset Railway; and for other purposes. (South Western Railway.)
- liv. An Act to empower the Corporation of Derby to make additional Waterworks and for other purposes. (Derby Corporation.)
- lv. An Act to enable the Mayor Aldermen and Burgesses of the County borough of Huddersfield to construct additional Tramways and Street and Road Improvements and to make further Provision for the good government of the Borough and for other purpose. (Huddersfield Tramways and Improvement.)
- lvi. An Act for extending and reviving the powers of the Hull Barnsley and West Riding Junction Railway and Dock Company for the purchase of lands for and for the construction of certain of their authorised works for the abandonment of one of their authorised railways and for conferring further powers upon the Company and amending the Acts relating to them. (Hull Barnsley and West Riding Junction Railway and Dock.)
- lvii. An Act to enable the Barry Dock and Railways Company to construct new Works and to purchase Additional Lands; and for other purposes. (Barry Dock and Railways.)
- lviii. An Act to authorise the Glasgow Court Houses Commissioners to acquire additional land and buildings for enlarging and improving the Sheriff and Justice of Peace Court Houses, in the City of Glasgow, and to borrow money; and for other purposes. (Glasgow Court Houses.)
- lix. An Act to extend the time for the purchase of Lands and for the completion of certain portions of the Undertaking of the Wirral Railway Company by the Manchester Sheffield and Lincolnshire and Wrexham Mold and Connah's Quay Railway Companies; and for other purposes. (Wirral Railway.)
- lx. An Act to confer further powers on the Highland Railway Company; and for other purposes. (Highland Railway (Further Powers).)
- lxi. An Act to authorise the Highland Railway Company to construct new lines of Railways; and for other purposes. (Highland Railway (New Lines).)

- lxii. An Act to incorporate a Company to purchase and acquire the Undertaking of the Brighton West Pier Company to authorise the widening and extension of the Brighton West Pier; and for other purposes. (Brighton West Pier.)
- lxiii. An Act to authorise the Mayor Aldermen and Burgesses of the Borough of Accrington to create and issue Corporation Stock and to make further provision for the government of the Borough; and for other purposes. (Accrington Corporation (Consolidation of Loans).)
- lxiv. An Act for conferring further powers on the Liverpool Hydraulic Power Company; and for other purposes. (Liverpool Hydraulic Power.)
- lxv. An Act for dissolving the Mid-Sussex Water Company Limited and re-incorporating the Members thereof with others and for enabling them to construct and maintain additional Waterworks and supply Water; and for other purposes. (Mid-Sussex Water.)
- lxvi. An Act for conferring further powers on the Ipswich Tramways Company. (Ipswich Tramways.)
- lxvii. An Act to extend the time for the construction of certain works authorised by the Borough of Portsmouth Waterworks Act 1883. (Borough of Portsmouth Waterworks.)
- lxviii. An Act to extend the limits of Water Supply of the Pontypool Gas and Water Company to enable them to construct additional Waterworks and to raise further Capital; and for other purposes. (Pontypool Gas and Water.)
- lxix. An Act to authorise the Corporation of Bury to construct a connecting Railway between their Gasworks and the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway; and for other purposes. (Bury Corporation Gas.)
- lxx. An Act to extend the time for the completion of the Railways authorised by the North Wales Narrow Gauge Railways (Extensions) Act 1885; and for other purposes. (North Wales Narrow Gauge Railways.)
- lxxi. An Act to renew and extend the time for the completion of certain authorised Railways of the Seacombe Hoylake and Deeside Railway Company; and for other purposes. (Seacombe Hoylake and Deeside Railway.)
- lxxii. An Act to authorise the North British Railway Company to construct a Loop Line of Railway to join the Forth Bridge Railway; to subscribe to the Undertaking of the West Highland Railway Company; and for other purposes. (North British Railway.)
- lxxiii. An Act to confer further powers on the Isle of Wight Central Railway Company; and for other purposes. (Isle of Wight Central Railway.)
- lxxiv. An Act to alter certain works authorised by the Manchester Ship Canal Act 1885; and for other purposes. (Manchester Ship Canal (Tidal Openings &c.).)
- lxxv. An Act to confer further powers upon the Milford Docks Company; and for other purposes. (Milford Docks.)
- lxxvi. An Act to amalgamate the Midland Great Western Railway of Ireland Company with the Great Northern and Western (of Ireland) Railway Company; to acquire additional Land; and for other purposes. (Midland Great Western and Great Northern and Western of Ireland Railways (Amalgamation).)
- P. lxxvii. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order made by one of Her Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State under the Metropolitan Police Act, 1886, relating to lands in the Parishes of St. George Hanover Square and Fulham. (Metropolitan Police Provisional Order Confirmation.)
- lxxviii. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order for the Regulation of Cleeve Hill Common, situate in the parish of Bishop's Cleeve, in the county of Gloucester, in pursuance of a report from the Board of Agriculture. (Commons Regulation (Cleeve) Provisional Order Confirmation.)
- P. lxxix. An Act to provide for the division of the Vicarage of Kew and Petersham into two distinct Vicarages. (Kew and Petersham Vicarage.)
- P. lxxx. An Act to confirm an Order of the Local Government Board under the provisions of the Public Health Act, 1875, as amended by the Public Health (Ships, &c.) Act, 1885, relating to the Port of Colchester (Maldon Division). (Local Government Board's Provisional Order Confirmation (Port).)
- P. lxxxi. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board relating to the Urban Sanitary Districts of Cambridge, Cheadle and Gatley, Portsmouth, and Ramsbottom, and to the Rural Sanitary Districts of the Belper, Bishop Stortford, Tynemouth, and Watford Unions. (Local Government Board's Provisional Orders Confirmation (No. 2).)
- P. lxxxii. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board relating to the Urban Sanitary Districts of Batley, Croydon, Halifax, Milford, Ogmere and Garw, and Portsmouth. (Local Government Board's Provisional Orders Confirmation (No. 3).)
- P. lxxxiii. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board relating to the Urban Sanitary Districts of Manchester and Stockport. (Local Government Board's Provisional Orders Confirmation (No. 4).)
- P. lxxxiv. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board relating to the Urban Sanitary Districts of Bolton, Colne and Marsden, Leicester, Neath, Rotherham, Soothill Nether, Southampton, and Sutton (Surrey). (Local Government Board's Provisional Orders Confirmation (No. 5).)
- P. lxxxv. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board relating to the Urban Sanitary Districts of Blackpool, Leeds, Southport, Street, and Twickenham, and to the Haslingden and Rawtenstall Outfall Sewerage District. (Local Government Board's Provisional Orders Confirmation (No. 7).)
- P. lxxxvi. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order of the Local Government Board for Ireland relating to Waterworks in the Town of



- Downpatrick. (Local Government Board (Ireland) Provisional Order Confirmation (Downpatrick Waterworks).)
- P. lxxxvii. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order of the Local Government Board for Ireland relating to additional Waterworks and Improvement of Streets in the Town of Bangor. (Local Government Board (Ireland) Provisional Order Confirmation (Bangor).)
- P. lxxxviii. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order of the Local Government Board for Ireland relating to Waterworks in the Town of Dungarvan. (Local Government Board (Ireland) Provisional Order Confirmation (Dungarvan Waterworks).)
- P. lxxxix. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order of the Local Government Board for Ireland relating to Waterworks in the Town of Foynes. (Local Government Board (Ireland) Provisional Order Confirmation (Foynes Waterworks).)
- P. xc. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order of the Local Government Board for Ireland relating to the Drumcondra, Clonliffe, and Glasnevin Township. (Local Government Board (Ireland) Provisional Order Confirmation (Drumcondra, Clonliffe, and Glasnevin).)
- P. xci. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order of the Local Government Board for Ireland relating to Part of Belfast Union and Holywood Town United District. (Local Government Board (Ireland) Provisional Order Confirmation (Belfast Union and Holywood Town).)
- P. xcii. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order of the Local Government Board for Ireland relating to Wexford. (Local Government Board (Ireland) Provisional Order Confirmation (Wexford).)
- P. xciii. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order made by the County Council of Somerset under the Allotments Act, 1887, relating to the Parish of Wedmore in the Rural Sanitary District of the Axbridge Union. (Allotments Provisional Order Confirmation.)
- P. xciv. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order of the Local Government Board under the provisions of the Artizans and Labourers Dwellings Improvement Acts, 1875 to 1885, relating to the City of Manchester. (Local Government Board's Provisional Order Confirmation (Artizans and Labourers Dwellings).)
- P. xcv. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order of the Local Government Board under the provisions of the Gas and Water Works Facilities Act, 1870, and the Public Health Act, 1875, relating to the Local Government District of Burley in Wharfedale. (Local Government Board's Provisional Order Confirmation (Gas).)
- P. xcvi. An Act to repeal the Act two and three Edward the Sixth, chapter fifty-four (local), for the keeping of the Sessions and County Days of the Isle of Anglesey in Beaumaris. (Anglesey Act Repeal.)
- and Penzance. (Pier and Harbour Orders Confirmation (No. 3).)
- P. xcvi. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order made by the Board of Trade under the General Pier and Harbour Act, 1861, relating to Saint Mary's (Scilly). (Pier and Harbour Order Confirmation (No. 4).)
- P. xcix. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the Gas and Water Works Facilities Act, 1870, relating to Huntingdon and Godmanchester Gas, Llandrindod Water Gas, Studley Gas, and Wellingborough Gas. (Gas Orders Confirmation (No. 2).)
- P. c. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the Gas and Water Works Facilities Act, 1870, relating to Caton Water, Mid Kent Water, Stockport District Water, and Todmorden Water. (Water Orders Confirmation (No. 1).)
- P. ci. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the Gas and Water Works Facilities Act, 1870, relating to Camborne Water, Frith Hill, Godalming, and Farncombe Water, Leatherhead and District Water, and Oak Water. (Water Orders Confirmation (No. 2).)
- P. cii. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order made by the Education Department under the Elementary Education Act, 1870, to enable the School Board for London to put in force the Lands Clauses Consolidation Act, 1845, and the Acts amending the same. (Education Department Provisional Order Confirmation (London).)
- P. ciii. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order made by the Education Department under the Elementary Education Act, 1870, to enable the School Board for West Ham to put in force the Lands Clauses Consolidation Act, 1845, and the Acts amending the same. (Education Department Provisional Order Confirmation (West Ham).)
- civ. An Act to confer further Powers upon the Great Northern Railway Company with respect to their own and other Undertakings to enable them to acquire the Undertaking of the Spilsby and Firsby Railway Company and for other purposes. (Great Northern Railway (Various Powers).)
- cv. An Act to vest in the Corporation of Belfast the White Linen Hall and surrounding land connected therewith and to provide for the adjustment of certain accounts relative to the Cemetery. (Belfast Corporation (Various Powers).)
- cvi. An Act for the granting of further Powers to the Newcastle and Gateshead Water Company; and for other purposes. (Newcastle and Gateshead Waterworks.)
- cvi. An Act for incorporating the Higham and Hundred of Hoo Water Company and empowering them to construct Works and supply Water; and for other purposes. (Higham and Hundred of Hoo Water.)
- cvi. An Act for conferring further powers upon the Great Eastern Railway Company and for extending the time and reviving the powers for the compulsory purchase of lands for and for the construction and completion of certain authorised works of the Company

ROYAL ASSENT, 25th July 1890.

P. xcvi. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the General Pier and Harbour Act, 1861, relating to Criccieth, Gloucester, Humber,

- and for other purposes. (Great Eastern Railway (General Powers).)
- cix. An Act to enable the Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses of the City of Bristol to construct Culverts and other Works for the Relief of the Floods in the River Frome and in the Malago Brook and for other purposes. (Bristol Floods Prevention.)
- cx. An Act to make provision for assigning Interim Bonus and for discontinuance of Sickness Assurances by the Clergy Mutual Assurance Society and as to the investment of Moneys of and conferring further Powers on the Society; and for other purposes. (Clergy Mutual Assurance Society.)
- cx. An Act to extend the time for the completion of certain authorised Works by the Alexandra (Newport and South Wales) Docks and Railway Company to confer further powers on that Company and for other purposes. (Alexandra (Newport and South Wales) Docks and Railway.)
- cxii. An Act to revive the Powers and extend the Periods for the compulsory Purchase of Lands and for the construction of so much of the Railways authorised by the Easton and Church Hope Railway (Portland Extension) Act 1884 as has not been abandoned under the authority of the Easton and Church Hope Railway Act 1887 and for other purposes. (Easton and Church Hope Railway.)
- cxiii. An Act to extend the Powers of the Porthdinlleyn Railway Company for the acquisition of Lands for and the completion of their authorised Railway and for other purposes. (Porthdinlleyn Railway.)
- cxiv. An Act to empower the City of London and Southwark Subway Company to extend their authorised Subway to Clapham to change the name of the Company and for other purposes. (City and South London Railway.)
- cxv. An Act to vest in the Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses of the County Borough of Huddersfield the Undertaking of the Wessenden Commissioners and to authorise the said Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses construct additional Waterworks and for other purposes. (Huddersfield Corporation Waterworks.)
- cxvi. An Act for conferring further powers upon the Cheshire Lines Committee and for other purposes. (Cheshire Lines.)
- cxvii. An Act to amend the Acts relating to the supply of water by the Stockton and Middlesbrough Water Board and to confer further powers on the said board and for other purposes. (Stockton and Middlesbrough Waterworks.)
- cxviii. An Act to empower the West Highland Railway Company to deviate certain parts of their authorised railway and to construct new railways and a pier in connection therewith to raise further capital and for other purposes. (West Highland Railway.)
- cxix. An Act to enable the London Chatham and Dover Railway Company to raise further capital. (London Chatham and Dover Railway (Capital).)
- cx. An Act to authorise the construction of a Railway in the County of Forfar to be called the Brechin and Edzell District Railway. (Brechin and Edzell District Railway.)
- cxxi. An Act to make better provision for the improvement and health of the local government district of Wallasey in the County of Chester and for other purposes. (Wallasey Local Board.)
- cxii. An Act for incorporating the Crieff and Comrie Railway Company and for authorising the construction of a Railway from Crieff to Comrie in the County of Perth and for other purposes. (Crieff and Comrie Railway.)
- cxiii. An Act for vesting the endowments of the Rectory of Burnley in the County Palatine of Lancaster in the Ecclesiastical Commissioners for England and providing for the re-endowment of the said Rectory and for the endowment of other benefices and for transferring the patronage of the said Rectory to the Bishop of Manchester and for other Ecclesiastical purposes. (Burnley Rectory.)
- cxiv. An Act to amend an Act made in the nineteenth year of the reign of His Majesty King George the Third, chapter twenty, and another Act made in the fifty-fourth year of the reign of His said Majesty, chapter one hundred and sixty-nine, for the better raising and securing a Fund for a provision for the Widows and Children of the Ministers of the Church of Scotland, and of the Heads, Principals and Masters in the Universities of Saint Andrews, Glasgow, Edinburgh and Aberdeen and for other purposes. (Church of Scotland Ministers' Widows' Fund.)
- cxv. An Act to authorise the improvement of certain Streets in the town of Pontypridd in the county of Glamorgan and for other purposes. (Pontypridd (Mill Street and Rhondda Road, &c.) Improvements.)
- cxvi. An Act to revive and extend the Powers for the purchase of Lands and also to extend the time for the completion of the Harbour and Dock authorised by the North Sea Fisheries (East Lincolnshire) Harbour and Dock Act 1884 and for other purposes. (North Sea Fisheries (East Lincolnshire) Harbour and Dock.)
- cxvii. An Act for the abandonment of parts and extension of time for the compulsory purchase of lands for and for the completion of other parts of the authorised Railways of the East and West Yorkshire Union Railways Company and for other purposes. (East and West Yorkshire Union Railways.)
- cxviii. An Act for conferring further powers upon the Metropolitan Railway Company in relation to their own and other Undertakings for vesting in them the Undertaking of the Aylesbury and Buckingham Railway Company and for authorising Agreements with other Railway Companies and for other purposes. (Metropolitan Railway.)
- cxix. An Act for enabling the North Eastern Railway Company to make new Railways and Works and to acquire additional Lands and for other purposes. (North Eastern Railway.)
- cx. An Act to extend the boundaries of the Borough of Walsall to make better provision for the health local government and improve-

ment of the Borough to provide for the creation and issue of Corporation stock and for other purposes. (Walsall Corporation.)

- cxix. An Act for enabling the Caledonian Railway Company to make and maintain certain Railways and other works and take lands in the Counties of Lanark and Midlothian and to raise additional money for confirming certain agreements and for other purposes. (Caledonian Railway (Additional Powers).)
- cxlii. An Act to extend the time limited for the completion of the works authorised by the Weston-super-Mare Clevedon and Portishead Tramways Act 1885 and for other purposes. (Weston-super-Mare, Clevedon, and Portishead Tramways.)
- cxliii. An Act to authorise the Rhymney Railway Company to make new Railways to raise additional Capital and for other purposes. (Rhymney Railway.)
- cxliv. An Act for authorising the London and South Western Railway Company to create Preferred Converted Ordinary Stock and Deferred Converted Ordinary Stock in substitution for existing Ordinary Stock and for other purposes. (South Western Railway (Stock Conversion).)
- cxlv. An Act for authorising the Caledonian Railway Company to convert their Ordinary Stock into Preferred Converted Ordinary Stock and Deferred Converted Ordinary Stock and for other purposes. (Caledonian Railway (Conversion of Stock).)
- cxlvi. An Act to authorise the Manchester, Sheffield, and Lincolnshire Railway Company to make new Railways to confer further powers on the Company in connection with their Undertaking and for other purposes. (Manchester, Sheffield, and Lincolnshire Railway.)
- cxlvii. An Act to confer further powers on the Isle of Wight Railway Company to consolidate and re-arrange the capital of that Company and for other purposes. (Isle of Wight Railway.)
- cxlviii. An Act to confer additional powers upon the Midland Railway Company and upon that Company and the Great Northern and London and North Western Railway Companies respectively for the construction of works and the acquisition of lands for vesting in the Midland Railway Company and the Great Western Railway Company the Undertaking and powers of the Bristol Port Railway and Pier Company and for other purposes. (Midland Railway (Additional Powers).)
- cxlix. An Act for authorising the transfer to the Bute Docks Company of the powers of making railways and other powers conferred by the Rhymney Railway Act 1888 and for other purposes. (Bute Docks.)
- cl. An Act to empower the Taff Vale Railway Company to construct New Railways and for other purposes. (Taff Vale Railway.)
- cli. An Act to provide for the Revision of the Lists of Parliamentary Voters in the Parliamentary Borough of Belfast, and the Payment of the Expenses thereof. (Belfast Parliamentary Borough Registration.)

# ROYAL ASSENT, 4th August 1890.

- cxlii. An Act to enable the Elgin and Lossiemouth Harbour Company to deepen and improve Lossiemouth Harbour to raise further moneys and for other purposes. (Elgin and Lossiemouth Harbour (Loans).)
- cxliii. An Act for the incorporation of Commissioners and for the construction of Harbour Piers and other Works at Hastings in the County of Sussex and for other purposes. (Hastings Harbour.)
- cxliv. An Act to amend the Acts relating to the Port or Harbour of Newport in the County of Monmouth and for incorporating and conferring further powers upon the Newport Harbour Commissioners and for other purposes. (Newport (Monmouthshire) Harbour.)
- cxlv. An Act to authorise the Rhondda and Swansea Bay Railway Company to construct new Railways and other works and to confer further powers upon that Company and for other purposes. (Rhondda and Swansea Bay Railway.)
- cxlvi. An Act for incorporating the Wharfe River Navigation Company and empowering them to make the waterway of the River Wharfe navigable between Tadcaster and the River Ouse in the West Riding of the County of York and for other purposes. (Wharfe River Navigation.)
- cxlvii. An Act to empower the Folkestone Pier and Lift Company to raise further Capital and for other purposes. (Folkestone Pier and Lift.)
- cxlviii. An Act to confer further powers on the London Brighton and South Coast Railway Company and for other purposes. (London, Brighton, and South Coast Railway (Various Powers).)
- cxlix. An Act for conferring further Powers upon the South Eastern Railway Company in connexion with their own undertaking and those of other Companies and for other purposes. (South Eastern Railway.)
- cl. An Act to extend the time limited by the Dewsbury and Heckmondwike Waterworks Act 1876 for the construction of certain reservoirs and works thereby authorised and to extend the powers of the Dewsbury and Heckmondwike Waterworks Board the Corporation of Dewsbury and the Heckmondwike Local Board and for other purposes. (Dewsbury and Heckmondwike Water.)
- cli. An Act to empower the Corporation of Morley in the West Riding of the County of York to make additional waterworks and for other purposes. (Morley Corporation Water.)
- clii. An Act to authorise the Corporation of Glasgow to make and maintain River Walls or Embankments on the River Clyde and for other purposes. (Glasgow Corporation.)
- cliii. An Act for re-arranging the Capital of the Great Northern Railway Company and for other purposes. (Great Northern Railway (Capital).)
- cliv. An Act for conferring further Powers upon the London and North Western Railway Company in relation to their own Undertaking and other Undertakings in

- which they are interested jointly with other Companies and also for conferring Powers upon the Great Western and Manchester Sheffield and Lincolnshire Railway Companies in relation to such other Undertakings and for other purposes. (London and North Western Railway.)
- clv. An Act for further improving the Navigation of the River Severn for conferring additional powers on the Severn Commissioners and for other purposes. (Severn Navigation.)
- clvi. An Act to authorise the Trustees of the Clyde Navigation to construct a new Road with Tramways thereon in part substitution for certain Roads and Tramways authorised by the Clyde Navigation Act 1883 to construct a Graving Dock to abandon some of the works authorised by that Act to revive and extend the period limited by that Act for the compulsory purchase of lands and to extend the period limited for the completion of the Railway authorised thereby to vary a certain Agreement with and relative obligation to the Vale of Clyde Tramways Company and for other purposes. (Clyde Navigation.)
- clvii. An Act for conferring further Powers on the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway Company and for other purposes. (Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway.)
- clviii. An Act to authorise the construction of Railways between Tottenham and Forest Gate and for other purposes. (Tottenham and Forest Gate Railway.)
- clix. An Act for conferring further Powers upon the Great Western Railway Company for vesting in that Company the undertakings of the Whitland and Cardigan the East Gloucestershire and the Witney Railway Companies for confirming an Agreement with the Woodstock Railway Company and for other purposes. (Great Western Railway.)
- clx. An Act to enable the Ystrad Gas and Water Company to construct additional Waterworks to purchase additional lands for their Gas and Water Undertakings and for other purposes. (Ystrad Gas and Water Works.)
- clxi. An Act to enable the Commissioners of the Bray Township to construct an addition to the Sea-Wall a Promenade Pier and Harbour and other Works and to consolidate their Debt and issue Debenture Stock and for other purposes. (Bray Township.)
- clxii. An Act for making Subways in the City and Suburbs of Glasgow; and for other purposes. (Glasgow District Subway.)
- clxiii. An Act to extend the time for the purchase of Land and for the completion of certain Railways in Liverpool and Birkenhead and to confer further Powers on the Mersey Railway Company and for other purposes. (Mersey Railway.)
- clxiv. An Act for incorporating and conferring Powers on the Penzance and Newlyn Tramways Company and for other purposes. (Penzance and Newlyn Tramways.)
- clxv. An Act to provide for the Union of the Benefices of Saint Anne and Saint Mary both in the City of Manchester; and for other purposes. (Saint Anne and Saint Mary Manchester (Union of Benefices).)
- clxvi. An Act to incorporate the Forfar and Brechin Railway Company and to empower them to construct Railways in the County of Forfar and for other purposes. (Forfar and Brechin Railway.)
- clxvii. An Act for enabling the Caledonian Railway Company to make and maintain certain Railways extending their Undertaking in Edinburgh, Leith, and Newhaven and other Works in the County of Midlothian and to raise additional money and for other purposes. (Caledonian Railway (Edinburgh, Leith, and Newhaven Extension Lines).)
- clxviii. An Act to authorise the Kirkcaldy and District Railway Company to extend their railways and for other purposes. (Kirkcaldy and District Railway.)
- clxix. An Act for amending the provisions of certain Local Acts in force in the City of Liverpool and for other purposes. (Liverpool Corporation.)
- clxx. An Act to extend the time for completing the Manchester, Middleton, and District Tramways. (Manchester, Middleton, and District Tramways.)
- clxxi. An Act to authorise and provide for certain Sea Defence Works and Improvements at and near Walton-on-the-Naze in the county of Essex to re-constitute the Walton Improvement Commissioners and make provision for their Election and to enlarge their powers and for other purposes. (Walton-on-the-Naze Improvement.)
- clxxii. An Act to extend the Objects and enlarge the Powers of the Commercial Union Assurance Company Limited and for other purposes. (Commercial Union Assurance Company (Limited).)
- clxxiii. An Act to define and extend the objects of the Patriotic Assurance Company of Ireland and for other purposes. (Patriotic Assurance Company's.)
- P. clxxiv. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order of the Local Government Board under the Provisions of the Poor Law Amendment Act, 1867, relating to the Hundred of Mutford and Lothingland. (Local Government Board's Provisional Order Confirmation (Poor Law).)
- P. clxxv. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order of the Local Government Board under the Provisions of the Artizans and Labourers Dwellings Improvement Acts, 1875 to 1885, relating to the Borough of Brighton. (Local Government Board's Provisional Order Confirmation (Artizans and Labourers Dwellings) (No. 2).)
- P. clxxvi. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order of the Local Government Board relating to the Isles of Scilly. (Local Government Board's Provisional Order Confirmation (No. 6).)
- P. clxxvii. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board relating to the Boroughs of Cardiff and Leeds. (Local Government Board's Provisional Orders Confirmation (No. 8).)
- P. clxxviii. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board relating to the Boroughs of Abingdon, Canterbury, and Lowestoft. (Local Govern-

- ment Board's Provisional Orders Confirmation (No. 9).)
- P. clxxxix. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board relating to the Urban Sanitary Districts of Bacup, Blackburn, Bournemouth, Burnley, Criccieth, and Nelson, and to the Godalming Main Sewerage District. (Local Government Board's Provisional Orders Confirmation (No. 10).)
- P. clxxx. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board relating to the Urban Sanitary Districts of Chorley and Middleton. (Local Government Board's Provisional Orders Confirmation (No. 12).)
- P. clxxxi. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the Tramways Act, 1870, relating to Bradford Corporation Tramways, Drypool and Marfleet Steam Tramways, Dudley, Netherton, Old Hill, and Cradley Tramways, National Rifle Association (Bisley Common) Tramway, Norwich Tramways, Tong Local Board Tramway, and Worcester Tramways. (Tramways Orders Confirmation (No. 1).)
- P. clxxxii. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the Tramways Act, 1870, relating to Bradford and District Tramways (Extension), Lea Bridge, Leyton, and Walthamstow Tramways, Poole and Bournemouth Tramways, and Warboys and Puddock Drove Tramway. (Tramways Orders Confirmation (No. 2).)
- P. clxxxiii. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the Gas and Water Works Facilities Act, 1870, relating to Barnoldswick Gas, Hollingworth Gas, Ware Gas, and Aldershot Gas and Water. (Gas and Water Orders Confirmation.)
- P. clxxxiv. An Act to confirm a Scheme of the Charity Commissioners for the Charity known as "The Wesleyan Methodist Chapel, School-house, Dwelling-house (or Preacher's Residence), and Trust Property," in the Parish of Birstall, in the West Riding of the County of York. (Birstall Wesleyan Chapel Trust Scheme Confirmation.)
- P. clxxxv. An Act to make further provision concerning certain portions of the Shrewsbury and Holyhead Road. (Shrewsbury and Holyhead Road (Anglesey and Carnarvon).)
- P. clxxxvi. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the Electric Lighting Acts, 1882 and 1888, relating to Cambridge, Dover, Hove, Walsall, Wolverhampton, and Worcester. (Electric Lighting Orders Confirmation.)
- P. clxxxvii. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the Electric Lighting Acts, 1882 and 1888, relating to Burnley, Bury, Chester, Fleetwood, Lancaster, and Salford. (Electric Lighting Orders Confirmation (No. 2).)
- P. clxxxviii. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the Electric Lighting Acts, 1882 and 1888, relating to Bacup, Bedford, Huddersfield, Malvern, Oldham, and Stockton-on-Tees. (Electric Lighting Orders Confirmation (No. 3).)
- P. clxxxix. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the Electric Lighting Acts, 1882 and 1888, relating to Accrington, Barnsley, Blackpool, Burton-on-Trent, Cheltenham, and Darlington. (Electric Lighting Orders Confirmation (No. 4).)
- P. cxc. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the Electric Lighting Acts, 1882 and 1888, relating to Bournemouth, Derby, Hastings, and St. Leonards-on-Sea, Oxford, Portsmouth, and Woking. (Electric Lighting Orders Confirmation (No. 5).)
- P. cxci. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the Electric Lighting Acts, 1882 and 1888, relating to Birkenhead, Great Yarmouth, Kingston-upon-Hull, Nottingham, Wigan, and York. (Electric Lighting Orders Confirmation (No. 6).)
- P. cxcii. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the Electric Lighting Acts, 1882 and 1888, relating to Belfast, Blackburn, Leicester, Morecambe, Sevenoaks, and Tunstall. (Electric Lighting Orders Confirmation (No. 7).)
- P. cxciii. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the Electric Lighting Acts, 1882 and 1888, relating to Ayr, Bognor, Eastbourne, Galway, Stafford, and Tiverton. (Electric Lighting Orders Confirmation (No. 8).)
- P. cxciv. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the Electric Lighting Acts, 1882 and 1888, relating to Lambeth, North London, St. James', Westminster, St. George the Martyr, Southwark, and a portion of the Parish of Camberwell, and Wandsworth district. (Electric Lighting Orders Confirmation (No. 9).)
- P. cxcv. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the Electric Lighting Acts, 1882 and 1888, relating to Preston, and Preston and Fulwood. (Electric Lighting Orders Confirmation (No. 13).)

#### ROYAL ASSENT, 14th August 1890.

- P. cxcvi. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the Electric Lighting Acts, 1882 and 1888, relating to Ashton-under-Lyne, Bournemouth, Coatbridge, Hastings, Northampton, and Windsor. (Electric Lighting Orders Confirmation (No. 10).)
- P. cxcvii. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the Electric Lighting Acts, 1882 and 1888, relating to Chatham, Rochester and District, Manchester, Plymouth, and Wrexham. (Electric Lighting Orders Confirmation (No. 11).)
- P. cxcviii. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the Electric Lighting Acts, 1882 and 1888, relating to Crystal Palace and District and Paddington. (Electric Lighting Orders Confirmation (No. 12).)

- P. cxcix. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the Electric Lighting Acts, 1882 and 1888, relating to Aberdeen, Dundee, Glasgow, Kelvinside, and Moss Side and Stretford. (Electric Lighting Orders Confirmation (No. 14).)
- cc. An Act to revive the powers and further extend the time for the compulsory purchase of lands for and to further extend the time for the completion of the works authorised by the Regent's Canal City and Docks Railway Act 1882 and for other purposes. (Regent's Canal, City, and Docks Railway (Extension of Time, &c.).)
- cc. An Act to revive and extend the powers of the Cleveland Extension Mineral Railway Company. (Cleveland Extension Mineral Railway.)
- P. ccii. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board relating to the City of Coventry and the Borough of Great Yarmouth. (Local Government Board's Provisional Orders Confirmation (No. 13).)
- P. cciii. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order of the Local Government Board relating to the Borough of Kingston-upon-Hull. (Local Government Board's Provisional Order Confirmation (No. 14).)
- P. cciv. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board relating to the Boroughs of Grimsby and Huddersfield. (Local Government Board's Provisional Orders Confirmation (No. 15).)
- ccv. An Act for amending the Westminster (Parliament Street, &c.) Improvements Act 1887 and to extend the periods limited by that Act for the compulsory purchase of Lands for and for the completion of the Works thereby authorised. (Westminster (Parliament Street, &c.) Improvements.)
- P. ccvi. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the Gas and Water Works Facilities Act, 1870, relating to Alton (Hants) Gas, Hoylake and West Kirby Gas, Sheffield Gas, Tonbridge Gas, and York Town and Blackwater Gas. (Gas Orders Confirmation (No. 1).)
- P. ccvii. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order made by the Board of Trade under the Merchant Shipping (Pilotage) Act, 1889, relating to Clyde. (Pilotage Order Confirmation (No. 1).)
- P. ccviii. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order made by the Board of Trade under the Merchant Shipping (Pilotage) Act, 1889, relating to Bristol. (Pilotage Order Confirmation (No. 2).)
- P. ccix. An Act to make better provision for the safety of the Public when the lands in or near Aldershot, vested in the Secretary of State for the War Department, are used for Rifle Ranges or other Military purposes. (Aldershot Roads.)
- P. ccx. An Act to confirm an Order in Council of the Lord Lieutenant and Privy Council in Ireland relating to the South Clare Railways. (Tramways Order in Council (Ireland) (South Clare Railways) Confirmation.)
- ccxi. An Act to confer powers on the Corporation of Plymouth for the acquisition of the Fish Market works and undertaking authorised by the Sutton Harbour Act 1889 and for other purposes. (Plymouth Corporation.)
- ccxii. An Act to authorise the construction of a new Station at Cheltenham in the county of Gloucester and for other purposes. (Cheltenham Station.)
- ccxiii. An Act to authorise the construction of Railways in the West Riding of the County of York from Wrangbrook to Black Carr Junction with a Branch to Denaby and for other purposes. (South Yorkshire Junction Railway.)
- ccxiv. An Act for conferring further powers on the Wellingborough and District Tramroads Company and for other purposes. (Wellingborough and District Tramroads.)
- ccxv. An Act for enabling the Atlas Steamship Company Limited to divide their fully paid up Share Capital and for other purposes. (Atlas Steamship Company.)
- ccxvi. An Act to cancel the Deed of Settlement of the Borneo Company Limited and to substitute Memorandum and Articles of Association and for other purposes. (Borneo Company (Limited).)
- ccxvii. An Act to authorise the Sutton Southcoates and Drypool Gas Company to accept from the Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses of the Borough of Kingston-upon-Hull a transfer of some of the powers contained in the Kingston-upon-Hull Electric Lighting Order 1890. (Sutton, Southcoates, and Drypool Gas (Electric Lighting).)
- ccxviii. An Act to extend the time for the purchase of land for and completion of the Bexley Heath Railway and for other purposes. (Bexley Heath Railway.)
- ccxix. An Act to alter the name of the borough of Bootle - cum - Linacre to improve the borough boundary and to make better provision for the health local government and improvement of the borough and for other purposes. (Bootle Corporation.)
- ccxx. An Act for the alteration and amendment of the Memorandum of Association of the United States and South American Investment Trust Company Limited with reference to the investment of funds and for other purposes. (United States and South American Investment Trust Company Limited.)
- ccxxi. An Act to confer further sanitary powers on the Magistrates and Council of the City and Royal Burgh of Glasgow as the Police Commissioners thereof and for other purposes. (Glasgow Police (Amendment).)
- ccxxii. An Act to empower the Hull and North Western Junction Railway Company to deviate certain parts of the Railways Nos. 1 and 1c authorised by the Hull Barnsley and West Riding Junction Railway and Dock (New Works) Act 1882 to revive the powers and extend the time for the purchase of Lands for and to extend the time for the completion of the remainder of the said Railways Nos. 1 and 1c and the Railway No. 1a authorised by the said Act of 1882 and for other purposes. (Hull and North Western Junction Railway.)
- ccxxiii. An Act to enable the Mayor, Aldermen, and Citizens of Oxford to acquire the Church of Saint Martin in the said City to make new

- Streets and Street Improvements to create and issue Corporation Stock and to make further provision for the improvement and good government of the City and for other purposes. (Oxford Corporation.)
- ccxxiv. An Act to authorise the construction of a Footbridge with removable Sluices and a Lock and Slipway on the River Thames in the parishes of Richmond and Isleworth and for other purposes. (Richmond Footbridge, Sluices, Lock and Slipway.)
- ccxxv. An Act to make further and better provision for the improvement health and good government of the County Borough of Sheffield and for other purposes. (Sheffield Corporation.)
- ccxxvi. An Act to extend and vary the Memorandum of Association of the Compagnie Générale des Asphaltes de France (Limited) and for other purposes. (Compagnie Générale des Asphaltes de France (Limited).)
- ccxxvii. An Act to confer further powers upon the Manchester Ship Canal Company and for other purposes. (Manchester Ship Canal (Various Powers).)
- ccxxviii. An Act for the making and maintaining of the North West Central Railway and for other purposes. (North West Central Railway.)
- ccxxix. An Act for the amalgamation of the Ocean Railway and General Accident Assurance Company Limited and the Ocean and General Guarantee Company Limited and to confer certain powers on the Amalgamated Company. (Ocean Accident and Guarantee Company Limited.)
- ccxxx. An Act to authorise the transfer to the South Lincolnshire Fen Water Company of the Undertaking of the Spalding Waterworks Company and for other purposes. (South Lincolnshire Fen Water.)
- ccxxxi. An Act for enabling the Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses of the Borough of Bradford in the West Riding of the County of York to construct and maintain additional Waterworks and for other purposes connected therewith. (Bradford Corporation Waterworks.)
- ccxxxii. An Act for the settlement of certain Claims arising out of the Fraudulent issue of certain Mortgages purporting to be Mortgages of the Local Board for the District of East Stonehouse and for the borrowing of Money by the Local Board and for other purposes. (East Stonehouse Local Board.)
- ccxxxiii. An Act to authorise the construction of a Railway from Garve to Ullapool and for other purposes. (Garve and Ullapool Railway.)
- ccxxxiv. An Act to authorise the Great North of Scotland Railway Company to acquire additional Lands and for other purposes. (Great North of Scotland Railway.)
- ccxxxv. An Act to make further and better provision for the improvement health and good government of the Borough of Tunbridge Wells to provide for the issue of Corporation Stock to amend the Tunbridge Wells Improvement Act 1846 and the Tunbridge Wells Water Act 1865 and for other purposes. (Tunbridge Wells Improvement.)
- ccxxxvi. An Act to extend the Boundaries of the Borough of Warrington to provide for vesting the Undertaking of the Warrington Waterworks Company in the Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses of the Borough of Warrington and for other purposes. (Warrington Extension and Water.)
- ROYAL ASSENT, 18th August 1890.
- P. ccxxxvii. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board relating to the Boroughs of Leamington and Tamworth. (Local Government Board's Provisional Orders Confirmation (No. 11).)
- P. ccxxxviii. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order of the Local Government Board relating to the City of Manchester. (Local Government Board's Provisional Order Confirmation (No. 16).)
- P. ccxxxix. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the Electric Lighting Acts, 1882 and 1888, relating to the City of London. (Electric Lighting Orders Confirmation (No. 15).)
- ccxl. An Act for authorising the Torrington and Walpole Tramroad Company to extend their Tramroad to Wisbech and for other purposes. (Torrington and Walpole Tramroads.)
- ccxli. An Act for conferring further powers on the Airdrie and Coatbridge Water Company and for other purposes. (Airdrie and Coatbridge Waterworks Amendment.)
- ccxlii. An Act for making Railways between Cork and Fermoy in the County of Cork and between Waterford and Wexford in the Counties of Waterford Kilkenny and Wexford and for other purposes. (Cork and Fermoy and Waterford and Wexford Railway.)
- cc liii. An Act to confer further powers on the London County Council for the acquisition and maintenance of Parks and Open Spaces and as to Local management and procedure and to make various provisions with regard to Buildings and Streets in the Administrative County of London. (London Council (General Powers).)
- ccxliv. An Act to confer powers on the Tottenham Local Board of Health with regard to local government within their District. (Tottenham Local Board.)
- ccxlv. An Act for conferring further powers on the Lynton Railway Company and for other purposes. (Lynton Railway.)
- ccxlii. An Act to amend the Dublin Improvement Acts 1849 to 1864 and to make further and better provisions in relation to Buildings Streets Sanitary Matters and Collection of Rates in the City of Dublin and for other purposes. (Dublin Corporation.)
- ccxlvii. An Act to provide for the removal of certain restrictions upon traffic in certain streets of London. (London Streets (Removal of Gates).)



## PRIVATE ACTS,

NOT PRINTED.

<b>A</b> N Act to naturalize Maria Matilde Petrona de Francisco Martin Widow. (Martin's Naturalization.)	An Act to naturalise Ernest Edward Pohl. (Pohl's Naturalization.)
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**ACTS OF FORMER SESSIONS (IN CHRONOLOGICAL  
ORDER) REPEALED OR AMENDED BY ACTS OF  
53 & 54 VICT.\***

\* Acts continued annually by the Expiring Laws Continuance Act are not noticed in this Table. Repeals by the Statute Law Revision Acts are not generally noticed, as being of little practical importance. When, however, a repeal extends to the whole Act, or even entire sections, it is entered in the Table.

[A.D. 1890.]

## EFFECT OF LEGISLATION.

[53 &amp; 54 Vict.]

Statute and Chapter.	Subject-matter or Short Title.	How affected.	Chapter of 53 & 54 Vict.
56 Geo. 3—cont. c. 116	Gaol fees, &c. ... ..	Repealed ... ..	33 (Stat. Law Rev.)
57 Geo. 3.: c. 19	Seditious meetings ... ..	S. 24 repealed ... ..	
c. 25	Exemption of trade premises from house tax.	S. 4 repealed ... ..	
c. 62	Regulation of certain offices (Ireland).	Rep. (except ss. 8, 10, 11)	
c. 64	Regulation of certain offices (Scotland).	Ss. 1, 9 repealed ... ..	
c. 91	Fees of clerks of the peace ...	S. 1, repealed ... ..	51 (Stat. Law Rev. (No. 2).)
59 Geo. 3. c. 7	Cutlery trade ... ..	S. 6 repealed ... ..	
60 Geo. 3. and 1 Geo. 4. c. 11.	Parliamentary Elections (Ireland).	S. 4 repealed ... ..	33 (Stat. Law Rev.)
1 Geo. 4. c. 14	Drawback on gold plate ...	Repealed ... ..	8, s. 36
1 & 2 Geo. 4.: c. 31	Hereditary Revenue (Scotland)	Repealed ... ..	33 (Stat. Law Rev.)
c. 44	House of Commons (Disqualification of holders of certain judicial offices).	S. 1 repealed ... ..	
c. 53	Common Law Procedure (Ireland).	Ss. 1-23, 36, 37, 42-46, 58, Schedules repealed	
c. 66	Fur trade, &c., North America	S. 4 repealed ... ..	
3 Geo. 4.: c. 49	Residence of sheriffs depute of Edinburgh, &c.	S. 2 repealed ... ..	
c. 62	Fees in Office of Lord Register (Scotland).	Repealed ... ..	51 (Stat. Law Rev.) (No. 2).)
4 Geo. 4.: c. 27	Justices of the peace in cities	Repealed ... ..	
c. 40	Linen and hempen manufactures (Scotland).	Repealed ... ..	33 (Stat. Law Rev.)
c. 55	Parliamentary Elections (Ireland).	S. 71 repealed ... ..	
c. 61	Court of Chancery (Ireland) ...	Ss. 25-32, 35-40, 42 rep.	47, s. 12.
c. 67	Marriages (St. Petersburg) ...	Repealed as to future marriages.	
c. 71	Pensions of Bishop, &c., India	Ss. 12, 18 rep. ... ..	33 (Stat. Law Rev.)
c. 78	Stamp Duties (Ireland) ...	Repealed ... ..	
c. 83	Protection of merchants contracting with factors.	Repealed as to Scotland	40.
c. 91	Confirmation of certain marriages.	Repealed as to future marriages.	47, s. 12.
c. 97	Commissaries (Scotland) ...	Rep. (except ss. 5, 13)	33 (Stat. Law Rev.)
5 Geo. 4.: c. 84	Transportation of offenders ...	Ss. 18, 19 repealed ...	
c. 90	Building places of worship (Scotland).	S. 1 repealed ... ..	
6 Geo. 4.: c. 30	Officers, &c. in Court of Chancery (Ireland).	S. 18 rep. ... ..	40.
c. 85	Salaries, &c. of Bishops, &c. in India.	Repealed (except ss. 4, 5, 15).	
c. 94	Protection of merchants contracting with factors.	Repealed as to Scotland	
7 Geo. 4.: c. 63	Repairing, &c. shire halls, &c.	Ss. 10-12, 14-18, Sch. A., repealed.	33 (Stat. Law Rev.)

[53 &amp; 54 Vict.]

## EFFECT OF LEGISLATION.

[A.D. 1890.]

Statute and Chapter.	Subject-matter or Short Title.	How affected.	Chapter of 53 & 54 Vict.
7 Geo. 4— <i>cont.</i> c. 74	Prisons (Ireland) ... ..	Ss. 2, 7, 8, 10, 11, 14-43, 45, 46, 50-60, 64-66, 68, 70, 71, 73-77, 79, 80, 84-88, 97, 99-103, 112-115, 123, Schs. (A.)—(E.) rep.	51 (Stat. Law Rev. (No. 2).)
7 & 8 Geo. 4.: c. 53	Consolidation of laws relating to the Excise.	Ss. 1, 2, 4-7, 10-17, 24, 26, 27, 33 proviso, 44-64, 72, 78 proviso, 80, 93-106, 112-126, and in part ss. 3, 32, 82, 84 rep.	21, s. 40.
9 Geo. 4.: c. 55	Boards of Stamps ... ..	Repealed ... ..	
9 Geo. 4.: c. 14 c. 15 c. 16 c. 26 c. 29 c. 74	Validity of certain engagements.	S. 2 repealed ... ..	33 (Stat. Law Rev.)
	Amendment of record in civil actions.	Repealed ... ..	
	Repeal of Annuities Acts ...		
	Keeper of Register of Horninga (Scotland).		
	Courts of Justiciary (Scotland)		
c. 74	Administration of criminal justice, East Indies.	Ss. 8, 9, 11, Sch. B. rep. Repealed (except ss. 1, 7-9, 25, 26, 56, and as to Straits Settlements 110).	
10 Geo. 4.: c. 7	Relief of Roman Catholic subjects.	S. 27 repealed ... ..	51 (Stat. Law Rev. (No. 2).)
c. 41	Butter Trade (Ireland) ... ..	Ss. 3-6 repealed... ..	
c. 44	Metropolitan Police ... ..	S. 10 repealed in part ...	45 s. 36.
c. 62	House of Commons (Disqualification) of certain East Indian officers.	Repealed ... ..	33 (Stat. Law Rev.)
11 Geo. 4. and 1 Will. 4.: c. 39	Transportation of offenders ...	Ss. 1, 3, 4 repealed ... ..	51 (Stat. Law Rev. (No. 2).)
c. 43 c. 69 c. 70	Fees and stamp duties ... ..	S. 3 repealed ... ..	33 Stat. Law Rev.)
	Trial by jury, court of session, &c.	Ss. 31, 44 repealed ... ..	
	Administration of justice ...	S. 31 repealed ... ..	
1 & 2 Will. 4.: c. 4	Declarations under Excise laws	Ss. 4 in part, 5 repealed.	21, s. 40.
c. 33	Public Works (Ireland) ... ..	Ss. 8, 101, 103, 112 rep.	33 (Stat. Law Rev.)
c. 43	Turnpike Roads (Scotland) ...	Repealed ... ..	51 (Stat. Law Rev. (No. 2).)
c. 57	Removal of Obstructions in Rivers (Ireland).	Repealed ... ..	33 (Stat. Law Rev.)
2 & 3 Will. 4.: c. 16	Permits for removal of excisable goods.	S. 14 repealed ... ..	21, s. 40.
c. 32 c. 33 c. 45	Nisi prius court house, Dublin	Repealed ... ..	33 (Stat. Law Rev.)
	Service of process out of jurisdiction.		
	Reform Act ... ..		
c. 47	Assises for Norfolk ... ..	Repealed ... ..	27, s. 18
c. 51	Vice-Admiralty courts abroad	Repealed (see date and terms of repeal).	
c. 64	Divisions of counties, &c. ...	Ss. 27, 28 repealed ... ..	
c. 65	Reform Act (Scotland) ... ..	S. 44 repealed ... ..	33 (Stat. Law Rev.)

[A.D. 1890.]

## EFFECT OF LEGISLATION.

[53 &amp; 54 VICT.]

Statute and Chapter.	Subject-matter or Short Title.	How affected.	Chapter of 53 & 54 Vict.
2 & 3 Will. 4— <i>cont.</i>			
c. 108	Audit of customs, &c. revenue (Scotland).	Repealed ...	} 21, s. 40.
3 & 4 Will. 4.:			
c. 13	Powers of Barons of Exchequer, Scotland, as to public revenue	Ss. 5, 6 repealed ...	} 51 (Stat. Law Rev. (No. 2).)
c. 31	Municipal elections ...	S. 2 repealed ...	
c. 41	Privy Council ...	S. 2 repealed (see date and terms of repeal).	27, s. 18.
c. 46	Police in Burghs (Scotland) ...	Repealed ...	33 (Stat. Law Rev.)
c. 78	Abolition of Slavery in the Colonies.	Repealed (except s. 12).	51 (Stat. Law Rev. (No. 2).)
c. 82	Affirmations by Separatists ...	Repealed ...	33 (Stat. Law Rev.)
c. 84	Lord Chancellors' officers ...	Repealed ...	2.
c. 85	Government of India ...	Ss. 19, 64, 69, 81-83, 85, 95, repealed.	33 (Stat. Law Rev.)
4 & 5 Will. 4.:			
c. 11	Appropriation of sums arising from redemption of land tax	Repealed ...	} 51 (Stat. Law Rev. (No. 2).)
c. 46	Fever Hospitals, &c. (Ireland).	S. 1 repealed ...	
c. 51	Collection, &c. of Excise revenue	Ss. 1-3, 13, 14, 17, 21, 24, 27, 29 repealed.	} 21, s. 40.
c. 60	Land and assessed taxes, &c. ...	Ss. 8, 9 repealed ...	
c. 65	Administration of justice, Norfolk Island.	Repealed ...	51 (Stat. Law Rev. (No. 2).)
c. 76	Poor Law ...	S. 45 repealed ...	5, s. 342.
c. 78	Court of Chancery (Ireland) ...	S. 11 repealed ...	51 (Stat. Law Rev. (No. 2).)
c. 82	Service out of the jurisdiction	Repealed ...	33 (Stat. Law Rev.)
5 & 6 Will. 4.:			
c. 20	Stamps and taxes ...	Repealed ...	21, s. 40.
c. 27	Linen and hempen manufactures (Ireland).	S. 13 repealed ...	51 (Stat. Law Rev. (No. 2).)
c. 52	Government of North-west provinces, India.	S. 1 repealed ...	33 (Stat. Law Rev.)
c. 78	Forgery (Scotland) ...	Repealed ...	} 51 (Stat. Law Rev. (No. 2).)
6 & 7 Will. 4.:			
c. 20	Leases by ecclesiastical persons	S. 10 repealed ...	} 21, s. 5.
c. 28	Security given by revenue officers.	Extended ...	
c. 37	Sale of bread, &c. ...	S. 1 repealed ...	51 (Stat. Law Rev. (No. 2).)
c. 71	Commutation of tithes ...	Ss. 17-28, 32-55, 59-61, 63, 65, 79, 88, 89, rep. (with savings).	} 33 (Stat. Law Rev.)
c. 87	Secular jurisdiction of Archbishop of York and Bishop of Ely.	Ss. 1, 4, 19 repealed ...	
c. 108	Public Works (Ireland) ...	S. 21 repealed ...	} 51 (Stat. Law Rev. (No. 2).)
7 Will. 4. and 1 Vict.:			
c. 32	Post Office (Repeal) ...	S. 4 repealed ...	
c. 33	Post Office (Management) ...	S. 1 repealed ...	
c. 36	Post Office (Offences) ...	Ss. 1, 38 repealed ...	
c. 69	Commutation of Tithes ...	Ss. 1-6, 9-11, rep. (with savings).	
c. 84	Abolition of punishment of death for forgery.	S. 4 repealed ...	} 51 (Stat. Law Rev. (No. 2).)
c. 88	Piracy ...	S. 6 repealed ...	

Statute and Chapter.	Subject-matter or Short Title.	How affected.	Chapter of 53 & 54 Vic.
7 Will. 4. and 1 Vict.— <i>cont.</i>			
c. 91	Abolition of punishment of death in certain cases.	S. 3 repealed ...	} 51 (Stat. Law Rev. (No. 2).)
1 & 2 Vict.:			
c. 53	County treasurers (Ireland) ...	S. 3 repealed ...	
c. 61	Security given by public officers	Extended ...	21, s. 5.
c. 119	Sheriff Courts (Scotland) ...	Ss. 3, 26 repealed ...	} 51 (Stat. Law Rev. (No. 2).)
2 & 3 Vict.:			
c. 36	Judges in Supreme Courts (Scotland).	Ss. 2, 6, 12 repealed	
c. 47	Metropolitan Police ...	S. 1 repealed ...	45, s. 36.
c. 62	Commutation of tithes... ..	Ss. 22, 23 repealed ...	} 51 (Stat. Law Rev. (No. 2).)
c. 69	Lodgings for Judges of Assize.	Ss. 8-13, 22, 24, 26, 27, 29-33 rep. (with saving).	
c. 71	Police Courts (Metropolis) ...	S. 2 repealed ...	
		S. 46 from "which shall be applied towards" rep.	45, s. 36.
3 & 4 Vict.:			
c. 15	Commutation of tithes ...	Ss. 1-16, 18, 19, 21, 25-27 rep. (with saving)	} 51 (Stat. Law Rev. (No. 2).)
c. 56	Trade of ships within limits of East India Company's charter.	Repealed... ..	
c. 88	County and district constables.	Ss. 10, 11, 17 repealed...	45, s. 36.
c. 105	Abolition of Arrests, &c. (Ireland).	S. 7 repealed ...	51 (Stat. Law Rev. (No. 2).)
4 & 5 Vict.:			
c. 20	Collection, &c. of Excise duties	Ss. 1, 3, 4, 15-21, 26-29, 32-34 repealed.	21, s. 40.
c. 49	County bridges ... ..	Repealed... ..	51 (Stat. Law Rev. (No. 2).)
c. 56	Abolition of punishment of death in certain cases.	Repealed... ..	8, s. 36.
5 & 6 Vict.:			
c. 28	Punishment of Death (Ireland)	S. 17 repealed ...	51 (Stat. Law Rev. (No. 2).)
c. 39	Advances to agents ... ..	Repealed as to Scotland.	40.
c. 47	Customs... ..	S. 1. repealed ...	} 51 (Stat. Law Rev. (No. 2).)
c. 54	Commutation of tithes... ..	Ss. 2, 4, 9-11 repealed (with saving).	
c. 76	New South Wales, &c....	Rep. as to Western Australia (but see savings)	26, s. 2.
c. 93	Tobacco ... ..	S. 6 repealed ...	51 (Stat. Law Rev. (No. 2).)
c. 94	Defence ... ..	S. 19 amended ...	25, s. 4.
c. 98	Prisons ... ..	Rep. (except ss. 12, 31, 33 and in part ss. 5, 6).	51 (Stat. Law Rev. (No. 2).)
6 & 7 Vict.:			
c. 38	Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.	Ss. 2, 3, 6, 7, 9, 10, 12, 15, rep. in part (see date and terms of repeal).	27, s. 18.
c. 94	Foreign Jurisdiction ... ..	Repealed... ..	37, s. 18.
7 & 8 Vict.:			
c. 22	Marking of gold and silver wares.	Ss. 5, 10 repealed in part	8, s. 36.
c. 69	Administration of justice in Privy Council.	S. 12 rep. in part (see date and terms of repeal).	27, s. 18.
c. 74	New South Wales, &c....	Rep. as to Western Australia.	26, s. 2.
8 & 9 Vict.:			
c. 100	Lunatics... ..	Repealed ...	5. s. 342.

[A.D. 1890.]

## EFFECT OF LEGISLATION.

[53 &amp; 54 Vict.]

Statute and Chapter.	Subject-matter or Short Title.	How affected.	Chapter of 53 & 54 Vict.
10 & 11 Vict. : c. 34	Towns improvement clauses ...	S. 80 rep. (on adoption of repealing Act).	59, s. 34 (3).
12 & 13 Vict. : c. 1	Commissioners of Inland Revenue.	Repealed, except s. 16...	21, s. 40.
c. 68	Consular marriages ...	Ss. 3, 6, 9 amended ...	47, ss. 7, 8.
c. 80	Duties on plate... ..	Repealed... ..	8, s. 36.
c. 91	Collection of Rates, Dublin ...	Amended; s. 62 rep. in part ... ..	ccxlvii., Part iv. (Local)
13 & 14 Vict. : c. 28	Property held for religious congregations.	Extended ... ..	19, ss. 2, 4.
c. 59	Australian Colonies ... ..	Rep. as to Western Australia (but see savings)	26, s. 2.
c. 60	Trustee Act ... ..	Ss. 3-6, 56, and in part ss. 20 26-28, 31, 40-42, 44, 45, 51-53 repealed, except as to Ireland.	5, s. 342.
14 & 15 Vict. : c. 34	Labouring Classes Lodging Houses.	Repealed... ..	70, s. 102.
15 & 16 Vict. : c. 48	Property of lunatics ... ..	Repealed... ..	} 5, s. 342.
c. 55	Extension of Trustee Act, 1850.	Ss. 10, 11, and in part 6, 7, rep., except as to Ireland.	
c. 61	Summary proceedings under Excise Acts.	Repealed... ..	21, s. 40.
c. 87	Relief of suitors, Court of Chancery.	S. 26 repealed ... ..	2.
16 & 17 Vict. : c. 26	Elections to Town Councils in Burghs (Scotland).	Repealed... ..	55, s. 53.
c. 59	Stamp duties ... ..	S. 17 repealed ... ..	21, s. 40.
c. 70	Lunacy Regulation ... ..	} Repealed... ..	5, s. 342.
c. 96	Lunatics ... ..		
c. 97	Lunatic Asylums ... ..		
17 & 18 Vict. : c. 96	Gold and silver plate ... ..	S. 3 repealed ... ..	8, s. 36.
18 & 19 Vict. : c. 13	Lunacy Regulation Act, 1853, Amendment.	Repealed... ..	5, s. 342.
c. 56	Waste Lands (Australia) ...	S. 7 repealed ... ..	26, s. 4.
c. 70	Public Libraries (England) ...	S. 18 extended to Metropolis; ss. 8 proviso, 23 rep.	68, ss. 9, 11.
c. 78	Stamp duties, &c. ... ..	S. 6 repealed ... ..	21, s. 40.
c. 88	Dwelling Houses (Scotland) ...	Repealed... ..	70, s. 102.
c. 105	Lunatic Asylums Acts Amendment.	Repealed... ..	5, s. 342.
c. 120	Metropolis Management ... ..	Amended ... ..	66.
19 & 20 Vict. : c. 60	Mercantile Law Amendment (Scotland).	S. 7 repealed ... ..	39, s. 48.
c. 69	County and Borough police ...	Ss. 8, 10, 11, 13, 27-29 rep.	45, s. 36.
c. 87	Lunatic Asylums Act, 1853, Amendment.	Repealed... ..	5, s. 342.
c. 97	Mercantile Law Amendment...	S. 4 repealed ... ..	39, s. 48.
20 & 21 Vict. : c. 64	Metropolitan police ... ..	S. 15 repealed ... ..	45, s. 36.
c. 72	County and Burgh Police (Scotland).	Ss. 52, 53 repealed ...	67, s. 32.
c. 75	Jurisdiction in Siam ... ..	Repealed... ..	37, s. 18.



Statute and Chapter.	Subject-matter or Short Title.	How affected.	Chapter of 53 & 54 Vict.
22 & 23 Vict. : c. 32	County and borough police ...	Ss. 8-10, 12, 13, 15-17, 19-21, 23, 24 in part, 28 repealed.	45, ss. 24, 36.
23 & 24 Vict. : c. 113	Excise duties ...	S. 40 repealed ...	21, s. 40.
c. 127	Attorneys, solicitors, &c. ...	S. 29 repealed ...	5, s. 342.
24 & 25 Vict. : c. 31	Offences (Sierra Leone) ...	Repealed prospectively...	37, s. 17.
c. 55	Removal of the poor, &c. ...	S. 7 repealed ...	5, s. 342.
c. 96	Larceny, &c. ...	S. 85 rep. in part ...	71, ss. 27, 29.
c. 124	Metropolitan police ...	S. 6 repealed ...	45, s. 36.
25 & 26 Vict. : c. 86	Lunacy regulation ...	Repealed...	5, s. 342.
c. 89	Companies ...	Ss. 81, 92 in part, 97, 165 repealed as to England	63, s. 33.
c. 101	General Police and Improvement (Scotland).	S. 121 from "and also" repealed.	67, s. 32.
c. 102	Metropolis Management Amendment.	S. 78 repealed ..	54.
c. 111	Lunacy Acts Amendment ...	Repealed...	5, s. 342.
26 & 27 Vict. : c. 24	Vice-Admiralty Courts ...	Repealed (see date and terms of repeal).	27, s. 18.
c. 35	Offences (South Africa) ...	Repealed prospectively	37, s. 17.
c. 73	Indian Stock Certificate ...	S. 2 amended ...	6, s. 17.
c. 110	Lunacy Acts Amendment ...	Repealed ...	5, s. 342.
28 & 29 Vict. : c. 35	Police Superannuation ...	Ss. 2 in part, 3-5, 9 rep.	45, s. 36.
c. 80	Lunacy Act Amendment ...	Repealed ...	5, s. 342.
c. 86	Partnership ...	Repealed ...	39, s. 48.
c. 96	Inland Revenue... ..	S. 25 repealed ...	21, s. 40.
c. 116	Foreign Jurisdiction ...	Repealed...	37, s. 18.
29 & 30 Vict. : c. 28	Labouring classes dwelling houses.	...	...
c. 44	Labouring classes lodging-houses and dwellings (Ireland).	Repealed... ..	70, s. 102.
c. 64	Inland Revenue ...	S. 15 repealed ...	8, s. 36.
c. 87	Foreign Jurisdiction ...	Repealed...	37, s. 18.
c. 90	Sanitary Act ...	S. 22 rep. as to Metropolis	34, s. 5.
30 & 31 Vict. : c. 6	Metropolitan poor ...	S. 30 from "and every such" repealed.	5, s. 342.
c. 28	Labouring Classes Dwelling-houses.	Repealed... ..	70, s. 102.
c. 45	Vice-Admiralty Courts Acts Amendment.	Repealed (see date and terms of repeal).	27, s. 18.
c. 87	Court of Chancery (Officers)...	S. 13 repealed ...	5, s. 342.
c. 101	Public Health (Scotland) ...	Ss. 39, 42 amended ...	20.
c. 106	Poor Law Amendment ...	Ss. 22 repealed in part...	5, s. 342.
c. 131	Companies ...	Ss. 41-46 rep. as to England.	63, s. 33.
31 & 32 Vict. : c. 61	Consular Marriages ...	Amended ...	47.
c. 122	Poor Law Amendment ...	S. 43 repealed ...	5, s. 342.
c. 124	Inland Revenue ...	Ss. 1, 2 repealed ...	21, s. 40.
c. 130	Artizans and Labourers Dwellings.	Repealed ...	70, s. 102.
32 & 33 Vict. : c. 62	Debtors ...	S. 11 amended ...	71, s. 26.
33 & 34 Vict. : c. 55	Niam, &c., jurisdiction ...	Repealed ...	37, s. 18.
c. 75	Elementary Education...	S. 3 amended ...	22, s. 1.
c. 97	Stamps ...	S. 26 (2) repealed Schedule amended	21, s. 40. 8, s. 19.

[A.D. 1890.]

## EFFECT OF LEGISLATION.

[53 &amp; 54 Vict.]

Statute and Chapter.	Subject-matter or Short Title.	How affected.	Chapter of 53 & 54 Vict.
33 & 34 Vict.: —cont. c. 98	Stamp duties management ...	Ss. 3, 26 (2) repealed ...	21, s. 40.
34 & 35 Vict.: c. 14	County property ...	S. 2 repealed ...	5, s. 342.
35 & 36 Vict.: c. 62	Education (Scotland) ...	S. 14 repealed ...	55, s. 53.
36 & 37 Vict.: c. 59	Slave Trade (East African Courts).	Ss. 4, 5, repealed (see date and terms of repeal).	27, s. 18.
c. 66	Supreme Court of Judicature	Amended ...	44.
c. 88	Slave trade ...	Ss. 20, 23 rep. in part (see date and terms of rep.).	27, s. 18.
38 & 39 Vict.: c. 36	Artizans and Labourers Dwellings Improvement.	Repealed... ..	70, s. 102.
c. 49	Artizans and Labourers Dwellings Improvement (Scotland).		
c. 51	Pacific Islanders Protection ...		
c. 55	Public Health ...	S. 6 rep. in part (see date and terms of repeal). Ss. 211 (1) (b), 230 am. S. 120 rep. (on adoption of repealing section). Am. and (where amending Act adopted) ss. 41, 116-119, 157, 158, 164, 165, 306, ext.; s. 84 am.; ss. 38, 152 rep.	27, s. 18. 17. 34, s. 5. 59, ss. 11, 19, 22, 23, 28, 32, 41, 45, 46, 48.
c. 57	Pharmacy (Ireland) ...	Amended; s. 15 repealed	48.
c. 77	Supreme Court of Judicature...	Ss. 7, 26 in part, repealed	5, s. 342.
c. 85	Foreign Jurisdiction ...	Repealed... ..	37, s. 18.
39 & 40 Vict.: c. 35	Customs tariff ...	Ss. 3-6, and in part s. 1, sch. rep.; sch. am.	8, ss. 3, 5, 36.
c. 36	Customs Consolidation ...	S. 179 amended...	56.
c. 46	Slave trade ...	Ss. 4, 6 repealed ...	37, s. 18.
c. 80	Merchant shipping ...	Ss. 26 (2), 27 (2) virt. rep., ss. 25-27 explained.	9.
40 & 41 Vict.: c. 39	Factors Acts Amendment ...	Repealed as to Scotland.	40.
c. 54	Public Libraries Amendment...	Repealed as to England.	68, s. 11.
41 & 42 Vict.: c. 52	Public Health (Ireland) ..	S. 137 rep. (on adoption of repealing section). Am. and (where amending Act adopted) ss. 41, 42, 51, 102, 132, 135, 272 ext.; s. 95 amended; s. 48 repealed.	34, ss. 5, 23. 59, ss. 11, 12, 19, 22, 23, 28, 32, 46, 48.
c. 67	Foreign Jurisdiction ...	Repealed... ..	37, s. 18.
c. 74	Contagious Diseases (Animals)	S. 21, subss. (1)-(3) rep.	14, s. 7.
42 & 43 Vict.: c. 63	Artizans and Labourers Dwellings Improvement.	Repealed ... ..	70, s. 102.
c. 64	Artizans and Labourers Dwellings Act (1868) Amendment.		
c. 77	Public Works Loans ...	S. 6 repealed ...	
43 Vict.: c. 2	Artizans and Labourers Dwellings Improvement (Scotland).	Repealed ... ..	70, s. 102.
c. 8	Artizans and Labourers Dwellings.		

Statute and Chapter.	Subject-matter or Short Title.	How affected.	Chapter of 53 & 54 Vict.
<b>43 &amp; 44 Vict. :</b>			
c. 19	Taxes management ... ..	Ss. 12, 14, 21 (2), rep. ...	} 21, s. 40. 8, ss 31, 32, 36.
c. 20	Inland Revenue ... ..	S. 31 repealed ...	
c. 24	Spirits ... ..	S. 3 amended; ss. 117, 123 in part, rep.	
		Ss. 151, 155 (2) rep. ...	21, s. 40.
<b>44 &amp; 45 Vic. :</b>			
c. 58	Army ... ..	Ss. 1, 57, 175, 179, 190 am.; s. 151 (2) rep.	4.
<b>45 &amp; 46 Vic. :</b>			
c. 22	Boiler explosions ... ..	Extended; s. 4 from "or to any boiler on" rep.	35.
c. 38	Settled land ... ..	S. 15 rep.; s. 25 ext.; ss. 45, 50 amended.	69, ss. 4, 7, 10, 13.
		Amended; s. 25 ext. ...	70, s. 74.
c. 43	Bills of sale ... ..	S. 9 amended ...	53.
c. 50	Municipal Corporations ...	Fifth Schedule, Part II., 5 (b) repealed in part.	45, s. 36.
c. 54	Artizans Dwellings ... ..	Repealed... ..	70, s. 102.
c. 56	Electric Lighting ... ..	Sch. rep. as to Scotland.	13.
c. 82	Lunacy Regulation Amendment ...	Repealed... ..	5, s. 342.
<b>46 &amp; 47 Vict. :</b>			
c. 52	Bankruptcy ... ..	Ss. 22 (1), 25, 32, 42, 55, 72, 73, 125, 131, am.; ss. 86, 135, ext.; ss. 18, 28, and in part ss. 4, 23, 46, 72, 125, Sch. 1., rep.	71, ss. 5, 7, 9, 13, 15, 19, 21, 24, 25, 28, 29.
		S. 10, sub-sections (2), (4), (7), (10) rep. in part.	8, s. 36.
c. 61	Agricultural holdings ... ..	Amended ... ..	57.
<b>47 &amp; 48 Vict. :</b>			
c. 62	Revenue ... ..	S. 4 repealed in part; s. 6 amended.	8, ss. 27, 36.
<b>48 &amp; 49 Vict. :</b>			
c. 52	Lunacy Acts Amendment ... ..	Repealed... ..	5, s. 342.
c. 72	Housing of the working classes ...	Repealed (except ss. 3, 7-9, 10 in part).	70, s. 102.
<b>49 &amp; 50 Vict. :</b>			
c. 5	Drill Grounds ... ..	S. 2 amended ... ..	25, s. 3.
c. 50	Removal Terms (Scotland) ...	Amended ... ..	36.
<b>50 &amp; 51 Vict. :</b>			
c. 22	Public Libraries Acts Amendment ...	S. 11 repealed ... ..	68, s. 11.
c. 29	Allotments and cottage garden compensation for crops.	Amended ... ..	57.
<b>51 &amp; 52 Vict. :</b>			
c. 8	Customs and Inland Revenue... ..	S. 12 explained... ..	8, s. 18.
		S. 7 repealed ... ..	21, s. 40.
c. 12	Electric Lighting ... ..	Amended as to Scotland	13.
c. 41	Local Government ... ..	Ss. 32 (3) (c), 86 (1)-(4), (6)-(8) repealed.	5, s. 342.
c. 57	Statute Law Revision (No. 2)	Sch. amended ... ..	33, s. 5 (Stat. Law Rev.)
<b>52 &amp; 53 Vict. :</b>			
c. 9	Public Libraries Acts Amendment.	S. 3 extended ... ..	68, s. 7.
c. 10	Commissioners for Oaths ... ..	Amended ... ..	7.
c. 23	Herring Fishery (Scotland) ...	S. 6 (3) repealed ... ..	10.
c. 41	Lunacy Acts Amendment ... ..	Repealed... ..	5, s. 342.
c. 45	Factors ... ..	Ext. to Scotland, s. 18 virt. rep.	40.
c. 61	London Council (Money) ... ..	Ss. 6-8, 11, 13 amended	41, s. 4.
c. 66	Light Railways (Ireland) ... ..	S. 4 amended ... ..	52, s. 5.
<b>53 &amp; 54 Vict. :</b>			
c. 70	Housing of the working classes	S. 74 explained ... ..	69, s. 18.

# SITTINGS OF THE HOUSE, SESSION 1890.

RETURN to an Order of the Honourable The House of Commons,  
dated 28 July 1890;—for

RETURN "of the Number of DAYS on which THE HOUSE SAT in the Session of 1890, stating, for each Day, the Date of the Month, and Day of the Week, the Hour of the Meeting, and the Hour of Adjournment; and the Total Number of Hours occupied in the Sittings of The House, and the Average Time; and showing the Number of Hours on which The House Sat each Day, and the number of Hours after Midnight; and the Number of Entries in each Day's Votes and Proceedings (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 0,184, of Session 1889)."

(Sir Charles Forster.)

Month.	Day.	House met.		House adjourned.		Hours of Sitting.		Hours after Midnight.		Entries in Votes.
1890.		H.	M.	H.	M.	H.	M.	H.	M.	
Feb 11	Tu	1	30	12	5	10	35	0	5	87
" 12	W	12	0	5	0	5	0	-	-	266
" 13	Th	3	0	11	55	8	55	-	-	94
" 14	F	3	0	12	5	9	5	0	5	150
" 17	M	3	0	12	5	9	5	0	5	150
" 18	Tu	3	0	12	15	9	15	0	15	50
" 19	W	2	0	5	40	3	40	-	-	25
" 20	Th	3	0	12	5	9	5	0	5	24
" 21	F	3	0	12	15	9	15	0	15	29
" 24	M	3	0	12	20	9	20	0	20	86
" 25	Tu	3	0	12	10	9	10	0	10	64
" 26	W	12	0	5	55	5	55	-	-	62
" 27	Th	3	0	12	10	9	10	0	10	43
" 28	F	3	0	12	45	9	45	0	45	28
Total..	14	-	-	-	-	117	15	2	15	1,158
Mar 3	M	3	0	12	5	9	5	0	5	61
" 4	Tu	3	0	12	5	9	5	0	5	50
" 5	W	12	0	5	45	5	45	-	-	35
" 6	Th	3	0	12	5	9	5	0	5	28
" 7	F	3	0	8	40	5	40	-	-	20
" 10	M	3	0	1	15	10	15	1	15	67
" 11	Tu	3	0	12	30	9	30	0	30	63
" 12	W	12	0	5	55	5	55	-	-	57
" 13	Th	3	0	1	20	10	20	1	20	55
" 14	F	3	0	12	5	9	5	0	5	50
" 17	M	3	0	12	55	9	55	0	55	68
" 18	Tu	3	0	7	45	4	45	-	-	46
" 19	W	12	0	5	55	5	55	-	-	80
" 20	Th	3	0	12	30	9	30	0	30	69
" 21	F	3	0	12	20	9	20	0	20	63
" 24	M	3	0	12	30	9	30	0	30	82
" 25	Tu	3	0	9	15	6	15	-	-	52
" 26	W	12	0	6	0	6	0	-	-	70
" 27	Th	3	0	12	30	9	30	0	30	63
" 28	F	3	0	12	35	9	35	0	35	93
" 29	S	10	0	10	15	0	15	-	-	4
" 31	M	3	0	1	0	10	0	1	0	115
Total..	22	-	-	-	-	174	15	7	45	1,277

Month.	Day.	House met.		House adjourned.		Hours of Sitting.		Hours after Midnight.		Entries in Votes.
1890.		H.	M.	H.	M.	H.	M.	H.	M.	
April 1	Tu	2	0	6	40	4	40	-	-	67
" 14	M	3	0	12	30	9	30	0	30	121
" 15	Tu	3	0	8	15	5	15	-	-	53
" 16	W	12	0	5	55	5	55	-	-	101
" 17	Th	3	0	12	30	9	30	0	30	79
" 18	F	3	0	12	50	9	50	0	50	91
" 21	M	3	0	12	20	9	20	0	20	103
" 22	Tu	2	0	1	5	11	5	1	5	64
" 23	W	12	0	5	55	5	55	-	-	103
" 24	Th	3	0	12	55	9	55	0	55	80
" 25	F	2	0	1	10	11	10	1	10	62
" 28	M	3	0	12	15	9	15	0	15	151
" 29	Tu	2	0	1	0	11	0	1	0	53
" 30	W	12	0	5	55	5	55	-	-	108
Total..	14	-	-	-	-	118	15	6	35	1,236
May 1	Th	3	0	12	40	9	40	0	40	68
" 2	F	2	0	1	5	11	5	1	5	55
" 5	M	3	0	1	15	10	15	1	15	136
" 6	Tu	2	0	1	5	11	5	1	5	65
" 7	W	12	0	5	50	5	50	-	-	90
" 8	Th	3	0	12	35	9	35	0	35	80
" 9	F	2	0	11	0	9	0	-	-	67
" 12	M	3	0	12	40	9	40	0	40	134
" 13	Tu	2	0	9	5	7	5	-	-	84
" 14	W	12	0	5	55	5	55	-	-	121
" 15	Th	3	0	12	55	9	55	0	55	98
" 16	F	2	0	1	0	11	0	1	0	55
A.M.										
" 19	M	3	0	3	55	12	55	3	55	160
" 20	Tu	2	0	1	55	11	55	1	55	91
" 21	W	12	0	5	59	5	59	-	-	93
" 22	Th	3	0	12	25	9	25	0	25	80
" 23	F	2	0	10	25	8	25	-	-	90
Total..	17	-	-	-	-	158	44	13	30	1,567

# SITTINGS OF THE HOUSE, SESSION 1890.

Month.	Day.	House met.	House adjourned.	Hours of Sitting.	Hours after Midnight.	Entries in Votes.	Month.	Day.	House met.	House adjourned.	Hours of Sitting.	Hours after Midnight.	Entries in Votes.
1890.		H. M.	H. M.	H. M.	H. M.		1890.		H. M.	H. M.	H. M.	H. M.	
June 2	M	3	0 12	30 9	30 0	30 115	cont.						
" 3	Tu	3	0 12	15 9	15 0	15 108	July 17	Th	3	0 12	45 9	45 0	45 81
" 5	Th	3	0 12	30 9	30 0	30 95	" 18	F	3	0 12	15 9	15 0	15 77
" 6	F	3	0 2	15 11	15 2	15 104	" 21	M	3	0 2	50 11	50 2	50 108
" 9	M	3	0 12	30 9	30 0	30 176	" 22	Tu	3	0 12	35 9	35 0	35 84
" 10	Tu	3	0 12	20 9	20 0	20 95	" 23	W	12	0 5	59 5	59 -	- 62
" 11	W	12	0 5	55 5	55 -	- 64	" 24	Th	3	0 12	35 9	35 0	35 75
" 12	Th	3	0 1	15 10	15 1	15 123	" 25	F	3	0 2	45 11	45 2	45 76
" 13	F	3	0 12	45 9	45 0	45 108	" 28	M	3	0 12	15 9	15 0	15 93
" 16	M	3	0 12	40 9	40 0	40 141	" 29	Tu	3	0 12	50 9	50 0	50 79
" 17	Tu	3	0 12	15 9	15 0	15 94	" 30	W	12	0 5	40 5	40 -	- 48
" 18	W	12	0 5	45 5	45 -	- 90	" 31	Th	3	0 1	5 10	5 1	5 63
" 19	Th	3	0 12	30 9	30 0	30 74	Total..	23	-	-	-	207 19	16 5 1,722
" 20	F	3	0 12	10 9	10 0	10 77	Aug. 1	F	3	0 12	45 9	45 0	45 66
" 23	M	3	0 12	40 9	40 0	40 134	" 2	S	12	0 5	45 5	45 -	- 27
" 24	Tu	3	0 12	10 9	10 0	10 86	" 4	M	3	0 1	35 13	35 1	35 70
" 25	W	12	0 5	55 5	55 -	- 69	" 5	Tu	3	0 12	55 9	55 0	55 45
" 26	Th	3	0 12	55 9	55 0	55 92	" 6	W	12	0 6	30 6	30 -	- 25
" 27	F	3	0 12	10 9	10 0	10 100	" 7	Th	3	0 1	50 10	50 1	50 57
" 30	M	3	0 1	0 10	0 1	0 114	" 8	F	3	0 1	40 10	40 1	40 59
Total..	20	-	-	181 25	10 50	2,057	" 9	S	12	0 7	20 7	20 -	- 26
July 1	Tu	3	0 12	55 9	55 0	55 70	" 11	M	3	0 3	0 12	0 3	0 74
" 2	W	12	0 5	50 5	50 -	- 73	A.M.						
" 3	Th	3	0 12	15 9	15 0	15 80	" 12	Tu	3	0 3	45 12	45 3	45 55
" 4	F	3	0 12	15 9	15 0	15 64	" 13	W	12	0 11	0 11	0 -	- 39
" 7	M	3	0 12	50 9	50 0	50 102	A.M.						
" 8	Tu	3	0 12	55 9	55 0	55 57	" 14	Th	3	0 7	0 16	0 7	0 76
" 9	W	12	0 5	50 5	50 -	- 67	" 15	F	3	0 7	55 4	55 -	- 46
" 10	Th	3	0 12	45 9	45 0	45 45	" 16	S	12	0 12	30 0	30 -	- 26
" 11	F	3	0 12	15 9	15 0	15 88	" 18	M	11	0	Prorogation	-	- 23
" 14	M	3	0 12	30 9	30 0	30 89	Total..	15	-	-	-	131 30	20 30 717
" 15	Tu	3	0 1	30 10	30 1	30 67							
" 16	W	12	0 5	55 5	55 -	- 74							

## SUMMARY.

Month.	Days of Sitting.	Hours of Sitting.	Hours after Midnight.	Entries in Votes.
1890.		H. M.	H. M.	
February .....	14	117 15	2 15	1,158
March .....	22	174 15	7 45	1,277
April .....	14	118 15	6 35	1,236
May .....	17	158 44	13 30	1,567
June .....	20	181 25	10 50	2,057
July .....	23	207 19	16 5	1,722
August .....	15	131 30	20 30	717
Total .....	125	1,068 43	77 30	9,734

Average Length of Sittings, Daily, 8 Hours 42 $\frac{1}{11}$  Minutes.

# BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE (DAYS OCCUPIED BY GOVERNMENT AND BY PRIVATE MEMBERS).

## S U M M A R Y O F R E T U R N

To an Order of the Honourable The House of Commons, dated 15 August, 1890.

(1.) The Number of Sitzings on Tuesdays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, at which Government Business had Precedence.	(2.) The Number of Sitzings on Tuesdays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, at which Private Members had Precedence.	(3.) The Number of other Sitzings at which, in accordance with the Standing Orders of the House, Government Business had Precedence.	(4.) The Number of Sitzings at which Government Business had Precedence under a Special Order of the House.	(5.) The Number of Saturday Sittings.	(6.) The Total Number of Sittings at which Government Business had Precedence.	(7.) The Total Number of Days on which the House Sat.	(8.) The Total Number of Motions for Adjournment of the House on a Matter of Urgent Public Importance.	(9.) The Number of Days in Supply.
TOTALS... 53	*25	49	49	4	†106	125	6	38

\* Of which 7 were Evening Sitzings only.  
† Of which 10 were Morning Sitzings only.  
11th February, First day of Meeting.

# GENERAL INDEX

TO

## HANSARD'S PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES,

IN THE FIFTH SESSION OF THE

### TWENTY-FOURTH PARLIAMENT OF THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

53° & 54° VICTORIÆ.

1890.

#### EXPLANATION OF THE ABBREVIATIONS.

Bills, Read 1°, 2°, 3°, or 1°, 2°, 3°, Read the First, Second, or Third Time.—In Speeches, 1R., 2R., 3R., Speech delivered on the First, Second, or Third Reading.—Adj., Adjournment.—Admy., Admiralty.—Amendt., Amendment.—A., Answer.—As., Answers.—Att. Gen., Attorney General.—Ch. of Exch., Chancellor of the Exchequer.—Chf. Sec., Chief Secretary.—Cols., Colonies.—c., Commons.—Com., Committee, Committed.—Con., Considered, Consideration.—Dept., Department.—Fin. Sec., Financial Secretary.—Fn. Affrs., Foreign Affairs.—l., Lords.—ld. Adv., Lord Advocate.—Obs., Observations.—P.M. Gen., Postmaster General.—Pres., President.—Pros. Bd. Ag., President of the Board of Agriculture.—Pres. Bd. Trade., President of the Board of Trade.—Pres. Loc. Gov. Bd., President of the Local Government Board.—Q., Question.—Qs., Questions.—R.P., Report Progress.—Re-com., Re-committed, Re-committal, Re-commitment.—Res., Resolution.—Sec., Secretary.—Sol. Gen., Solicitor General.—Treas., Treasury.

When in this Index a \* is added to the Reading of a Bill, it indicates that no Debate took place upon that stage of the measure.

The proceedings relating to Private Bills have only been reported where discussion has occurred. In the *Table of the Statutes*, bound with this Vol., a complete record will be found of these Bills.

The subjects of Debate, as far as possible, are classified under "General Headings:"—e.g., ARMY—NAVY—INDIA—IRELAND—SCOTLAND—WALES—PARLIAMENT—POOR LAW—POST OFFICE—METROPOLIS—CHURCH OF ENGLAND—EDUCATION—LAW AND JUSTICE AND POLICE—LABOUR, TRADE, AND COMMERCE—LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD—BOARD OF AGRICULTURE—BOARD OF TRADE.

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1712  
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**ABRAHAM**, Mr. W., *Glamorgan, Rhondda*  
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tion Bill, 2R. [343] 240

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2R. Deferred May 7 [344] 410 [Dropped]

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2R.; Bill withdrawn June 25 [345] 1930

ACLAND, Mr. A. H. D., *York, W.R., Rotherham*

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*Liquor Traffic*, Q. Mr. Howorth; A. The Under Sec. for Fn. Affrs. Mar 17 [342] 1005

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*Slaves*, Postponed Q. May 5 [344] 135; Q. Mr. A. E. Pease; A. The Under Sec. for Fn. Affrs. May 6, 255

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*Zambesi*, Q. Sir J. Swinburne; A. The First Lord of Admy. June 9 [345] 329; Q. Mr. Baumann; A. The Under Sec. for Fn. Affrs. June 13, 845; Q. Mr. Hanbury; A. The Under Sec. for Fn. Affrs. June 16, 1006; Q. Sir J. Swinburne; A. The First Lord of Admy. June 30 [346] 334; Q. Mr. Buchanan; A. The Under Sec. for Fn. Affrs. Aug 7 [348] 97

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*Indian Abkari Excise System*, Q. Mr. S. Smith; A. The Under Sec. for Fn. Affrs. Aug 4 [347] 1730

*Madagascar—Anglo-French Agreement* (see title FRANCE)

*Portugal and East Africa*, Qs. Mr. Cremer; As. The Under Sec. for Fn. Affrs. Feb 11 [341] 40; Feb 12, 121; Q. Sir G. Campbell; A. The Under Sec. for Fn. Affrs. Feb 14, 805; Q. Mr. P. Stanhope; A. The Under Sec. for Fn. Affrs. Mar 27 [343] 80; Q. Mr. Hanbury; A. The Under Sec. for Fn. Affrs. April 17, 685; Q. Obs. Earl of Harrowby, Marquess of Salisbury May 16 [344] 1094

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*British Indian Subjects*, Q. Sir G. Campbell; A. The Under Sec. for Cols. June 6 [345] 149; Q. Mr. Bradlaugh; A. The Under Sec. for Cols. July 17 [347] 67; Q. Mr. Bradlaugh; A. The Under Sec. for India Aug 14 [348] 989

*British South Africa Company*, Qs. Sir G. Campbell, Dr. Clark; As. The Under Sec. for Cols. Mar 13 [342] 708; Qs. Mr. Labouchere, Dr. Clark; As. The Under Sec. for Cols. Mar 18, 1141; Qs. Mr. Hanbury, Mr. O. V. Morgan; As. The Under

[*cont.*]AFRICA (SOUTH COAST)—*cont.*

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*Cape Coast*, Q. Mr. Pictou; A. The Under Sec. for Cols. Feb 28 [341] 1492; Qs. Sir Donald Currie; As. The Under Sec. for Fn. Affrs. June 19 [345] 1376; June 20, 1478; Q. Mr. S. Leighton; A. The Sec. for War July 17 [347] 65

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*German Expedition*, Q. Mr. E. Beckett; A. The Under Sec. for Fn. Affrs. June 9 [345] 335

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*Mining Rights*, Qs. Mr. Webb, Mr. A. O'Connor; As. The Under Sec. for Cols. May 22 [344] 1569

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*Transvaal*, Q. Mr. W. F. Lawrence; A. The Under Sec. for Cols. Feb 25 [341] 1159; Q. Mr. E. Hardcastle; A. The First Lord of Treas. Feb 25, 1168; Q. Mr. O. V. Morgan; A. The Under Sec. for Cols. Mar 10 [342] 346; Q. Mr. Hanbury; A.

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*Walfish Bay*, Q. Mr. S. Leighton; A. The  
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*Zulu Affairs*, Q. Mr. A. M'Arthur; A. The  
Under Sec. for Cols. *Feb* 13 [341] 192; Q.  
Sir R. Fowler; A. The Under Sec. for  
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A. The Under Sec. for Cols. *Mar* 3, 1642;  
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Hanbury; A. The Under Sec. for Cols.  
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Q. Mr. Webb; A. The Under Sec. for  
Cols. *July* 3 [346] 656; Q. Mr. Hanbury;  
A. The Under Sec. for Cols. *July* 18 [347]  
220; Q. Mr. Webb; A. The Under Sec.  
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*Delagoa Bay Railway*, Q. Sir J. M'Kenna;  
A. The Under Sec. for Fn. Affrs. *Feb* 20  
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Seton-Karr; A. The Under Sec. for Fn.  
Affrs. *Mar* 4, 1769; Q. Mr. S. Leighton;  
A. The Under Sec. for Fn. Affrs. *April* 21  
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Under Sec. for Fn. Affrs. *Feb* 27 [341]  
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*Congo*, Qs. Mr. Schwann; As. The Under  
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*May* 20, 1403; Q. Mr. A. E. Pease; A.  
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*Flogging Natives*, Q. Mr. Picton; A. The  
Under Sec. for Cols. *Feb* 28 [341] 1493

*Gambia*, Q. Mr. Barbour; A. The Under Sec.  
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G. Baden-Powell; A. The Under Sec. for  
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*Gold Coast*, Q. Mr. Picton; A. The Under  
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*King Ja Ja*, Q. Mr. Picton; A. The Under  
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Mr. W. Redmond; A. The Under Sec. for  
Fn. Affrs. *June* 30 [346] 331

*Niger*, Qs. Mr. Picton; As. The Under Sec. for  
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254; Q. Sir G. Campbell; A. The Under  
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*Sierra Leone*, Qs. Mr. Picton, Mr. H. H.  
Fowler; As. The Under Sec. for Cols.  
*Feb* 13 [341] 197; Q. Mr. Picton; A. The  
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Sir J. Kennaway; A. The Under Sec. for  
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**Agricultural Compensation Procedure Bill**

Q. Mr. Channing; A. The Pres. Bd. Ag.  
*July* 14 [346] 1598

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**Agricultural Education Bill**

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**Agricultural Holdings Bill**

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2R.; Bill withdrawn *June* 17 [345] 1243

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Read 2° *May* 14 [344] 878  
Com. *May* 15, 1058 [Dropped]

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c. Ordered; Read 1° \* *May* 21 [344] 1548  
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- l. Read 1<sup>o</sup> July 22, 489  
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- c. Lords Amendts. con. and agreed to Aug 9,  
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- l. Returned from the Commons Aug 11, 455  
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- c. Instruction to Com. June 27 [346] 190; Res.  
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- c. Ordered; Read 1<sup>o</sup> Feb 17 [341] 445  
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- l. Read 1<sup>o</sup> June 27, 141  
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- Com. and Reported July 10, 1253  
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- c. Lords Amendts. con. and agreed to Aug 14  
[348] 1114
- l. Returned from the Commons Aug 15, 1121  
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- c. Ordered; Read 1<sup>o</sup> Feb 25 [341] 1251  
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- c. Ordered; Read 1<sup>o</sup> May 13 [344] 824  
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Com. Aug 4, 1722  
Read 3<sup>o</sup> and passed Aug 7 [348] 69  
c. Lords Amendts con.; several agreed to; one disagreed to; Com. appointed to draw up Reasons for disagreement Aug 11, 614; Reason reported and agreed to, 616  
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Commons Reasons for disagreeing to one of the Amendts. con., the said Amendt not insisted on Aug 14, 933  
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l. Returned from the Commons Aug 12, 665

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c. Lords Amendt. con. and agreed to Aug 14 [348] 1114

1. Returned from the Commons Aug 15, 1121

Royal Assent Aug 18, 1201

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- c. Read 1<sup>st</sup> Ju y 15 [346] 1743  
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- Con. in Com. and reported July 17 [347] 183  
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- c. Ordered; Read 1<sup>st</sup> Feb 12 [341] 170  
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- c. Ordered; Read 1<sup>st</sup> Feb 25 [341] 1252  
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- l. Read 1<sup>st</sup> Mar 3, 1617  
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- c. Ordered; Read 1<sup>st</sup> April 23 [343] 1232  
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- c. Ordered; Read 1<sup>st</sup> Mar 25 [342] 1824  
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- c. Ordered; Read 1<sup>st</sup> June 17 [345] 1244  
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- Con. in Com. and reported; Read 3<sup>rd</sup> and passed July 16, 1887

- l. Returned from the Commons agreed to July 17 [347] 21  
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*Teaching University for London*, Q. Mr. G. O. Morgan; A. The Sec. to Treas. *July 10* [346] 1302

*Technical Instruction Act and Technical Schools Act*, Qs. Sir H. Roscoe, Mr. Channing; As. The Vice Pres. *Feb 20* [341] 748; Qs., Obs. Marquess of Ripon, Lord Norton, The Lord Pres. *May 8* [344] 419; Qs., Obs. Lord Norton, The Lord Pres. *June 17* [345] 1118; Q. Mr. Summers; A. The Vice Pres. *July 31* [347] 1362

*Vaccination — Pupil Teachers, Leicester*, Qs. Mr. Picton; As. The Vice Pres. *Mar 7* [342] 256; *May 5* [344] 127

*Vaccination Laws and Education Code*, Debate on going into Com. of Supply *April 25* [343] 1459

**Education Code Bill**

Q. Mr. Mundella; A. The Vice Pres. *Mar 31* [343] 303; Q. Mr. Channing; A. The Vice Pres. *April 22*, 1082

**Education Code (1890) Bill**

c. Ordered; Read 1<sup>o</sup> \* *April 14* [343] 459  
 Read 2<sup>o</sup> *June 6* [345] 226  
 Con. in Com.; Reported; Read 3<sup>o</sup> \* and passed *June 30* [346] 344  
 l. Read 1<sup>o</sup> \* *July 1*, 450  
 Read 2<sup>o</sup> and com. to a Com. of the whole House *July 7*, 913  
 Com.; Report *July 10*, 1292  
 Read 3<sup>o</sup> \* and passed *July 11*, 1463  
 Royal Assent *July 25* [347] 841  
 [53 & 54 Vic. c. 22]

**Education Code (1890) Grant**

c. Instruction to Com. *June 11* [345] 581  
 Con. in Com. *June 13*, 860  
 Resolution reported *June 20*, 1592

**Education Department (New Code)**

Return ordered and presented *June 18* [345] 1291

**Education, Blind and Deaf Mute (England and Wales) Bill**

Q. Mr. Woodall; A. The Vice Pres. *June 30* [346] 833

**Education of Blind and Deaf Mute Children (Scotland) Bill**

l. Presented; Read 1<sup>o</sup> \* *May 22* [344] 1549  
 Read 2<sup>o</sup> and com. to Com. of the whole House *June 12* [345] 670  
 Com. *June 16*, 992  
 Read 3<sup>o</sup> \* and passed *June 19*, 1821  
 c. Read 1<sup>o</sup> \* *July 2* [346] 565  
 Read 2<sup>o</sup> \* *July 17* [347] 182  
 Com. and Reported; Read 3<sup>o</sup> and passed *Aug 6* [348] 17  
 l. Returned from Commons agreed to with Amendments. *Aug 7*, 69  
 Commons Amendments. con. and agreed to *Aug 12*, 672  
 Royal Assent *Aug 14*, 929  
 [53 & 54 Vic. c. 43]

**Education (Primary Instruction in Paris)**

Return ordered and presented *Mar 31* [343] 307, 388

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Motion postponed *Aug 11* [348] 615

**Educational Endowment (Scotland) (Anderson's Institution, Elgin)**

Motion for Address agreed to *Aug 7* [348] 211

**Educational Endowment (Scotland) (Ferguson Bequest Fund)**

Motion for Address *Mar 17* [342] 1092  
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**Educational Endowment (Scotland) (Macdiarmid School Funds)**

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**Educational Endowment (Scotland) (Orphan Hospital Scheme)**

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**Educational Endowment (Scotland) (Redhythe Bursaries, &c., Fordyce)**

Motion for an Address *Mar 31* [343] 378  
 Answer to Address *May 7* [344] 354

**Educational Endowments (Banffshire) Bill**

c. Ordered; Read 1<sup>o</sup> \* *May 14* [344] 932  
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*Cairo Opera House*, Q. Sir G. Campbell; A. The Under Sec. for Fn. Affrs. June 5 [345] 51  
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**Elections (Scotland) (Corrupt and Illegal Practices) Bill**

c. Ordered; Read 1<sup>o</sup> April 29 [343] 1740  
 Read 2<sup>o</sup> and com. to Standing Com. on Law, &c. May 8 [344] 551  
 Reported June 9 [345] 350  
 As Amended Com.; Read 3<sup>o</sup> and passed June 20 [346] 340  
 l. Read 1<sup>o</sup> July 1, 450

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Read 2<sup>o</sup> and com. to Com. for Bills Relating to Law, &c. July 11, 1462  
 Reported from Com. and Re-com. to Com. of the whole House July 22 [347] 470  
 Com. July 25, 877  
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 c. Lords Amendts. con. and agreed to Aug 13 [348] 823  
 l. Returned from the Commons with Amendts. agreed to Aug 14, 929  
 Royal Assent Aug 18, 1200  
 [53 & 54 Vic. c. 55]

**Electoral Disabilities (Naval, Military, and Police) Bill**

c. Ordered; Read 1<sup>o</sup> Feb 17 [341] 445  
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Qs. Mr. Causton, Sir W. Lawson; As. The First Lord of Treas. May 5 [344] 155

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c. Ordered; Read 1<sup>o</sup> Feb 12 [341] 173  
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**Electric Lighting (see Board of Trade)**

**Electric Lighting Acts Amendment (Scotland) Bill**

c. Ordered; Read 1<sup>o</sup> April 28 [343] 1512  
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 l. Read 1<sup>o</sup> June 23, 1605  
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 c. Lords Amendts. con. and agreed to July 2, 565  
 l. Returned from the Commons July 3, 617  
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 [53 & 54 Vic. c. 13]

**Electric Lighting Orders Confirmation Bill**

l. Presented; Read 1<sup>o</sup>, and Sessional Order dispensed with July 8 [346] 1042

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*c.* Ordered; Read 1<sup>a</sup> \* Feb 12 [341] 169  
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*c.* Ordered; Read 1<sup>a</sup> \* Feb 12 [341] 177  
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c. Ordered; Read 1<sup>o</sup> Feb 12 [341] 173  
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c. Ordered; Read 1<sup>o</sup> Feb 27 [341] 1444  
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*l. Presented*; Read 1<sup>st</sup> Feb 21 [341] 862  
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*c. Read 1<sup>st</sup>* Mar 21, 1519  
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*c. Ordered*; Read 1<sup>st</sup> Feb 12 [341] 173  
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*l. Presented*; Read 1<sup>st</sup> Mar 28 [343] 129  
Read 2<sup>nd</sup> and com. to Standing Com. for Bills relating to Law April 28, 1493  
Reported and Re-com. to Com. of the whole House May 13 [344] 805  
Com. on Re-com. and Reported May 20, 1381  
Read 3<sup>rd</sup> and passed June 12 [345] 633  
*c. Read 1<sup>st</sup>* June 19, 1377  
2R.; Bill withdrawn July 21 [347] 468

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Q. Mr. Dixon-Hartland; A. The First Lord of Treas. June 16 [345] 1044; Q. Mr. S. Buxton; A. The Home Sec. July 3 [346] 687; Q. Sir U. Kay-Shuttleworth; A. The Home Sec. July 10, 1298

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Q. Mr. Buchanan; A. The Home Sec. Aug 11 [348] 519

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*c. Ordered*; Read 1<sup>st</sup> Feb 14 [341] 404  
Read 2<sup>nd</sup> and com. to Select Com. Mar 17 [342] 1081  
Instruction to Com. ordered Mar 20, 1556  
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- Report; Re-com. to Com. of the whole House Aug 2 [347] 1863  
Order for Com. read and discharged; Bill withdrawn Aug 6 [348] 50  
l. Message to Commons for copy of Reports, &c., of Select Com. Aug 11, 459  
c. Copy ordered for the Lords Aug 14, 943  
Reports from House of Commons Select Com. communicated Aug 15, 1123

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- c. Ordered; Read 1<sup>o</sup> Feb 12 [341] 176  
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Mar 24, 1799; Mar 26, 1926; Mar 27 [343]  
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Com. July 10, 1249  
Reported July 14, 1585  
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c. Lords Amends con. and agreed to July 28 [347] 1074  
l. Returned from the Commons July 28, 1005  
Royal Assent Aug 4, 1709  
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- Return ordered and presented May 14 [344] 932

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- c. Ordered; Read 1<sup>o</sup> Mar 28 [343] 267  
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Com. May 16, 1199  
Order for Com. on Re-com. read and deferred June 12 [345] 806  
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Com. and Reported June 30 [346] 337  
As Amended Con.; Read 3<sup>o</sup> and passed July 1, 471  
l. Read 1<sup>o</sup> July 3, 631  
Read 2<sup>o</sup> and com. to a Com. of the whole House July 10, 1293  
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- c. Ordered; Read 1<sup>o</sup> Feb 12 [341] 173  
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Com.; Reported; Read 3<sup>o</sup> and passed June 25 [345] 1908  
l. Read 1<sup>o</sup> June 26 [346] 22  
Read 2<sup>o</sup> and com. to Standing Com. for Bills Relating to Law, &c. July 8, 1046  
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Read 3<sup>o</sup> and passed July 18, 195  
c. Lords Amends con. and agreed to July 22, 512  
l. Returned from the Commons July 22, 470  
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- c. Ordered; Read 1<sup>o</sup> Feb 12 [341] 166  
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June 18, 1291; June 19, 1448—R.P.  
Com.; Bill withdrawn Aug 16 [348] 1150

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- c. Ordered; Read 1<sup>o</sup> Feb 12 [341] 171  
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- Address for Return Feb 13 [341] 210

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- Return ordered Mar 11 [342] 507

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- Returns ordered Mar 13 [342] 726; April 18 [343] 913

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c. Ordered; Read 1<sup>o</sup> April 15 [343] 581  
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 Com. June 26 [346] 140  
 Read 3<sup>o</sup> and passed July 1, 564  
 l. Read 1<sup>o</sup> July 3, 631  
 Read 2<sup>o</sup> and com. to Standing Com. for General Bills July 15, 1712  
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 c. Lords Amendts. con. and agreed to Aug 18, 821  
 l. Returned from the Commons Aug 14, 929  
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c. Ordered; Read 1<sup>o</sup> Feb 13 [341] 296  
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 l. Read 1<sup>o</sup> July 10, 1249  
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- c. Lords Amendts. con. and agreed to, with Amendts. Aug 15, 1190
- l. Returned from the Commons; Commons Amendts. con. and agreed to Aug 15, 1123
- Royal Assent Aug 18, 1201
- [53 & 54 Vic. c. 66]

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- c. Ordered; Read 1<sup>o</sup> Feb 12 [341] 178
- [Dropped]

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- c. Ordered; Read 1<sup>o</sup> Feb 12 [341] 168
- Bill withdrawn Feb 21, 991

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- l. Motion for Select Com.; Com. nominated April 28 [343] 1504
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- Addition to Com. June 6 [345] 141
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- c. Message to the Lords for Copy of Report Aug 5, 1345, 1927
- Report communicated Aug 14 [348] 946

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- 2R. May 21 [344] 1540
- Read 2<sup>o</sup> and com. to Select Com. July 7 [346] 1032
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June 16—H.R.H. Prince Albert Victor Christian Edward of Wales, Earl of Athlone and Duke of Clarence and Avondale. The House acquainted of the creation, and recommended to consider the place H.R.H. should occupy in the House, considered and reported June 17 [345] 1117; Queen's Assent and Introduction of H.R.H. June 23, 1605

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Lincoln Co. (North Kesteven or  
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*John Seymour Keay, Esquire,  
Counties of Elgin and Nairn  
Alphens Cleophas Morton, Esquire,  
Peterborough*

*Gerald Walter Erskine Loder,  
Esquire, Brighton*

*Feb 14—James Parker Smith, Esquire, Lan-  
arkshire (Partick Division)*

*Feb 24—Samuel Thomas Evans, Esquire,  
County of Glamorgan (Mid-  
Division)*

*Mar 6—Alfred Webb, Esquire, Waterford  
County (Western Division)*

*Mar 7—Thomas Henry Bolton, Esquire,  
St. Pancras (Northern Division)*

*Mar 10—Henry John Cockayne Cust, Esquire,  
Lincoln County (South Kesteven  
or Stamford Division)*

*Mar 20—George Granville Leveson-Gower,  
Esquire, Stoke-upon-Trent*

*Mar 27—James Alexander Bentoul, Esquire,  
County of Down (East Down  
Division)*

*Mar 28—James Somervell, Esquire, Ayr  
District of Burghs*

*Mar 31—Edward Francis Vessey Knox,  
Esquire, County of Cavan (West  
Cavan (Division)*

*April 15—Francis Treas Barry, Esquire,  
New Windsor*

*April 17—David Lloyd George, Esquire,  
Carnarvon Borough*

*May 13—Sir Joseph Dodge Western, Knight,  
Bristol, East Division*

*May 19—Henry Harrison, Esquire, County  
of Tipperary (Mid Tipperary  
Division)*

*June 5—John Roche, Esquire, County of  
Galway (East Galway Division)  
James Dalton, Esquire, West  
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*June 30—James Rochfort Maguire, Esquire,  
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*July 7—James Archibald Duncan, Esquire,  
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*July 21 John Wilson, Esquire, County of  
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c. Lords Amendts. con. and agreed to Aug 15  
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l. Returned from the Commons Aug 15, 1122  
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[53 & 54 Vic. c. 59]

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c. Ordered; Read 1<sup>o</sup> June 18 [345] 1291

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Com.; Report; Read 3<sup>o</sup> and passed July 2  
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c. Ordered; Read 1<sup>o</sup> July 23 [347] 513

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moval (No. 2) Bill

*c.* Ordered; Read 1<sup>o</sup> \* Feb 12 [341] 174  
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Bill

*c.* Ordered; Read 1<sup>o</sup> \* Mar 11 [342] 615  
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. Ordered; Read 1<sup>o</sup> Feb 12 [341] 179  
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brought in Mar 19, 1226

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c. Read 1<sup>o</sup> Mar 19 [342] 1228  
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**SPEAKER, The (Right Hon. ARTHUR  
WELLESLEY PEEL), *Warwick and  
Leamington***

**COMMITTEES**

Buling of the Chairman by which a Motion  
was carried cannot be over-ruled by the  
341 Speaker Feb 12, 1571  
An Instruction to Com. cannot be moved  
342 without notice Mar 18, 1124  
344 An Amendt. to the first of a number  
of Amendts. for Instructions to Com.,  
which resembles the Motion "That the  
[cont.

**SPEAKER, The—cont.**

344 House do pass to the Orders of the  
Day," and by which the House disem-  
barrasses itself of matters which it does  
not wish to pass judgment on, and pro-  
ceeds to its appointed business, is not out  
of order

The new Rule, that the Speaker leave the  
Chair without Question put, would be  
robbed altogether of force if a number of  
Instructions are put down so as to pre-  
vent the Speaker leaving the Chair

A Member cannot be allowed to put down  
more than one Instruction, as it gives  
him a greater right of speaking than he  
has on the 2R. of the Bill

When the Instruction itself is out of order  
it is impossible to move an Amendt. to  
bring in that Instruction May 2, 19, 22

If there are no other Instructions down  
besides those which are out of order, and,  
therefore, no Question before the House,  
the Speaker technically would have to  
leave the Chair, without Question put,  
and allow the proceedings to be completed,  
as they originated before 12 o'clock June  
345 5, 136, 137, 138; June 6, 162

Instructions which might be carried out by  
Amendts. or clauses in Com. are irregular.  
There is a difference between an Instruc-  
tion to a Com. and an Amendt. on the  
2R., which traverses the principle of the  
Bill. When a Bill has been read a second  
time the House has assented to the prin-  
ciple of the Bill. When the House is ready  
to go into Com. the Standing Order allows  
the Speaker to leave the Chair without  
Question put; but there is a reservation  
with regard to Instructions to the Com.  
If an Instruction moved on that occasion  
were to traverse the principle of the  
Bill, that would virtually be a 2R. De-  
bate. It would be an Amendt. to the  
principle of the Bill, and would there-  
fore reduce to a minimum and nullify  
altogether the provisions of the Stand-  
ing Order, that the Speaker leave the  
Chair without Question put. The pre-  
cedents have no Instructions which go  
beyond the machinery necessary to carry  
out the general purpose and scope of a  
Bill June 9, 347, 348, 350

It is not necessary to move an Instruc-  
tion when the Com. have power to do  
what the Instruction requires June 10,  
527

Amendt. which cannot be connected  
with certain clauses of a Bill in Com.  
cannot be brought in as an Instruc-  
tion, as there would be no opportunity of  
putting down notice of the Instruction.  
The other Instructions being out of order,  
a Member cannot move an Instruction  
without notice, and the present Instruc-  
tions being disposed of the Speaker leaves  
the Chair June 24, 1874

[cont.

SPEAKER, The—*cont.*

If the nomination of a Com. is set down for the commencement of business, a Member will have difficulty in moving  
346] certain Amendts. *July 1, 584*

The Standing Order only permits a short statement on the Motion for nomination of Com.

It is not competent for a Member to move, without notice, the insertion of another name—he may move to omit any particular name *July 14, 1615, 1617*

## MISCELLANEOUS

341] *Feb 11, 119; Feb 18, 183, 185; Feb 17, 468; Feb 18, 573, 598; Feb 19, 688, 690, 723; Feb 20, 755, 762; Mar 3, 1707; Mar 4, 1843, 1845*

342] *Mar 5, 33, 44, 46; Mar 6, 218; Mar 10, 434; Mar 11, 493, 511, 538, 582, 598; Mar 14, 851, 881; Mar 18, 1103; Mar 19, 1224; Mar 21, 1509; Mar 24, 1690; Mar 25, 1803, 1824; Mar 26, 1910, 1913, 1915*

343] *Mar 27, 53; April 1, 397, 401; April 16, 663; April 18, 916; April 22, 1083, 1159, 1161; April 23, 1195, 1221; April 24, 1254, 1255; April 25, 1427, 1431, 1484; April 28, 1508, 1630, 1631*

344] *May 2, 53; May 5, 239, 240; May 8, 477, 482; May 9, 554, 559; May 14, 914; May 15, 937, 964, 965; May 16, 1121, 1181, 1185, 1199, 1209; May 21, 1417, 1421, 1428; May 23, 1695, 1699, 1744, 1748; June 3, 1850, 1885, 1890*

345] *June 5, 76; June 6, 234, 236, 250, 256, 257, 258, 260; June 9, 405; June 11, 628, 632; June 12, 807, 820; June 16, 997, 1028, 1030, 1039, 1041, 1115; June 17, 1151, 1170, 1184, 1192; June 18, 1247, 1248, 1250, 1253, 1260, 1262, 1287, 1290; June 19, 1345, 1347, 1351; June 20, 1479, 1480, 1498, 1506, 1593, 1594; June 23, 1640, 1727; June 24, 1783, 1864, 1865, 1869, 1870, 1871, 1872, 1873, 1876, 1877, 1879; June 25, 1885, 1890, 1891, 1892, 1898, 1902, 1904, 1907*

346] *June 26, 23, 26, 28, 37; June 27, 221; July 1, 492; July 2, 575; July 3, 719, 724, 780; July 4, 809, 814; July 7, 938; July 8, 1081, 1084, 1087; July 11, 1575; July 14, 1604, 1620*

347] *July 21, 370, 429, 444, 460, 466; July 22, 551, 552, 603, 604, 606, 607, 608; July 24, 835, 840; July 25, 976, 1004; July 28, 1040; July 29, 1264; July 31, 1386, 1392; Aug 1, 1556, 1558, 1560, 1590, 1593; Aug 2, 1654, 1659, 1660, 1663, 1666, 1681, 1685, 1688; Aug 4, 1744, 1782, 1784, 1786, 1793, 1826, 1830; Aug 6, 1921, 1926*

348] *Aug 6, 20; Aug 8, 249, 278; Aug 9, 365; Aug 11, 509, 615; Aug 12, 690; Aug 14, 1080; Aug 15, 1171; Aug 16, 1192*

## PETITIONS

Discussion can arise immediately on a Petition being presented to the House on condition that it is of personal, and not general, grievance *May 1 [343] 1809*

[*cont.*]SPEAKER, The—*cont.*

## PRIVILEGE

Speeches made by Members outside the House cannot be judged by the Speaker  
341] as a breach of Privilege *Mar 3, 1653*

There is no order against a Lady Reporter being admitted to the Reporters' Gallery, but the sanction of the House would be  
342] required *Mar 18, 1147*

*Sir W. Marriott and Mr. Parnell*—A question other than one having reference to Motions or Bills can be put by one Member to another if the Member to whom the question is put holds an official position

It is usual in raising a Motion of Privilege to read the incriminated passages to the House, and then for the House to decide

A point of privilege is restricted to the action or to the conduct of a Member  
343] *Mar 28, 181, 182, 183, 185, 186, 187*

Lords consequential Amendt. to the Commons Amendt. to receive Special Entry to show that the House of Commons do not admit any infraction in their Privileges *Aug 14, 348] 965*

## QUESTIONS

Questions on the Paper reflecting on individuals and assuming facts which are not admitted are altered by the Speaker; Members are informed of these alterations  
*Mar 14 [342] 856*

Asking for an expression of opinion is not within the limits of a Question *May 22, [344] 1581; July 3 [346] 680*

Any allegation of a disputed fact ought not to appear in a Question

The Speaker can rule a Question out of order *July 3 [346] 680, 681*

It is competent for a Minister to decline to reply to a Question *July 7 [346] 939*

## RULES AND ORDER OF DEBATE

Debate on the Address—A preliminary discussion on a matter upon which there is an Amendt. on the Paper is out of order in the general discussion on the Address  
341] *Feb 13, 221*

Whether an Amendt. qualifying an Amendt. to an Amendt. can be brought forward will depend on the decision of the House on the Question whether the words proposed to be left out be retained. Should that proposal be negatived and the second Amendt. be inserted, then it would be competent to move the Amendt. *Feb 19, 723*

An Amendt. cannot be moved when it raises a discussion on a Bill of which notice has been given by the Government  
*Feb 20, 762*

A Member cannot speak more than once on a Main Question without the indulgence of the House *Feb 20, 766*

It is incompetent to dwell on a matter which is the subject of a Bill in Parliament; it can be called attention to in general terms *Feb 24, 1076*

[*cont.*]

SPEAKER, The—cont.

When a statement is made affecting a Member, an explanatory interruption is allowable Mar 5, 41; Mar 12, 661, 662

The original Motion and Amendts. on it should be read together on resuming  
Adjourned Debate Mar 10, 363

If a Debate is concluded within the limits of the ordinary time, the rest of the Paper can be proceeded with Mar 10, 361

A Notice of Motion should be given to revive a dropped Order

The only precedent is when Supply has been counted out on Friday it has been set up by a notice on Monday

There is no distinction between Supply as an Order of the Day and any other Government Business, which has been, up to the count-out, an Order of the Day. If proper notice has been given it is competent for the House to go on under that notice which was interrupted by the count-out, provided that it is convenient to the House that it should be pursued on the next day

Such notices should be given during the sitting of the House. There must be a limit of time within which notices are handed in; but there is no absolute limit within a few seconds or even a few minutes

Though Supply is governed by a Standing Order, and may occupy any place on Monday's Paper, it does not follow that Supply will be taken on Monday

It is not within the power of every Member who has his Motion or his Bill counted-out to move at 4 o'clock on the next day that his Motion or Bill be taken that day. Motions at half-past 4 o'clock relating to the Business of the House are reserved for Members of the Government

There is a difference between a private Member's position and that of the Government in relation to the arrangement of Business

The Adjourned Debate can only come on as the first Order of the Day after the Motion for resuming Adjourned Debate has been taken Mar 10, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 356

The remarks of the Mover of an Amendt. must be relative to the Amendt. Mar 13, 755

Motions standing in the names of Members on the Estimates are carried on to a future day. They are taken off if desired. The Motion must be moved while the Speaker is in the Chair, as the right of private Members is exhausted on first going into Committee of Supply. On Fridays it is competent for Members to move Motions on the Question that the Speaker leave the Chair Mar 14, 881

A Member exhausts his right of speaking on the Main Question by seconding a Motion for Adjournment Mar 17, 1067

[cont.]

SPEAKER, The—cont.

Objection to taking a Bill after 12 o'clock does not apply when the Bill is brought in in pursuance of the provisions of a statute  
342] Mar 20, 1353

Whether a Bill can be read a second time before being printed and circulated is for the House to decide Mar 20, 1353

Wednesday Sittings—The Rule that the House cannot be counted-out until 4 o'clock can be altered by Res., or the Speaker might decide not to come into the House until there is a sufficient quorum, or when a quorum is not formed by half-past 12 o'clock he might leave the Chair for a quarter of an hour that a House might be made Mar 20, 1260

One Order of the Day can be separated from another, in the case of a Money Bill, to give it precedence over Notices of Motions on private Members' nights. The practice is extended to all Bills which are urgent. The judgment of the House is conclusive as to urgency Mar 25, 1822

When an Order for 2R. is opposed it is necessary, in accordance with the Standing Orders, to put it down for the next day; but the 2R. by arrangement can  
344] then be deferred May 20, 1392

A Member is not entitled to refer in Debate to what takes place in Com., of which the House has no cognisance when the Speaker is in the Chair May 20, 1424

A Member is entirely out of order in referring by anticipation to matters to be dealt with in Bills before the House May 6, 307, 308

The Motion for Supply being still before the House after a Division for Adjournment, there is no need for the Government to set up Supply again for the purpose of enabling a Member to speak. Neither is the Speaker bound to call upon a Member when the Motion is an Amendt. to the Motion that the Speaker leave the Chair. The Member should rise when the Speaker proclaims "Motion withdrawn, Supply Monday," otherwise the Motion on which the Member's notice gives him the right to speak is withdrawn, and his right disappears

The Member could have challenged a Division on the Motion that the Speaker leave the Chair, but not on his own Motion

If a Member had objected to the withdrawal of Supply, the Motion could not have been withdrawn without discussion  
May 16, 1207, 1208, 1212

It is unusual to ask a question upon an Order before the Order is reached June 9  
345] 435

It is usual to observe the Instruction of the Member in charge of the Bill as to the date of postponement June 9, 436

A single objection is sufficient to arrest the progress of a Bill after 12 o'clock June 10, 580

[cont.]

## SPEAKER, The—cont.

A Motion for Adjournment to discuss the arrangement of Public Business, a Notice having been given, is not a "definite subject of public importance," and cannot be moved June 12, 738

An Amendt. temporarily withdrawn, to permit another Amendt. to be moved, can be renewed if the latter Amendt. is withdrawn June 18, 1261

An Amendt. declaring that the operation of an Act shall be from the date of its passing, after it has been agreed that it shall come into operation at a later date, cannot be moved at the advanced stage of the consideration of the Bill June 25, 1906

The question of a tax being raised, and the proceeds appropriated to no particular authority and to no specific object, it is for the House to consider, as a matter of policy and interpretation, whether the words of an Amendt. can constitute a sufficient appropriation of the sum raised and granted by the Budget Act, so as to come within the general principle underlying the whole Law, namely, the appropriation of money to a specific use within the then existing Session of Parliament. If no Act is passed within this Session appropriating the sum allotted under the Budget Act, the Treasury might incur responsibility and liabilities. From a Constitutional point of view there is no precedent for such an accumulation. Members can raise it as a question of policy or of principle, both in Com. and on 3R. June 24, 1801, 1805

Money Bills cannot be read the third time on the same day as the Report stage June 346] 80, 840

A Member cannot at an advanced stage of the Debate on 3R. move that the 3R. be deferred; he can vote against the Motion for 3R. July 2, 587

Objection does not lie against a Motion to amend Rules (Merchant Shipping—Life-Saving Appliances)—which is in pursuance of the Standing Order, the Rules remaining before the House for 347] a certain time for approval July 17, 184

A Member having spoken and moved the Adjournment of the Debate has exhausted his right to speak July 23, 542

It is competent for a Member to move a Res. superseding the Motion that the Bill be read a second time July 24, 744

A Member may embody in a Res. such points stated in a Schedule to an Act as he may desire to refer to July 24, 744

When a Member has only spoken on a Question of Adjournment, he is entitled to take part in the Debate on the Main Question July 29, 1270

[cont.

## SPEAKER, The—cont.

When the assent of the House to the provisions of a Bill is necessary under a Statute the Bill is exempt from the Rules of a Money Bill, and more than one stage 347] can be taken at a Sitting Aug 1, 1649

Only by the consent of the House can Com., Report, and 3R. of a Bill be taken at one Sitting at a time. When Supply is not taken, and the Appropriation Bill not reached, and if there is the least objection, the Bill stands over Aug 6, 20

When the Standing Orders have been suspended, a Motion cannot, unless by arrangement, be postponed beyond the day fixed for taking the Motion Aug 9, 366

If the suspension of a Standing Order covers anything, it will cover everything that is proposed to be taken into consideration that day, the Lords Amendts. included Aug 11, 472

Amendts. to the Lords Amendts. must be first disposed of before taking the Motion "that we disagree with the Lords Amendts." Aug 12, 676

The general Rule is to put the Motion that the House do agree with the Lords Amendts. A Member who has an Amendt. to reject the Lords Amendts. would vote against the Motion Aug 12, 687

When an Amendt. to insert a Proviso is withdrawn, a second Amendt. to insert another Proviso is in order Aug 12, 691

It is not unreasonable for a Minister to state the opinion of certain Members of the Government Aug 12, 692

When urgency is in the nature of the case, two or more stages of one Bill can be taken at one sitting. It is not so much a question of leave of the House, but of a vote. There is no fixed number of Members required before a Bill can be taken in this way Aug 15, 1148

## SUPPLY

Arrangement of Votes—Motion for Adjournment of the House to discuss the new arrangement of Votes should be 341] made on the Com. of Supply Feb 28, 1522, 1523

If the Vote on Account is passed it is for the House to decide whether it will preclude any further question being raised on the re-arrangement Feb 28, 1521

If the existing power of the Public Accounts Com. be exceeded in considering the new Form of Votes, then an Instruction will be required to enable the Com. to consider the special question Feb 28, 1522

Res. "That Proceedings thereon shall not be interrupted." The words left out of the Motion, "But after such proceedings are disposed of no opposed business shall be taken," are not necessary. The words of the Standing Order would come into operation, and the business of the Sitting would be dealt with according to the Rules applicable to measures taken after 343] 12 o'clock April 15, 561

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The Order Paper being clear of Amendts. it is within the power of the Government to put down Supply and go on with it; but it is not within the power of any Member on that day to put down a notice [343] of Amendt. April 26, 1421  
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- i. Presented; Read 1<sup>o</sup> Feb 20 [341] 725  
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- c. Read 1<sup>o</sup> Mar 11, 509  
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- i. Returned from the Commons July 15, 1693  
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- c. Lords Reasons and Amendts., and Consequential Amendts. con. Aug 1, 1528
- i. Returned from the Commons with Amendts. not insisted on and other Amendt. made Aug 1, 1469  
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- i. Presented; Read 1<sup>o</sup> July 28 [347] 1039  
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- i. Returned from the Commons with Amendts. con. and agreed to Aug 15, 1121  
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- c. Ordered; Read 1<sup>o</sup> Feb 19 [341] 724  
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- c. Ordered; Read 1<sup>o</sup> Feb 12 [341] 179  
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Qs. Mr. Illingworth; As. The Under Sec. for Fn. Affrs. May 12 [344] 700; May 18, 818; Qs. Sir L. Playfair; As. The First Lord of Treas. May 22, 1592; May 23, 1686; Q. Mr. T. Egerton; A. The Under Sec. for Fn. Affrs. Aug 5 [347] 1900

**Sugar Duties—United States (see title AMERICA, Duties, &c.)**

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l. Read 1<sup>o</sup> June 12, 633

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## CIVIL SERVICE (SUPPLEMENTARY ESTIMATES, 1889-90)

### CLASS I.

£6,800—Buildings of the Houses of Parliament, Com. Feb 25, 1177; Report Feb 26,

1312

£7,000—Public Buildings, Great Britain,

Com.\* Feb 25, 1187; Report\* Feb 26, 1312

£100,000—Land and Buildings, South Ken-

sington, Com. Feb 25, 1187; Report\*

Feb 26, 1312

£2,050—Diplomatic and Consular Buildings,

Com. Feb 25, 1205; Report\* Feb 26, 1312

### CLASS II.

£700—Foreign Office, Com. Feb 25, 1209;

Report\* Feb 26, 1312

£2,166—Board of Agriculture, Com. Feb 25,

1210; Report\* Feb 26, 1312

### CLASS III.

£9,068—County Courts, Com.\* Feb 25, 1231;

Report\* Feb 26, 1312

£326—Revising Barristers, England, Com.\*

Feb 25, 1231; Report\* Feb 26, 1312

£3,400—Reformatory and Industrial Schools,

Great Britain, Com. Feb 25, 1231; Report\*

Feb 26, 1312

[cont.]

SUPPLY—cont.

- 2630—Register House, Edinburgh, Com.\*  
341] Feb 25, 1232; Report\* Feb 26, 1312  
21,205—Crofters' Commission, Com. Feb 25,  
1232; Report\* Feb 26, 1312

CLASS IV.

- 2565—Universities, &c. Scotland Com.\* Feb  
25, 1232; Report\* Feb 26, 1312

CLASS V.

- 24,000—Diplomatic Services, Com. Feb 25,  
1232; Report\* Feb 26, 1312  
210—Consular Services, Com.\* Feb 25, 1234;  
Report\* Feb 26, 1312  
25,030—Colonies, Grants in Aid, Com.\* Feb  
25, 1234; Report\* Feb 26, 1312  
223,250—South Africa, Com. Feb 25, 1234;  
Report Feb 26, 1312

CLASS VI.

- 28,101—Superannuation and Retired Allow-  
ances, Com. Feb 25, 1249; Feb 27, 1352;  
Report\* Feb 28, 1611  
2828—Pauper Lunatics, Scotland, Com. Feb  
27, 1353; Report\* Feb 28, 1611

CIVIL SERVICES AND REVENUE DEPARTMENTS

VOTES ON ACCOUNT

- 23,735,103—Com. Feb 28 [341] 1523; Mar  
20 [342] 1262; Report Mar 21, 1594  
23,929,500—Com. May 22 [344] 1632; Re-  
port May 23, 1719, 1747

CIVIL SERVICES AND REVENUE DEPARTMENTS

EXCESSES

- 25,052 6s. 3d.—Civil Service, Com. Mar 20  
[342] 1261; Report\* Mar 21, 1594

CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES, 1890-91.

CLASS I.—PUBLIC WORKS AND BUILDINGS

- 231,725—Royal Palaces and Marlborough  
343] House, Com. Mar 31, 349; Report April 1,  
443  
278,775—Royal Parks and Pleasure Gardens,  
Com. Mar 31, 369; Report April 1, 444  
2165,767—Public Buildings, Great Britain,  
including Houses of Parliament, Com.  
April 1, 416; Report April 17, 791  
231,000—Admiralty, Extension of Buildings,  
Com. April 1, 430; Report\* April 17, 794  
252,522—Miscellaneous Legal Buildings,  
Com. April 1, 434; Report\* April 17, 794  
218,062—Art and Science Buildings, Great  
Britain, Com. April 1, 436; Report\* April  
17, 794  
223,993—Diplomatic and Consular Buildings,  
Com. April 1, 439; Report\* April 28, 1631  
2281,465—Revenue Departments Buildings,  
Great Britain, Com.\* April 1, 441; Report\*  
April 17, 794  
2176,000—Surveys, United Kingdom, Com.\*  
April 1, 441; Report\* April 17, 794  
217,375—Harbours and Lighthouses Abroad  
under the Board of Trade, Com. April 1,  
442; Report\* April 17, 794  
225,040—Peterhead Harbour, Com.\* April 1,  
442; Report\* April 17, 794  
24,000—Caledonian Canal, Com.\* April 1,  
442; Report\* April 17, 794

SUPPLY—cont.

- 2156,453—Rates on Government Property  
343] Com.\* April 1, 443; Report\* April 17, 794  
2182,873—Public Works, &c. (Ireland), Com.  
July 18 [347] 275; Report\* July 24, 839

CLASS II.—SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF  
CIVIL DEPARTMENTS

ENGLAND

- 246,326—Foreign Office, Com. Aug 7,  
345] 178; Aug 9, 425; Aug 11, 526; Report\*  
Aug 12, 819  
227,193—House of Lords Offices, Com. Aug  
11, 592; Report\* Aug 12, 819  
234,523—House of Commons Offices, Com.  
Aug 11, 598; Report\* Aug 12, 819  
260,122—Treasury and Subordinate Depart-  
ments, Com. Aug 11, 606; Report\* Aug 12,  
819  
210,707—Privy Council, &c., Com. Aug 11,  
609; Aug 12, 810; Report\* Aug 13, 920  
264,495—Home Department Offices, &c.,  
Com. Aug 12, 729; Report\* Aug 13, 920  
227,683—Secretary for the Colonies, &c.,  
Com. Aug 12, 782; Report\* Aug 13, 920  
2108,544—Board of Trade, Com. Aug 12,  
811; Report\* Aug 13, 920  
27—Bankruptcy, &c., Com.\* Aug 12, 814;  
Report\* Aug 13, 920  
235,342—Board of Agriculture, Com. Aug 12,  
814; Report\* Aug 13, 920  
226,496—Civil Service Commission, Com.  
Aug 12, 815; Report\* Aug 13, 920  
227,612—Exchequer and Audit Department,  
Com.\* Aug 12, 819; Report\* Aug 13, 920  
228,063—Charity Commission, Com. Aug 13,  
822; Report\* Aug 14, 992  
25,067—Friendly Societies Registry, Com.  
Aug 13, 831; Report\* Aug 14, 992  
2109,747—Local Government Board, Com.\*  
Aug 13, 836; Report\* Aug 14, 992  
210,507—Lunacy Commission, Com.\* Aug 13,  
836; Report\* Aug 14, 992  
225,000—Mercantile Marine Fund (Grant  
in Aid), Com.\* Aug 13, 836; Report\*  
Aug 14, 992  
245,711—Mint, including Coinage, Com.  
Aug 13, 837; Report\* Aug 14, 992  
29,231—National Debt Office, Com.\* Aug 13,  
843; Report\* Aug 14, 992  
26,494—Public Works Loan Commission,  
Com.\* Aug 13, 843; Report\* Aug 14, 992  
214,636—Record Office, Com. Aug 13, 843;  
Report\* Aug 14, 992  
234,118—Registrar General's Office, Com.\*  
Aug 13, 845; Report\* Aug 14, 992  
2355,182—Stationery and Printing, Com.\*  
Aug 13, 845; Report\* Aug 14, 992  
217,875—Woods, Forests, &c., Com. Aug 13,  
845; Report\* Aug 14, 992  
230,000—Secret Service, Com. Aug 13, 852  
Report\* Aug 14, 992  
233,540—Works and Public Buildings, Com.  
Aug 13, 852; Report\* Aug 14, 992

SCOTLAND

- 27,533—Secretary's Offices, &c., Com.  
348] Aug 6, 53; Report\* Aug 7, 210  
23,795—Lunacy Commission, Com.\* Aug 6,  
66; Report\* Aug 7, 210

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**SUPPLY—cont.**

- £4,025—Registrar General's Office, Com.\*
- 348] Aug 6, 86; Report\* Aug 7, 210
- £3,603—Board of Supervision, &c., Com.
- . Aug 7, 129; Report\* Aug 8, 864
- £16,122—Fishery Board, Scotland, Com.
- . Aug 7, 114; Report\* Aug 8, 864

**IRELAND**

- £29,558—Lord Lieutenant's Household,
- 346] Com. July 10, 1328; Report\* July 11, 1576
- £28,394—Chief Secretary's Offices, &c.,
- . Com. July 10, 1355; July 11, 1492;
- . Report July 15, 1822
- £1,457—Charitable Donations and Bequests
- . Office, Com.\* July 11, 1524; Report
- . July 15, 1822
- £102,602—Local Government Board, Com.
- . July 11, 1524; July 14, 1620; Report\*
- . July 15, 1840
- £3,935—Record Office, Com. July 14,
- . 1679; Report\* July 15, 1821
- £11,507—Valuation and Boundary Survey,
- . &c., Com. July 14, 1685; Report\* July 15,
- . 1822
- £10,617—Registrar General's Office, Com.
- . July 14, 1679; Report July 15, 1821
- £24,661—Public Works, &c., Com. July 14,
- . 1643; Report July 15, 1821; July 16, 1889
- £124—(Supplementary) Charitable Dona-
- 348] 858; Report\* Aug 14, 992

**CLASS III.—LAW AND JUSTICE**

**ENGLAND**

- £37,586—Metropolitan Police, Com. June 20
- [345] 1510; Report\* June 23, 1727
- £27,500—Law Charges, Com. Aug 13,
- 348] 853; Report\* Aug 14, 992
- £43,133—Miscellaneous Legal Expenses,
- . Com.\* Aug 13, 858; Report\* Aug 14, 992
- £263,900—Supreme Court of Judicature,
- . &c., Com.\* Aug 13, 858; Report\* Aug 14,
- . 992
- £396,886—County Courts, Com.\* Aug 13,
- . 858; Report\* Aug 14, 992
- £12,594—Police Courts, London and Sheer-
- ness, Com.\* Aug 13, 858; Report\* Aug 14,
- . 992
- £456,701—Prisons, England and the
- . Colonies, Com. Aug 13, 858; Report
- . Aug 14, 992
- £132,419—Reformatory and Industrial
- . Schools, Com. Aug 13, 896; Report\*
- . Aug 14, 992
- £22,033—Broadmoor Criminal Lunatic
- . Asylum, Com.\* Aug 13, 896; Report\*
- . Aug 14, 992

**SCOTLAND**

- £87,423—Law Charges, &c., Com. Aug 7,
- 348] 131; Report\* Aug 8, 364
- £26,559—Register House, Edinburgh, Com.
- . Aug 7, 143; Report\* Aug 8, 364
- £6,620—Crofters' Commission, Com. Aug 7,
- . 144; Report\* Aug 8, 364
- £70,090—Prisons, Com. Aug 7, 150; Re-
- port\* Aug 8, 364

**IRELAND**

- £889,490—Royal Irish Constabulary, Com.
- July 7 [346] 941; July 8, 1118; Report
- July 10, 1401; July 21 [347] 443

[cont.]

**SUPPLY—cont.**

- £50,571—Criminal Prosecutions, &c., Com.
- July 15 [346] 1743; Report July 16, 1887
- £80,099—Supreme Court of Judicature, Com.
- July 16 [346] 1841; Report\* July 17 [347]
- 178
- £80,687—Land Commission, Com. July 16
- [346] 1868; Report Aug 4 [347] 1831
- £66,117—Dublin Metropolitan Police, Com.\*
- July 16 [346] 1887; Report July 17 [347]
- 179
- £56,250—Reformatory and Industrial
- Schools, Com.\* July 16 [346] 1887;
- Report\* July 17 [347] 182
- £4,640—Dundrum Criminal Lunatic Asylum,
- Com.\* July 16 [346] 1887; Report\* July
- 17 [347] 182
- £82,766—County Court Officers, Magistrates,
- &c., Com. July 17 [347] 103; Report July
- 18, 305; July 24, 836
- £97,499—Prisons, Com. July 18 [347] 229;
- Report July 25, 983

**CLASS IV.—EDUCATION, SCIENCE, AND ART**

**ENGLAND**

- £2,182,324—Public Education, Com. June 3
- [344] 1891; June 6 [345] 162; Report\*
- June 9, 435
- £354,896—Science and Art Departments,
- 348] Com.\* Aug 13, 896; Report\* Aug 14,
- . 992
- £93,145—British Museum, Com. Aug 13,
- . 896; Report Aug 14, 992
- £33,594—National Gallery, Com. Aug 13,
- . 897; Report\* Aug 14, 992
- £1,209—National Portrait Gallery, Com.\*
- . Aug 13, 899; Report\* Aug 14, 993
- £14,453—Learned Societies, &c., Com.\*
- . Aug 13, 899; Report\* Aug 14, 993
- £41,000—Universities and Colleges, Com.\*
- . Aug 13, 899; Report\* Aug 14, 993
- £9,874—London University, Com.\* Aug 13,
- . 899; Report\* Aug 14, 993

**SCOTLAND**

- £301,581—Public Education, Com. Aug 7,
- 348] 152; Report\* Aug 8, 364
- £1,500—National Gallery, &c., Com. Aug 7,
- . 168; Report Aug 8, 364

**IRELAND**

- £518,316—Public Education, Com.\* July 18,
- 347] 275; Report July 24, 838
- £370—Endowed Schools Commissioners,
- . Com.\* July 18, 275; Report\* July 24,
- . 839
- £1,701—National Gallery, Com.\* July 18,
- . 275; Report\* July 24, 839
- £8,457—Queen's Colleges, Com.\* July 18,
- . 275; Report\* July 24, 839

**CLASS V.—FOREIGN AND COLONIAL SERVICES**

- £307,909—Embassies and Missions Abroad
- Com. April 14 [343] 460; Report June 6
- [345] 227
- £17,640—Slave Trade, &c., Com. April 22
- [343] 1114; April 25, 1437; Report April 28,
- 1630
- £400,000—Exchequer Bonds (Cape Railway)
- Com.\* April 25 [343] 1437; Report\*
- April 28, 1630

[cont.]

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**SUPPLY—cont.**

£128,920—Sundry Colonial Services, &c.,  
Com. April 25 [343] 1455, 1479; Report  
June 2 [344] 1761  
£114,920 (Including an additional sum,  
348] £230,000)—Colonial Services and South  
Africa, Com. Aug 13, 899; Report Aug 14,  
993  
£235,000—Cyprus, Grant in Aid, Com. Aug 13,  
900; Report\* Aug 14, 1002  
£238,375—Subsidies to Telegraph Com-  
panies, Com.\* Aug 13, 901; Report Aug 14,  
1002

**CLASS VI.—NON-EFFECTIVE AND CHARITABLE SERVICES**

£12,362—Pauper Lunatics (Ireland), Com.\*  
347] July 13, 275; Report\* July 24, 839  
£9,878—Hospitals and Charities, Com.\*  
July 13, 275; Report\* July 24, 839  
£259,989—Superannuation and Retired  
348] Allowances, Com.\* Aug 13, 901; Report  
Aug 14, 1009  
£7,280—Merchant Seamen's Fund Pensions,  
&c., Com.\* Aug 13, 901; Report\* Aug 14,  
1009  
£12,848—Friendly Societies, Deficiency,  
Com.\* Aug 13, 901; Report\* Aug 14, 1009  
£228—Miscellaneous, Charitable, and other  
Allowances, Com.\* Aug 13, 901; Report\*  
Aug 14, 1009

**CLASS VII.—MISCELLANEOUS**

£15,374—Temporary Commissions, Com.  
348] Aug 13, 901; Report\* Aug 14, 1009  
£26,738—Miscellaneous Expenses, Com. Aug  
13, 902; Report\* Aug 14, 1009

[cont.]

**SUPPLY—cont.**

£25,805—Repayment to Civil Contingencies  
348] Fund, Com. Aug 13, 904; Report Aug 14,  
1009  
£160,000—Pleuro-Pneumonia, Com.\* Aug 13,  
914; Report\* Aug 14, 1014  
£1,000—Jamaica Exhibition, 1891, Com.\*  
Aug 13, 914; Report\* Aug 14, 1014

**IRELAND**

£1,153—West Donegal Railway, Com.\* Aug  
348] 13, 914; Report\* Aug 14, 1014  
£200—Grant to Munster School, Com.\* Aug  
13, 914; Report\* Aug 14, 1014  
£40,000—Labourers' Cottages, Com.\* Aug  
13, 914; Report\* Aug 14, 1014

**SCOTLAND**

£2956—Colonisation of Crofters, &c., Com.  
341] Aug 7, 169; Report\* Aug 8, 364

**REVENUE DEPARTMENTS**

347] £4,898,551—Salaries and Expenses of the  
Post Office Services, the Expenses of Post  
Office Savings Banks, and Government  
Annuities and Insurance, and the Collec-  
tion of the Post Office Revenue, Com.  
July 23, 609; July 31, 1413; Report  
Aug 1, 1644  
£1,583,845—Post Office Telegraph Service,  
Com. July 31, 1456; Aug 1, 1602; Report  
Aug 2, 1705  
£539,829—Post Office Packet Service, Com.\*  
July 31, 1456; Report\* Aug 1, 1648  
£714,027—Customs, Com. Aug 1 [347] 1642;  
Aug 13 [348] 914; Report\* Aug 14, 1014  
£1,553,926—Inland Revenue, Com.\* Aug 13  
[348] 916; Report\* Aug 14, 1014

**SUMMARY.**

APPROPRIATION OF GRANTS—1889-90.			
Civil Service Deficiencies,	£	s.	d.
1888-89	8,052	6	3
Civil Services (Supplementary)			
1889-90	175,129	0	0
Navy (Supplementary) 1889-90	350,000	0	0
Army Ordnance Factories			
(Supplementary) 1889-90	15,000	0	0
	548,181	6	3
1890-91.			
NAVY SERVICES	13,786,900	0	0
ARMY SERVICES (including			
Ordnance Factories)	17,907,900	0	0
CIVIL SERVICES—viz.:			
I. Public Works	2		
and Buildings	1,595,050		
II. Salaries, &c.,			
Civil Depts...	2,141,583		
III. Law & Justice	4,505,963		
IV. Education, Sci-			
ence, and Art	6,113,720		
V. Foreign and			
Col. Services	681,844		
VI. Non-Effective,			
&c. Services.	639,385		
VII. Miscellaneous.	251,648		
	15,928,693	0	0
REVENUE DEPARTMENTS, &c.	11,280,178	0	0
Exch. Bonds (Cape Railway)	400,000	0	0
Total	259,851,552	6	3

**SUMMARY.**

**WAYS AND MEANS.**

GRANTS OUT OF THE CONSOLIDATED FUND.			
For the service of the years			
ending 31st March 1889			
and 1890:—			
	£	s.	d.
Under Act 53 Vict. c. 1	548,181	6	3
For the service of the year			
ending 31st March			
1891:—			
Under Act 53 Vict. c. 1	16,395,203	0	0
Under Act 53 & 54 Vict.			
c. 28	11,850,436	0	0
Under this Act	31,057,732	0	0

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*Supreme Court of Judicature (Ireland)*  
Return ordered and presented Feb 11 [341]  
119

**Supreme Court of Judicature Procedure Bill**

- c. Ordered; Read 1<sup>o</sup> \* April 30 [343] 1805
- Read 2<sup>o</sup> May 12 [344] 799
- Com. June 12 [345] 808; June 26 [346] 14
- Com.; Reported June 27, 300
- Con.; Read 3<sup>o</sup> \* and passed July 2, 614
- l. Read 1<sup>o</sup> \* July 3, 632
- Read 2<sup>o</sup> and com. to Standing Com. for Bills Relating to Law, &c. July 10, 1250

*now*

**Supreme Court of Judicature Bill**

- l. Reported and Re-com. to Com. of the whole House July 22 [347] 470
- Com. July 24, 682
- Reported July 28, 1015
- Read 3<sup>o</sup> \* and passed July 29, 1160
- c. Lords Amends. con. and agreed to Aug 1, 1652
- l. Returned from the Commons Aug 4, 1721
- Royal Assent Aug 14 [348] 929
- [53 & 54 Vic. c. 44]

**SUTHERLAND, Mr. A., *Sutherland***

- Local Taxation (Customs and Excise) Duties Bill, Com. [345] 1444, 1717 [347] 1118, 1121
- Police (Scotland) Bill, Re-com. [347] 1973
- Scotland
- Census [344] 447
- Fishery Harbours [346] 1475
- Highlands and Islands Commission [346] 1294
- Parochial Boards—Female Electors [348] 498
- Post Office—Mail Service in the North [347] 836
- Unconvicted Prisoners [343] 1522, 1816
- Straits Settlements [345] 722
- Supply
- Post Office [347] 1602
- Scotland
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